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THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF

BOSTON,

THE CAPITAL OF MASSACHUSETTS AND METROPOLIS OF NEW ENGLAND,

FROM ITS SETTLEMENT IN 1630, TO THE YEAR 1770.

ALSO,

An Introductory History

OF THE

DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND.

WITH NOTES, CRITICAL AND ILLUSTRATIVE.

BY SAMUEL G. DRAKE, A. M.,

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1856.

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PREFACE.



THE History and Antiquities of Boston, to the year 1770, is now completed, and must abide the judgment of posterity. Whatever that judgment may be, the writer will rest conscious of having performed a service which will prove of some value to those who desire to obtain a knowledge of the rise and progress of the Metropolis of New England.

Although above five-and-twenty years have passed since the author began to collect materials for the work, it is but a few years since he determined to draw up a history from them, never before having found a proper time to devote to it. At length, after some changes of circumstances not necessary to be detailed, he was induced, partly through the influence of friends in whose judgment he had much confidence, to enter upon the composition of the work.

About four years ago, application was made to the writer to edit an edition of the work of Dr. Caleb H. Snow, and arrangements were accordingly entered into with a bookseller for that purpose; but, on a cursory examination of the work, it was found to be very far from such a history of the City as ought to be expected at the present day, and that it could not be made at all satisfactory, even by encumbering it with very extensive annotations, owing to the great chasms in the original text. This being represented to the undertaker, he at once changed his plan, and a new History was determined upon. The result is at length before the public, or that part of it previous to, and including a portion of, the year 1770.

As unthankful and unprofitable as the task of a local historian is, he cannot always escape the envy of sordid and narrow minds. Even John Stow, the famous Chronicler of England, had his envious traducers; but it is pleasant to reflect, that, while their names are quite forgotten, that of Stow is becoming more and more renowned

and resplendent. Those who would monopolize all knowledge seldom excel in any of its departments, though they may shine for a time with the borrowed lustre of others. Stow was not deterred by threats and intimidations from occupying ground open to all. Had he been, the world would have been deprived of one of its greatest antiquarian treasures.

The author of the History and Antiquities of Boston hopes to fare no worse than did his ancient brother, the Chronicler of London, who had the *privilege* of dying in poverty, notwithstanding "James, by the grace of God," gave him high-sounding "Letters Patent," allowing him ("then on the verge of his 80th year") *to sell as many of his books as he could!* Fortunately, in the present undertaking, no "Letters Patent" are necessary to give permission to the author or publisher to dispose of his work.

How many persons have had it in contemplation to write a History of Boston is unknown to the author; but the only one, probably, who, within the last thirty years, has seriously thought of it, was Mr. Alonzo Lewis. That gentleman was very competent for the task, and had he been at liberty to prosecute it, agreeably to his announcement about twenty-five years ago, it would have rendered this undertaking unnecessary.

Respecting those persons who have specially aided the author, by the loan of documents, suggestions, or otherwise, it is very difficult to speak without incurring the charge of partiality, and he would therefore observe that nothing can be further from his intention than to give the slightest ground for such a charge. Several of the gentlemen hereafter named, having, perhaps, too much confidence in the author's ability for the undertaking, strongly recommended to him the preparation of a new work, instead of spending time upon one necessarily very defective, and which could not be made such a History of Boston as the present time required. These were honest convictions and valid arguments, the author acknowledged, and all without any intention of disparagement to the works which had hitherto appeared upon the historical and descriptive condition of the City; those works being presumed to have been all that the times would warrant in which they were produced.

The names of several of the gentlemen to whom allusion has been made, as encouragers of this work, the author does not feel at liberty to omit, namely, William Whiting, Esq., President of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society; the Hon. Timothy Farrar, Vice-President of the same society; the Hon. Francis Brinley,

Recording Secretary of the same; Mr. John Dean, its Treasurer; Hon. George S. Hillard, Frederic Kidder, Esq., Mr. John W. Parker of Roxbury; the Hon. David Sears, Mr. John F. Eliot, Mr. Edward Tuckerman, Mr. William B. Trask, Dr. William Jenks, Dr. Charles Lowell, Nathaniel I. Bowditch, Esq., T. L. Turner, M.D., Mr. James S. Loring, and William G. Brooks, Esq. From these, and likewise from many others, much kindness has been received in various ways; and, for their approval and commendation of the work from time to time, as portions of it have appeared, the author tenders to them, one and all, his unfeigned gratitude. To one of those above named, however, a more special acknowledgment is due, namely, to Mr. John Dean, by whose quick perceptions and ready memory the author has been much benefited throughout his labors. The valuable aid of the friends referred to, although in almost every instance tendered unsolicited, is not the less appreciated by the author. Nor should the laborious services of Mr. Isaac Child, upon the extensive Index to this work, be passed over without particular acknowledgment.

As the work has appeared in parts, or numbers, it may be of use to specify the time of the appearance of those parts, in the event that questions may arise as to the work in which certain facts first appeared. The following statement is therefore given, which can easily be verified by the books of the publisher: Part I., including pages 1 to 48, was issued Sept. 1st, 1852; pages 49 to 96, Jan. 6th, 1853; 97 to 144, March 22d, 1853; 145 to 192, May 26th, 1853; 193 to 240, July 25th, 1853; 241 to 288, Sept. 23d, 1853; 289 to 336, Dec. 10th, 1853; 337 to 384, March 17th, 1854; 385 to 432, June 13th, 1854; 433 to 480, Sept. 18th, 1854; 481 to 528, Dec. 12th, 1854; 529 to 576, March 13th, 1855; 577 to 624, June 11th, 1855; 625 to 672, Nov. 14th, 1855; 673 to 720, Feb. 11th, 1856; 721 to 768, April 2d, 1856.

Some account of the materials used in compiling the work may be expected; but, as justice cannot be done to that subject within the compass of a Preface, it is thought best to pass it by with only a remark or two. The Town Records, from the time of their commencement in 1634, are the most important, being full and perfect from that date to the present time. To these the author has had free access, granted, in the most obliging manner, by the Mayors of the City for the time being, the City Clerk, and others connected with his office. Beyond the Records in the keeping of the City Clerk, and the author's own collections, very little assistance has been received

besides that for which due acknowledgment is given in the notes to the work.

It will readily be perceived that to give an account of the materials consulted by the author, which have been collected by him through a period of more than a quarter of a century, would be a task not easily performed. As one item, however, his series of pamphlets may be mentioned. These alone number above five thousand, consisting of Town and City Documents, Reports of Societies, Historical Discourses, Hand-Bills, and, in short, everything of a fugitive character, which might in any way illustrate the History of the Town and City. To these, and a large collection of Newspapers, which have been laboriously consulted, the author is much indebted.

Respecting the works of the late Dr. Snow, printed and manuscript, put into the author's hands by the original undertaker, it is proper to remark that, having laid aside the plan of a new edition of that author's History of Boston, those materials have been of but very little service in this work.

The author has been earnestly urged by numerous friends to continue his work to the present time, and his inclination is to do so; but, as yet, no definite arrangement has been made for that purpose. It may be said to be in the hands of the public. An immense outlay has been made to produce the present volume, for which no adequate return has yet been realized. To bring the History down to near the present time, another volume of the same size as the present would be required, the materials for which are abundant.

As the work has been upwards of three years in passing through the press, some of its patrons may have become impatient to see the end of it, and some may have been misinformed as to the time it would take to complete it. It is therefore proper to state that no time for its completion was set, nor could it be with any degree of certainty. This it is thought necessary to bear in mind, because some of the agents engaged in its distribution may have made promises without any authority.

In presenting the History and Antiquities of Boston to the public, the author is far from presuming that it will be found perfect. All he pretends is, that he has endeavored to make it as near so as the nature of the undertaking, and the limits prescribed, allowed. He is well aware that numerous facts exist of much interest, of which notice could not be taken, notwithstanding there may be those who will wonder that so much has been found, and others may be disposed to complain of the unwieldy size of the volume. To them it may be

said that the increase in the size of the Histories has not kept pace with the growth of the City, and that it cannot be doubted, but, by the end of another quarter of a century, one will be required much larger than the present. Most readers of local history of the present age are not satisfied with general statements; they want minute details, those which will bring scenes and events home to their minds, and awaken associations enlivened by their own experience.

As it respects the commission of errors, the author would expressly state that he is well aware that many exist in his work; and that, however many, others may detect, he feels quite sure that no one can discover as many as himself. But, at the same time, he believes his work to be quite as free from them as any other historical work of the same magnitude. There are those who sometimes acquire among the superficial a reputation for knowledge and accuracy by carping at every error, or supposed error, pointed out to them in works of this kind; while the same individual could not produce a single octavo page without such blemishes. Who ever saw a perfect book, — one free from errors? Curious stories are told about immaculate typography and amateur printers. Dr. Cotton Mather, in his Magnalia, has some very good hints for those who would have it understood that errors in a book are unpardonable sins.

It may incur the charge of vanity for an author to append to his name his honors or titles; but if a long period of labor in historical fields can be any excuse, that may be offered in this instance; for it is above thirty years since the writer commenced his historical and antiquarian labors, and he has now reached the fifty-seventh of his age. This may be considered an unnecessary apology for adopting an ancient custom, especially as there are some instances, at the present time, of ostentatious displays of this kind to names in works to which even a claim to editorship may be questionable.

Samuel G. Drake



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Dated December 30, 1850.

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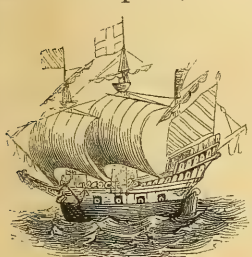


THE HISTORY OF BOSTON.

CHAPTER I.

Boston, the Metropolis of a vast Country. — Events which led to its Settlement. — Cabot's Discoveries. — Influence of Columbus. — Spanish and French Enterprise. — Cortereal. — Aubert. — Verazzani's Discoveries — Their Importance. — Cartier. — DeMont's Discoveries. — Hawkins. — Hoare. — Frobisher.— Hakluyt. — Robert Thorn. — School of Discovery. — Overthrow of the Spanish Armada. — English Energy transferred to America.

The vast tract of country, of which Boston is the most important place or metropolis, if New York be excepted, seems first* to have been known to the French with far greater accuracy than to the people of any other European nation. It is true the Cabots† were before the French in the American seas, in point of time, or the seas of this New World, (for it was before Americus had conferred his name upon the continent), but there is no evidence that they ever landed anywhere on the North American coast, although it is probably true that Sebastian Cabot, in his voyage of 1498, by some means not now known, secured two or three of the natives of the northern parts, supposed to be Newfoundland, whom he conveyed to England.§



SHIP OF 1594.‡

Upon Cabot's discoveries, it may gratify the curious reader to see a

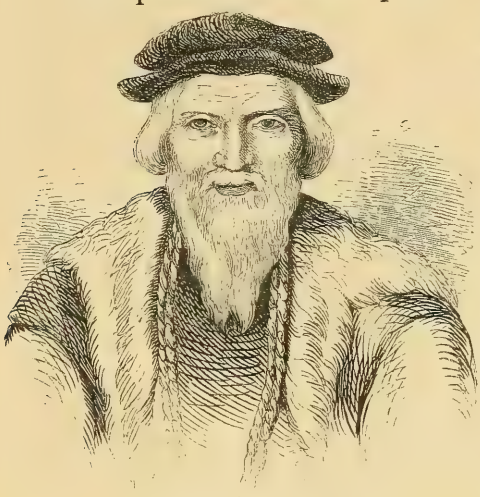
* It requires more credulity, in the opinion of the writer, than a historian should be possessed of, to recount in his text the vague stories of the discoveries and possessions of the Scandinavians or Northmen along the shores of New England. If they deserve notice anywhere, it should not be in a work of higher pretensions than one which might be well entitled "Speculative History."

† In 1497, John Cabot and his son Sebastian, at their own expense, discovered land far to the north. Neither Columbus nor Vespucius had yet seen North America. Thus did this voyage of the Cabots give England its original claim to the New World, such as it was. But it was in a second voyage that Sebastian Cabot ranged this coast from about 57° north, to the latitude of the "Fretum Herculeum," according to Peter Martyr; that is, to about 36° N. lat. See, also, *Stow's* Chronicle, 805, ed. 1600; or p. 480, ed. 1631.

‡ This is a perfectly correct representation of an armed ship of the *armada* age, as published in Blundevile's treatise on "Nauigation," 4to. 1594.

§ Lord Bacon, at the end of his "History of the Reign of Henry the Seventh," devotes two pages to "*The Remarkable Occurrences*" in that reign. "This year, the seventeenth of this king's reign [which chronology is erroneous], Sebastian Cabot brought three Indians into England. They were clothed in beasts' skins, and eat raw flesh. Two of them were seen two years after, dressed like Englishmen, and not to be distinguished from them." See, also, *Purchas*, 738, ed. 1614. *Robert Fabian* in *Hakluyt*, 515, ed. 1589. *Works, Hakluyt Soc.* for 1850, p. 23.

few other particulars in this place; they therefore follow, as Sebastian himself related them:* "When my father," he writes, "departed from Venice many yeeres since to dwell in England, to follow the trade of merchandizes, he tooke me with him to the citie of London, while I was very yong, yet hauing, neuerthelesse, some knowledge of letters, of humanity, and of the sphere.† And when my father died in that time when newes were brought that *Don Christofer Colonus Genuese* [Columbus] had discovered the coasts of India, whereof was great talke in all the court of king Henry the Seventh, who then raigned, insomuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to bee a thing more diuine than humane, to saile by the West into the East where spices growe, by a way that was neuer known before; by this fame and report there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing. And vnderstanding by reason of the Sphere, that if I should saile by way of the Northwest winde, I should by a shorter tract come into India, I thereupon caused the king to be aduertised of my deuise, who immediatly commaunded two Caruels‡ to bee furnished with all things appertaining to the voiage, which was, as farre as I remember, in the yeere 1496, in the begining of Sommer. § I began therefore to saile toward the Northwest, not thinking to find any other land than that of Cathay, and from thence to turne towards India, but after certaine dayes I found that the land ranne towards the North, which was to me a great displeasure. Neuerthelesse, sailing along the coast to see if I could find any gulfe that turned, I found the land still continued to the 56 deg. vnder our pole. And seeing that there the coast turned toward the East, despairing to find the passage, I turned back again, and sailed down by the coast of that land towards the Equinoctiall (ever with intent to find the said passage to India), and came to



SEBASTIAN CABOT.

* To Galeacius Butrigarius, the Pope's Legate in Spain, in *Hakluyt*, 512, ed. 1589. But it must be borne in mind that the passage extracted in the text is somewhat erroneous in several particulars, but not affecting our purpose. See *Biddle's* Mem. of Sebastian Cabot, ch. i. Hakluyt appears to have copied from an exceptional translation of Ramusio.

† Thomas Lanquet, in his Chronicle, says, Sebastian Cabot, son of a Genoese, born in Bristowe, professing knowledge in the circuit of the earth, was sent from Bristowe, to discover strange countryes, and he fyrste founde out Newfoundelande in 1498. — *Barrett's Hist. of Bristol*, 172.

‡ Caravel or Carvel, a kind of light, round ship, with a square poop, rigged and fitted out like a galley, holding about six score or seven score tun: These are accounted the best sailers on the sea, and much used by the Portugueses. — *Phillips and Kersey's World of Words*

§ "In the year 1498, on St. John's day," as it is in a manuscript in my possession, "was Newfoundland found by Bristol men, in a ship called the Matthew." — *Barrett's Hist. of Bristol*, 172.

that part of this firme land which is now called Florida,* where my victuals failing, I departed from thence and returned into England, where I found great tumults among the people, and preparation for warres in Scotland: by reason whereof there was no more consideration had to this voyage."

In another account † it is said that "one Sebastian Cabot with three hundred men directed his course so farre toward the North Pole,‡ that even in the mooneth of July he founde monstrous heapes of Ise, swimming on the Sea, and in a manner continual day lyght." "Thus seying suche heapes of Ise before him, he was enforced to tourne his sayles."

It is even doubtful whether Cabot saw any of the promontories on the coast of what is now New England,§ and all that can be gathered with certainty is that he did sail along the coast to a point not far from Roanoke Inlet, and then bore away for England. Nevertheless he gave the name Baccalaos ‖ to the country along which he sailed, "because that in the seas thereabout hee found so great multitudes of certaine bigge fishes much like vnto Tunnies (which the inhabitants call Baccalaos), that they sometimes stayed his shippes."

From this notice of Cabot, it is evident that the expeditions of Columbus had kindled "a great flame" for discoveries in England, and not only in England but likewise in France, as will appear. Owing, however, to intestine wars and commotions, little was done for many years by any of the English nation; yet the French and Spaniards were not idle in the mean time, and the Portuguese took some part in western discoveries. One, of the nation last named, Gaspar Cortereal, in the year 1500, visited all the coast of Newfoundland, and a considerable part of Labrador. But he** did little more than Cabot, and in a second voyage he was lost, as was his brother in an attempt to find him.

In 1508, Thomas Aubert, of Dieppe, made a voyage to Newfoundland, and was the first European who sailed up the St. Lawrence. On his return to France, he carried thither several of the Indians, which were the first ever seen in that country.

* The limits of Florida must not be considered as they have since existed. The northern boundary was not defined for several ages. It suited the parallel cutting Roanoke Inlet, and the straits of Gibraltar.

† Eden's Decades, chap. vi. Dec. 3, as trans. by Lok. — *Hakluyt*, v. 282–3, ed. 1812.

‡ Vntill he came, the 11 of June, 1498, to the septentrionall latitude of 67½ degrees, and finding the seas still open, said, that he might and would haue gone to Cataia, if the enimity of the master and mariners had not beene. — *Stowe, Chronicle*, 805, ed. 1600, or p. 480, ed. 1631. "There is a strong presumption in favor of Cabot's having actually discovered Hudson's Straits, and gained the 67th degree, through Fox's Channel." — *J. Winter Jones, in Works of Hakluyt Soc.*

§ Ils reconnurent l'isle de Terre-Neuve et une partie du continent voisin. On ajoûte même qu'ils ramenerent à Londres quatre sauvages de ces contrées; mais de bons auteurs ont écrit qu'ils n'avoient débarqué en aucun endroit, ni de l'isle, ni du continent. — *Charlevoix, Histoire Gen. Nouv. France*, i. 4, ed. 6 T. 12°.

‖ The Baccalaos are certaine Iles lying against the influxe of *Canada*, nigh vnto *Corterialis*, and owe their first discovery vnto Sebastian Cabot.— *Heylyn's Mikrokosmos*, 805, ed. 1631.

** A la verité on ne sçauroit nier qu'il n'ait mis pied à terre en plusieurs endroits, et imposé des noms, dont quelques-uns subsistent encore. — *Charlevoix*, i. 4. And the same may be said at *this* day, as it regards the names of places.

The next voyage of importance to that of Cabot was performed by John Verazzani, by birth a Florentine. He was in the employ of Francis I., who fitted him out in 1523, and the following year, as he himself related to his master,* as follows: On "the 17 of Ianuary, by the grace of God, wee departed from the dishabited Rocke by the Isle of Madera, with fiftie men, well prouided for eight moneths: And sayling westwards with a faire Easterly winde, in 25 dayes wee ranne 500 leagues, and the 20 of Februarie we were ouertaken with as sharpe and terrible a tempest as euer any saylers suffered: whereof with y^e^ diuine helpe and mercifull assistance of Almightie God, and the goodnesse of our ship, accompanied with the good hap of her fortunate name,† wee were deliuered, and with a prosperous wind followed our course West and by North, and in other 25 dayes wee made aboue 400 leagues more: where we discouered a newe land, neuer before seen of any man, either ancient or moderne."



JOHN VERAZZANI.

This "newe land" was, very probably, no other than the coast of South Carolina. Verazzani hove his little ship to, had intercourse with the natives, and was delighted with the country; and, after "seeking some convenient harborough whereby to come a lande," and finding none, he lay along the coast southward, "fiftie leagues in vaine." The Dolphin was then headed to the north, and by July he had looked all along upon the coast of New England, and attained the 50th degree of northern latitude. Thence he returned to France.‡

Verazzani probably saw nothing of the land of Massachusetts, except its promontories, and possibly some of the hills of its more interior parts, yet no other European had seen as much, nor had any Englishman then set foot on any part of it.

That part of the continent discovered during this voyage was called *Norumbega*,§ which name has since been applied, sometimes to a cer-

* *Divers Voyages*, in *Works*, *Hakluyt Soc.*, 55-6.

† Which name "happened" to be the Dolphin.

‡ In the fancy of some modern writers, Verazzani is made to look miserly for mineral wealth upon the hill-tops of New Jersey, and to be struck with the conveniences of the harbor of New York; and, although he lay at anchor many days in the harbor of Newport, nothing is said about his having even seen the wonder of the place — the "stone mill."

§ Or Nurumbega, as appears by the following passages, from a piece entitled "*Discorso d'un gran Capitano di Mare Francese*," inserted by Ramusio in his Collection, vol. iii., p. 425, edit. 1565: "Della terra di *Norumbega*." . . . . "La terra è dette da paesani suoi *Nurumbega*," etc. According to Michael Lok's map, and also that of Ortelius and some other geographers, Nurumbega comprised the district between the river and gulf of St. Lawrence and the Hudson River. Cluverius, however, in his *Introductio ad Universam Geographiam*, p. 552, Amstel. 1697, says: "Pars tamen ejus [Nova Francia], *quo ad mare accedit* Norumbega ab urbe cognomine dicta." And this cor-

tain tract of country now included in Maine, and sometimes to another in that region, by which writers about it have confused themselves as well as their readers. Fishermen and traders to those parts, in after years, had probably heard something of a place called Norumbega, and may have confined it to a much smaller tract of country than it originally included, while in reality it embraced all New England.*

It is necessary, in the next place, to notice the three voyages of Cartier, performed between the years 1534 and 1541. From the time of these voyages a constant intercourse appears to have been kept up between Europe and America. James Cartier performed a great service by these voyages. He led the way into the heart of Norumbega, by ascending the St. Lawrence to Hochelaga, to which he gave the name of Montreal. He spent the winter of 1535–6 in Canada, and returned to France in the spring. He returned again, and spent another winter in Canada, in the service of Roberval, who had made vast outlays to establish a colony in New France; but the severe winters and the provoked Indians had probably not a very inconsiderable effect in bringing to an end the hopes and lofty projects of a nobleman of the mild and sunny fields of France.



JAMES CARTIER.

Indeed, proof is abundant that, from near the time of Cabot's voyage, numerous vessels were upon the coast of New England continually. In 1527, an English captain found, in the harbor of St. John, Newfoundland, eleven sail of Normans, one Breton, and two Portuguese, engaged in the fishery.† In 1585, Queen Elizabeth sent some of her ships of

responds with the map in Ramusio (vol. iii., p. 424, edit. 1565), where Nurumbega appears to comprise the southern portion of that district, from Long Island Sound to the Bay of Fundy. — *J. Winter Jones in Works of Hak. Soc.*

* On Dr. Peter Heylyn's exceeding rude map of America, dated 1656, "Norumbega" is the first name north of Cape Cod; but whether intended for the Massachusetts Bay, or the country from this cape to the Bay of Fundy, there is nothing to certify. But in his *Mikrokosmos*, before cited, he describes *Norumbega*, as having "on the north *Nova Francia*, on the south Virginia. . . . The chiefe towne is called *Norumbega*, and is possessed by the French." p. 786. There is a "Mappe of the World" in a copy of Boterus *Relations of the World*, 1630, in my possession, on which "New France" extends north from the parallel of 40°. north latitude, to "New England," which extends south from 50° north; and Virginia extends from 40° north latitude to the peninsula of Florida. In his work, p. 62, he says, "America Septentrionalis contains the Provinces of Estotilandt, Terra de Labrador, Terra de Baccaleos, Nova Francia, Norimbega, Florida, Nova Hispania, and others;" saying nothing of New England in this connection. But near the end of his book, p. 636, he says: "The Northerne parts of Virginia be called New England, better discovered and inhabited. Both Plantations have severall Townes and forts of the English upon them."

† *Hall & Grafton's Chronicle*, as cited by *Purchas*, 747, ed. 1614.

war into the New England seas, to drive away vessels which might be found fishing here, contrary to the rights of her subjects. Many were found, and some were captured and carried prisoners into England. Ten years before this, one hundred and fifty French vessels were at Newfoundland in a season; and, in 1604, a man named Savalet, an old mariner who frequented Canseau, had made no less than forty-two voyages to those parts.*

Had the French maintained their claim to Norumbega, Boston would have been a French, instead of an English town. They, indeed, claimed it. In 1605, De Monts explored all the coast of New England, from its northern limit to Cape Cod. No minute description remains of his explorations, and if he looked as far into Massachusetts Bay as the peninsula of Shawmut, no account of it has been found. Three years afterwards, De Monts sent over three ships with families, and, under the conduct of Champlain, they effected the first permanent settlement in Canada, at a place called Quebec by the Indians; ever since the capital of the province.

From the expeditions of the Cabots, to the actual colonization of Canada and Virginia, the voyages of the English to the northern coasts of America were much less frequent than those of the French. But the nature of their situation would not admit of their remaining idle, without the natural incentive of rivalry. As early as 1530, Capt. William Hawkins,† of Plymouth, father of Sir John Hawkins, sailed to and from Brazil. One bold enterprise stimulated the undertaking of others; and "Master Hore, of London," may have naturally enough said, "If Hawkins can go to Brazill, I can go to Newfoundland." This he undertook to do in 1536; being "a man of goodly stature and of great courage and giuen to the studie of cosmographie."‡ This voyage, so

* There was a port named *Savalet*, for this French captain. De Monts probably gave the name in honor of him; he having fallen in with him in his progress southward. See *Purchas*, 751. Another port was named *Rossignol*, that being the name of an unfortunate captain whose ship was confiscated for trading with the Indians. "A poore preferment," says *Purchas*, "to leave name to a port by his miserie." A harbor and a lake still bear his name; the former on the southern coast of Nova Scotia, to the south-west of L'Heve; the latter in the interior of the same province, little known, except to the Indians seventy years ago.

† He was the first Englishman who made a voyage to Brazil. His wife was Joan, daughter of William Trelawney, Esq., of Cornwall. Their son, the celebrated Sir John Hawkins, had a monument erected to his memory by his widow, Margaret, in St. Dunstan's Church, London, "with a large inscription, giving an account of his life and death." He had lived in the parish connected with this church "at least thirty years."— *Magna Britannia*, iii. 85–6. — A copy of this exceedingly rare and valuable work is in the library of the N. Eng. Hist. Gen. Soc. — Six volumes 4to.

‡ It may not be unworthy of remark, that, among the names of the "divers gentlemen" whom Master Hore "encouraged to accompany him," are recognized several of those which have always been prominent in New England. Although Master Hore's company "were about six score persons, whereof 30 were gentlemen," these only are named by Hakluyt: — "M. Wickes a gentleman of the West country of five hundred markes by the yeere living. Master Tucke a gentleman of Kent. M. Tuckfield, M. Thomas Buts the sonne of Sir William Buts, knight, of Norfolke, which is yet alive, and from whose mouth I wrote most of this relation. Master Hardie, master Biron, master Carter, master Wright, master Rastall Serieant Rastall's brother, master Ridley, and diuers other, which all were in the admirall called the Trinitie, a ship of seuen score tunnes. In the other shippe whose name was the Minion, went a very learned and vertuous gentleman, one master Armigil Wade, father to the worshipfull master William Wade now [1589] clerk of the priue counsell, Master Oliver Dawbeney merchant of London, M. Joy afterward gentleman of the Kings chappell, with diuers others of good account." — *Hakluyt, Voyages*, 517, ed. 1589. — See *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.* iii, 9.

ostentatiously begun, ended in great misery.* Of Master Robert Thorne's voyage to Newfoundland, nine years before, Hakluyt, in his day, could find no one to give him any particular information, though he says, "I have made great inquirie of such as by their yeeres and delight in nauigation might giue me any light." He had learned from "master Hall and master Grafton's" chronicle, that Master Thorne had with him "diuers cunning men;" and though Sir Martin Frobisher had heard the same related, he could not tell Master Hakluyt the name of one of them.

That those men who contributed to bring about the settlement of this country, in a very remarkable degree, or that were the prime movers of the great undertaking, should stand out in bold relief on the pages of history, requires no argument to support it. Among those men, *Martin Frobisher* holds a station in the front rank, but, unfortunately for his fame, his hardships and sufferings to make discoveries in the north were not crowned with any golden returns. Success in those days, as well as in these, it must be allowed, was measured by its immediate pecuniary returns.

The great school of discovery was thus opened in the time of Henry the Eighth; but "the Spaniard," as Spain used then to be termed, was master of the sea. The English were compelled to go stealthily from port to port, and to pay exorbitant tribute for the use of the common highway of nations, and to brook such insults as their haughty lords thought proper to impose.

But the future master of this great school of discovery, he who was to show his countrymen that their career upon the ocean was but begun; that the arrogance of Spain should not drive them from the seas, and that the world could be encompassed by an Englishman as well as by a Spaniard, had just drawn breath, on the banks of the Tavy. A few years more, and he is wending his way into the Indies, there to stem adversity, administered in injuries, by overbearing bigotry. These were days when might triumphed over right; days of reprisal and revenge. Philip of Macedon was not more arrogant than his namesake of Spain. England had dared to assume some importance on the seas; for this assumption, England, heretical England, must be humbled and become a province of Spain. The little island is already parcelled out to greedy followers, and its nobility and gentry are consigned to slavery and the inquisition. To carry this lofty manifesto into effect, an *armada* is prepared to enforce the decree; an armada such as the world never before saw. It approaches the coast of England, as the eagle hovers over its victim, nothing doubting of its prey. All eyes are upon the mariner of Tavistock; so long as he is in the van, every Englishman is invincible — no man doubts the issue — the armada is overthrown, Spain is humbled, nor is ever itself again.

* It is said that this "Master Hore brought home diuers of the chief Indian Kings to England" from Newfoundland. — *A Description of New Albion*, (in Force,) 17 and 18, but this, I think, is very doubtful.

The English energy and confidence, then and there exhibited, could not long be confined within the narrow limits of a small island. Nothing less than a continent was sufficient for its full development, and thus it became transferred to America.

CHAPTER II.

Influence of the Mariner of Tavistock in bringing about the Colonization of New England. — Raleigh. — Gilbert. — Frobisher. — Harcourt. — Smith. — Hakluyt. — His Notice of North America in 1600. — State of Europe then. — Gosnold's Discovery and Attempt to colonize in Massachusetts. — Incidents of the Undertaking. — Pring's Voyage to Cape Cod. — Weymouth on the Coast. — Sir Ferdinando Gorges. — Challounge. — Pring.

It has been conceded on all hands, that, but for the extraordinary energy and perseverance of one man, New England, and indeed all North America, would not have been inhabited by Englishmen for many years, perhaps ages, after the period in which its permanent settlement was made. Few readers will require to be told to whom reference is here made. The navigator of a northern sea would as soon require to be pointed to the polar star, as the reader of the annals of Queen Elizabeth would require to be pointed to the morning star of her reign. This star was not only the wonder of that age, but of all succeeding ages, and will continue to be the admiration of those which are to come.*

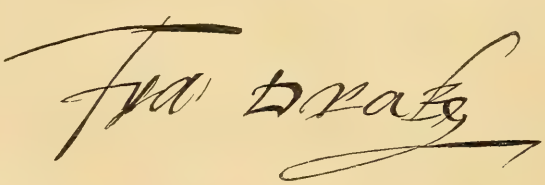
By the wonderful achievements of that great seaman, a spirit of emulation was brought into practical activity, one of the results of which was the settlement of Massachusetts Bay, as it was then and long afterwards called; the capital of which the history is undertaken in these pages.

The inspiration diffused by Drake into his countrymen is distinct

* The achievement which had the greatest influence on the world, in the opening of the maritime age of England, was, doubtless, the circumnavigation of Drake; of whom it was said by a cotemporary, that "he had a head to contrive, a heart to undertake, and a hand to execute, whatever promised glory to himself, or good to his country." He was the first that discovered gold in California, which was in 1579. "There is no part of earth here," says a writer of one account of his voyage, "wherein there is not a reasonable quantitie of gold or silver." — *Hakluyt.*

Sir Francis Drake was born near South Tavistock, in the village of Crowndale, Devonshire, about the year 1537; died on board his own ship near Portobello, in the West Indies, 28 Jan., 1596. Though married, he left no posterity. He sailed on his voyage round the world, 15 Nov., 1577, and returned to the same port whence he sailed, "Plimouth," 26 Sept., 1580. — See *North American Review*, July, 1844, in which I have stated some reasons for placing the date of Drake's birth very different from other writers. The date of his return to England is wrong in almost every account.

For a beautiful tracing of the autograph of Sir Francis Drake, I am indebted to R. H. Major, Esq., of the British Museum; an accurate copy of which is here presented.



and clear, from the moment that a knowledge of his successes was circulated among them. Sir Walter Raleigh was, by the first marriage of his father, connected with the family of Drake, and the connection of the illustrious and lamented Sir Humphrey Gilbert with Sir Walter Raleigh is well known. Gilbert pointed out the way in which Raleigh reaped his chief renown. Capt. Robert Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt, ancestor of the Earls of that name, and Capt. John Smith, succeeded, and added lustre in the field of discovery and enterprise. It was during the reign of Elizabeth, that British perseverance first showed itself able to surmount all obstacles. Men not courtiers came to be patronized by royalty, and merchants and mariners could hold meetings in London and elsewhere, to mature plans for the extension of commerce, without being suspected of plotting against the state.



SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT.
From a copy of a portrait of Sir H. Gilbert, in Holland's Herologia.

Little more can be done, in this review of the progress towards the settlement of New England, than merely to glance at a few of the stirring spirits of that age; among whom must be mentioned Sir Humphrey Gilbert, as deserving more than a passing notice. He was born the same, or if not the same year with Sir Francis Drake, he was not more than two years his junior. They were indeed kindred spirits. Gilbert was wanting in none of that thirst for daring adventure, of which Drake was so large a proprietor; and while his early career was more prosperous, he was less fortunate in the end; having been cut off almost in the beginning of his career. When about thirty-three years of age, he published that masterly "Discourse to prove a passage by the North-west" to the East Indies, which is in a style superior to most writings of that age. In 1578, he obtained a patent of Queen Elizabeth, empowering him to discover and possess any unsettled land in North America. By the energy and perseverance which he employed to improve the advantages under his ample charter, he has been declared, by some writers of respectability, "the real founder of the English possessions in America." He made two voyages to Newfoundland between 1578 and 1583. At St. John he gave leases to certain individuals, under which permanent settlements were eventually there made. On the 9th of September, of the year last named, having embarked for England, his ship foundered, and he was swallowed up in the sea.

When on the "Gold Coast" of North America, Drake did not doubt but that he could sail around the north point of the continent, and return to

England by the North Sea, as the North Atlantic Ocean was then called. Circumstances, however, prevented his satisfying himself of its utter impracticability. But while this bold navigator was upon his voyage of circumnavigation, Capt. Frobisher, by three several voyages to the northern regions of America, settled the question for a time, with regard to a north-west passage — a question, it is a pity it had not remained settled to this day, contrasting the immense sacrifices made from that time to the present, with the small benefits that have accrued to the world.

Frobisher's name became indelibly fixed upon a northern strait of North America, as maps show to the world; but the part he acted with Drake, subsequently to his northern discoveries, is often read, and better known. But to him is undoubtedly due whatever honor attaches to the revival of discoveries in the north. He had the confidence of Drake in a high degree. When Frobisher and his friends proposed a fourth voyage to the north, Drake subscribed seven hundred pounds towards it.

After Drake, no man, perhaps, deserves greater credit for pushing onward the current of discovery and settlement, than the learned and persevering Richard Hakluyt. He came upon the stage just in time to participate in those memorable enterprises which have characterized the age of Elizabeth. His views were by no means confined to discoveries alone; colonization, *western* colonization, was his favorite theme, and he did not fail to enforce it with ability and learning. "Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Robert Cecil, the Lord High-Admiral Howard, Sir Philip Sidney, and Sir Francis Drake, were among those who supported him in his labors by their commendations, and encouraged him to proceed."* These are but few of those that might be named, as his encouragers and co-workers. In a dedication of a book† to the last named gentleman, printed in 1589, now of great rarity, the author says he was moved to dedicate his work to him by his very good and learned friend, Mr. Richard Hakluyt, "a man of incredible devotion towarde yourselfe."

If, indeed, as was doubtless the case, gentlemen encouraged Hakluyt "to proceed," he in his turn encouraged them. Of Raleigh's exertions in settling Virginia, he says to that nobleman, in one of his dedications, "If your enterprise may speedily and effectually be pursued, it will proue farre more beneficiall in diuers respects vnto this our realm, than the world, yea many of the wiser sort, haue hitherto imagined."‡ And, in the year 1600, in a dedication to Sir Robert Cecil, he says, "Your good testimony of myself, together with the infallible signes of your earnest desire to doe mee good, which very lately, when I thought least thereof, break forth into most bountiful and acceptible effects." Although he does not express in what those "bountiful and acceptible effects" consisted, it is probable they were of a pecuniary nature, to

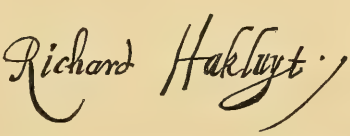
* Works of Hakluyt Society.

† Certain Briefe and Speciall Instructions, &c. By Philip Jones. — *Ibid.*

‡ Voyages, iii. 365.

enable him to complete his great work, the "TRAFIQUES AND DISCOUERIES OF THE ENGLISH NATION."

The dedication to which allusion is here made, is to the "third and last" volume of his voyages, which volume is especially devoted to America; the earliest voyages to it, and discoveries in and about it. This dedication is a learned and excellent introduction to the work, and discovers great intellectual sagacity, and a comprehensiveness of understanding, as well in relation to the future greatness of America, as to the past events of the world. He speaks "of the new and late discouery of America by *Columbus* in 1492, a world, in respect of the huge extension thereof, which to this day [1600] is not thoroughly discouered, although on the hither side it be knowen vnto vs for the space of fiue thousand leagues at the least, and for 3000 more on the backe side in the South Sea. So that it seemeth very fitly to be called A Newe Worlde."* "Howbeit," he adds, "it cannot be denied but that Antiquitie had some kinde of dimme glimse, and vnperfect notice thereof." He then refers to the since noted passages of Plato, Diodorus, and others, of "a mighty and fruitful yland discouered in the Westerne Ocean," "bigger then all Africa and Asia," and then continues, "Of this New World and euery speciall part thereof in this my third volume I have brought to light the best and most perfect relations of such as were chiefe actours in the particular discoueries and searches of the same, giuing vnto euery man his right, and leauing euery one to mainteine his own credit." Hakluyt then closes his dedication with the following modest reference to his own endeavors: "I have portrayed out," he says, "in rude lineaments my Westerne Atlantis or America: assuring you, that if I had been able, I would have limned her and set her out with farre more liuely and exquisite colours: yet, as she is, I humbly desire you to receiue her with your wonted and accustomed fauour at my handes, who alwayes wil remaine most ready and devoted to do your honour any poore seruice that I may. From London the first of September, the yeere of our Lord God 1600.



Preacher."

Notwithstanding the numerous expeditions which had been undertaken to discover the coast of America, there were not, at the termination of one hundred and ten years after Columbus' discovery, any Europeans, saving Spaniards, who had made any effectual settlements

* A new world it may be called, for that the world of new and unknown creatures which the old world neuer heard of, and here only are produced: the conceit whereof moued Mercator to thinke (which I dare not thinke with him) that the great deluge in the dayes of Noah, drowned not these parts, because men had not heere inhabited, who with a deluge of sinne might procure that deluge of waters.—*Purchas, His Pilgrimage*, 717, ed. 1614.

† Copied from a fac-simile in "Hakluyt's Diuers Voyages," published by the Hakluyt Society.

in the New World.* But in 1598, France was quieted by the edict of Nantz, in April, and by a peace in May, with Philip, King of Spain and Portugal. Just before Queen Elizabeth died, the disturbances in Ireland were quelled, and she expired in peace [on the 24th of March, 1603] with all the princes and states in Europe, except Philip, King of Spain, and Archduke Albert, sovereign of the Spanish Netherlands. And King James, as King of Scotland, being then in amity with all the world, upon his accession to the English throne, the two British crowns became united in him; and, as King of England, he soon left the Dutch to defend themselves. The French and English, being thus at liberty, began to look more seriously now than ever to the new found world. The English at this time extended Virginia from Florida to the bay of Fundy, and divided it into North and South Virginia.†

One year wanting two days before Queen Elizabeth died, Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold sailed from Falmouth for the north part of Virginia, in a small bark called the Concord; and although he had but *thirty-two* people‡ in his company, with this small number it was intended to begin a settlement in what is now New England.

Capt. Gosnold was the first Englishman who had come in a direct course to this part of the continent, and the first of any nation who had reached any part of what is now the United States, except Verazzani; the circumstance of the shortness of the voyage is found in the fact that he had in his company several of the old mariners who had been with Sir Francis Drake, who, in his voyage of 1585, made the very short passage of forty days from Virginia to England. Gosnold would have made a still shorter passage, but for the weakness of his ship, which would not bear much sail.

After a voyage of *forty-nine* days, namely, on the 14th of May, "early in the morning," Capt. Gosnold made the land of New England, in latitude 43°.§ From a rocky point not far off, "came towards us," says

* "I cannot find," says the accurate Prince, "at this point of time [1602], so much as one European family in all the vast extent of coast from Florida to Greenland."

† Prince, *Chronological History of New England.*

‡ Whereof eight mariners and sailors, twelve purposing upon the discovery to return with the ship for England, the rest remain there for population.—*Gosnold's Voyage.*

§ This being about the latitude of the Isle of Shoals, or Boon Island, it was hereabouts, doubtless, he made his land-fall; though Oldmixon, and others following him probably, suppose "Savage Rock" to have been that part of the northern shore of Massachusetts Bay about Nahant. The facts to be found in the *reliable* accounts are too vaguely stated, perhaps, to warrant a positive decision as to the precise locality of "Savage Rock." Opinions, under such circumstances, are generally worth but little in the judgment of the writer; however, on a careful comparison of the several accounts, he feels warranted in the conclusion that it was in the vicinity of Great Boar's Head, in Hampton, that Gosnold first anchored on the coast; true, indeed, as he says, "in no good harbor, and withal, doubting the weather." Hence "Savage Rock" is not difficultly located from this vicinity, if they were at anchor near Great Boar's Head, "an out point of woody ground, the trees thereof very high and straight, and from the rock east north-east." There is to this day a point of rocks near Cape Ann known as the "Salvages." If Gosnold made the coast in latitude 43° — as it seems both from Archer and Brereton that he did, "about 6 o'clock in the morning" — and did not come to anchor till noon of the same day, but was, meantime, "standing fair along by the shore," he must, in all probability, have been in the vicinity of the noted headland before mentioned. "The shore full of white sand, but very stony or rocky," noted by Brereton, as seen soon after land was discovered, corresponds exactly to Rye beach and neighborhood. Archer is not so

the writer of the account, "a Biscay shallop with sail and oars, having eight persons in it, whom we supposed at first to be Christians distressed." But they proved to be Indians, were friendly, and desired the English to tarry with them. The principal man among them was dressed chiefly in European clothes; as waistcoat, breeches, stockings, shoes, hat and band, &c. One or two of the others had "a few things made by some Christians." It was soon discovered that they had not been strangers to Europeans. "With a piece of chalk they described the coast thereabouts, and could name Placentia of the Newfoundland, and spoke divers Christian words." In short, the voyagers confess that these Indians understood what was said to them much better than they understood the Indians. How they came by their European bark and other things, does not appear, but probably by way of trade; for they showed no signs of fear, as they probably would have done, had they been guilty of mischief. "They came boldly aboard us," says the account, "being all naked, saving about their shoulders certain loose deer skins, and near their wastes seal skins tied fast like to Irish dimmie trowsers. They are in color swart, their hair long, uptied with a knot in the part of behind the head." The place whence these Indians came Gosnold named Savage Rock.

Leaving that part of the coast, Capt. Gosnold stood to the southward, and the next day, May 15th, came to anchor near a cape, where, taking "great store of cod-fish," he called it Cape Cod; a name which it bears to this day, and which it is ever likely to bear.* Here the captain, with Mr. Brereton and three others, landed the same day, and saw a young Indian with copper ornaments in his ears, and a bow and arrows in his hands, who came to him, and seemed desirous to serve him in some way. The day following he coasted the land southerly, about twelve leagues, and, discovering a point of land, named it Point Care.

clear in his account of this part of the voyage as Brereton, though he is more minute. He says nothing of anchoring; but, after the interview with the Indians, he says, "Finding ourselves short of our purposed place, we set sail westward." And, "About sixteen leagues southwest from thence [the place of the interview with the savages], we perceived in that course two small islands, the one lying eastward from Savage Rock, the other to the southward of it. The coast we left was full of goodly woods, fair plains, with little green round hills. The fifteenth day we had again sight of land," &c., which proved to be Cape Cod. And Brereton says, "about twelve of the clock the same day," after "standing fair along by the shore," "we came to an anchor, where eight Indians in a Basque Shallop with mast and sail, an iron grapple, and kettle of copper, came boldly aboard us," &c. "About three of the clock the same day in the afternoon we weighed, and standing southerly off into the sea the rest of that day and the night following, with a fresh gale of wind, in the morning we found ourselves embayed with a mighty headland," which was Cape Cod. With these facts before us, where are we to locate "Salvage Rock"? From the account of Capt. Pring's voyage, Dr. Belknap "supposes it to be situated on the northern shore of Massachusetts Bay." This is a very indefinite location. The truth seems to be, that the Doctor found himself as much perplexed about the situation of "Salvage Rock" as his predecessors, and therefore avoided committing himself further in regard to it. The chief difficulty seems to be the uncertainty, as to the lands noticed in the accounts, whether they were all islands that were supposed such. If they were mistaken in this respect, and doubtless they were, the *Salvage Rock* could not have been to the west of the *Salvages* of the present day; nor can I with much confidence fix upon that point as the real one in question.

* It is probably a mere fancy by which some writers would lead their readers to suppose that Gosnold saw the coast of Massachusetts in the vicinity of Cohasset.

The same now called Sandy Point, the extreme southern land in Barnstable county. Here they saw Indians, all having pipes and tobacco, copper ornaments, &c. "One of them had his face painted over, and head stuck with feathers in manner of a turkey-cock's train." "These Indians call gold *wassador*, which argueth there is thereof in the country."*

On the 21st of May, Gosnold, having overshot the Vineyard Sound in the night, discovered an island which he named Martha's Vineyard. Not that since so called, but a small one, known as Nomansland, lying very near the southern extremity of the large island, since called Martha's Vineyard. Gosnold took the great island to be a part of the main land, but when it† was found to be an island, the name conferred on its appendage very naturally extended to it, and the name Martha's Vineyard‡ has continued since the time of this discoverer.

From Nomansland, Gosnold sailed round into the Vineyard Sound. The striking cliffs now known as Gay Head he called Dover Cliff, probably after those of the same name in his native island. On the 24th of May he discovered the island which the Indians called *Poocutohhunkunnoh* (Kutahunk or Cuttyhunk). "This island Captain Gosnold called Elizabeth's isle, where," says the writer of his voyage, "we determined our abode." Here it was that the first attempt was made to settle a colony in New England.

After spending three weeks in preparing a store-house, when they came to divide their provision, there was not enough to victual the ship, and to subsist the planters till the ship's return. Some jealousy also arose about the intentions of those who were going back; and after five days' consultation they determined to give up their design of planting, and return to England. They accordingly sailed on their homeward voyage, June 18th, and on July 23d arrived at Exmouth in the southwest of England,§ the same year in which it was begun,‖ with a profitable cargo of sassafras.

The next year, 1603, Massachusetts Bay is again visited. Some

* See a very judicious note on Gosnold's voyage, by Mr. Harris, in his most valuable edition of Hubbard's History of New England, 677–8.

† Yet a writer in the *North American Review*, vol. v., p. 315, marvels that such a change could possibly happen! The same writer is shocked beyond description at the name "*Cuttyhunk*," and fled with horror from the "*Sow and Pigs*," and from "*Quawck Island*," as though he had been an M. D.!

‡ That the name *Martha's* Vineyard should be *Martin's* Vineyard, as some have supposed, is to be utterly rejected. The name was conferred by Gosnold himself, a year before the voyage of Pring. Why the name *Martha* was chosen, is not known. It may have been the name of his own lady, or some other valued female acquaintance.

§ Belknap, *American Biography*, i. 238.

‖ Of those who were in this voyage, we find the names of these only:

Bartholomew Gosnold, *Captain, who died in Virginia in* 1607.

Bartholomew Gilbert, *second officer.*

William Strete, *master. Same after mentioned?*

John Brereton, *gentleman, journalist of the voyage.*

Gabriel Archer, *gentleman, journalist*, went to Virginia afterwards. Archer's Hope, near Williamsburg, bears his name.

James Rosier, *gentleman, journalist.*

William Strete, *who discovered the sassafras.*

Robert Salterne, *who was also with Pring the next year, and was afterwards a clergyman.* [A Biddeford name. See Watkins, Hist. Bid.]

John Angel.

—— Tucker, and perhaps —— Hill.

Bristol merchants, by leave of Sir Walter Raleigh, sent over Captain Martin Pring, in a small ship of fifty tons, called the Speedwell, thirty men and boys ;* and William Browne in a bark of twenty-six tons, called the Discoverer, thirteen men and one boy. These sailed from Milford Haven on the 10th of April, and arrived on the coast near the same point Captain Gosnold did the preceding year. He is supposed to have entered the mouth of the Penobscot, and to have examined the coast pretty minutely all the way thence to Martha's Vineyard. There is no certainty that he went very deep into Massachusetts Bay, though he looked up the Pascataqua several leagues, and, after doubling Cape Ann, probably laid his course south-westerly until he found that the land to the southward did not consist of islands through which he could proceed on his course.

Pring was in pursuit of a cargo of sassafras, and he soon found his way around the cape, and commenced loading his ship with it from the Vineyard islands and main land in the vicinity. By the 9th of August he was ready to return to England, and on that day he sailed from the American coast, and on the 2d of October following he arrived in King-Road, not far below Bristol, whence he had sailed. Here he found Captain Browne, who had arrived about a fortnight before him. Thus was a successful voyage performed into the New England seas in the space of six months' time.

Captain George Weymouth's voyage falls next under consideration. It is memorable on account of discoveries in Maine, and for having more deeply interested Sir Ferdinando Gorges in colonizing New England ; a gentleman of great energy, perseverance and liberality.† Gorges himself, however, lays great stress upon certain circumstances or accidents connected with the voyage of Weymouth, who, he says, "falling short of his course, happened into a river on the coast of America, called Pemmaquid, from whence he brought five of the natives. And it so pleased our great God, that Weymouth, on his return to England, came into the harbor of Plymouth, where I then commanded." Three of which natives, namely, *Manida*, *Skettwarroes* and *Tasquantum*, "I seized upon. They were all of one nation, but of several parts, and several families. This accident must be acknowledged the means, under God, of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations."

The undertaking of Sir Ferdinando Gorges ended in misfortune and losses, — a striking instance that the best prospects are sometimes strangely blighted, and the best directed endeavors at once baffled and ruined, — for no one had entered upon the design of settling New England under better auspices than had that gentleman. He made it his business to understand those Indians which "accident" had placed in

* It may be well to note that Capt. Browne's mate was named Samuel Kirkland. — See Belknap, *Amer. Biog.* ii. 124.

† Weymouth was sent by the Earl of Southampton and the Lord Arundel of Warder. He was by them directed to treat the Indians kindly, for their object was to make settlements in the country, and so propagate the Gospel among them.—*Stith's Hist. Virginia*, Book i., pp. 33–4. — And *Vindication of the Bishop of Landaff's Sermon by A Lover of Truth and Decency*, pp 12, 13, ed. 8vo. New York, 1768.

his hands. He says he found them "of the better sort, and far from the rudeness of our common people;" that he learned from them "what goodly rivers, stately islands and safe harbors those parts abounded with. And having kept them full three years, I made them able to set me down what great rivers ran up into the land, what men of note were seated on them, what power they were of," &c.*

1606. Thus having gained a knowledge of the country, Sir Ferdinando fitted out a ship for New England, in which "Mr. Henry Challounge" went as master. With him also went two of the before-mentioned Indians to serve him in the business of the voyage. But Captain Challounge, owing to adverse winds, was not able to hold a northern course, and finally made the West Indies. Thence sailing northward, was captured by a Spanish fleet, and carried into Spain; "where," says Sir Ferdinando, "their ship and goods were confiscate, themselves made prisoners, the voyage overthrown, and both my natives lost."

In the mean time, it appears that Chief Justice Popham had agreed to send a vessel to the aid of Challounge, which was accordingly done before his miscarriage was known in England; "for," says Gorges, "it pleased the Lord Chief Justice, according to his promise, to despatch Captain Pring from Bristol, with hope to have found Capt. Challounge; but not hearing by any means what became of him, after he [Pring] had made a perfect discovery of all those rivers and harbors [of New England], brings with him the most exact discovery of that coast that ever came to my hands since; and indeed he was the best able to perform it of any I met withal to this present."†

The success of the English, thus far, to establish themselves in New England, might well have caused them to doubt of the justice of their proceedings, in the sight of Providence. And whether the Frenchmen, as was the custom of the age, taunted them for having brought their misfortunes upon themselves by their attempts to rob them of their justly acquired territories, is not known; but certain it is, if discovery and actual possession gave a valid claim to territory, it is plain that the French had a better right to New England than ever England had before the settlement of Plymouth. They had been permanently seated in Canada sixteen years when Plymouth was settled, and twenty-six before Boston existed.‡ But a nation torn within by its own hands, is sure to be robbed without by the hands of others. France could not protect itself at home, and England, under the pretence — and it was nothing better — that it was theirs by prior discovery, contrary to the usual course of things, made that good by perseverance which was and ever will be bad in the abstract.

* The veteran sea-captain, JOHN FOSTER WILLIAMS, gave it as his opinion that the first land seen by Waymouth, was that point of the island of Nantucket called Sankoty Head, and that he then bore off north-westerly, and next fell in with the island of Monhegan; which was May 17th, 1605. He saw Nantucket three days before. —*Belknap, Amer. Biog.*, ii. 146.

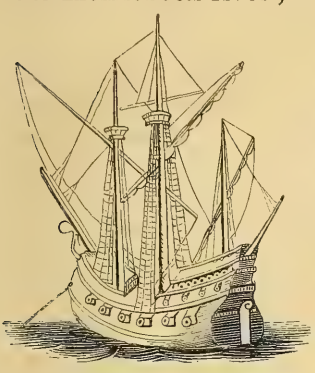
† What became of this map by Pring, is unknown. If lost, it is to be lamented, as it might settle many questions now remaining in doubt and obscurity.

‡ There are a multitude of authorities for this statement in Chalmer's *Annals*, 82, and Holmes' *American Annals*, vol. I., *sub anno* 1604.

CHAPTER III.

Colony of Sagadahock. — Spread of England's Commerce. — Explorations. — Harlow's Voyage to New England. — Indians carried off. — Cape Cod. — Capt. John Smith's Voyage to New England. — His "Trials." — Surveys the Coast of New England. — Hunt's Conduct in Relation to the Indians. — Smith names the country New England. — Why so named. — First Maps of New England. — Massachusetts the Paradise of New England. — Smith's Intercourse with the Indians. — Hobson sent to New England for Gold. — Sir Ferdinando Gorges. — Harlow's Return to England. — Smith's continued Efforts for New England. — Captain Dermer. — Smith falls into the hands of Pirates. — His Literary Labors. — His Death and Inscription to his Memory.

In 1607 was the abortive attempt to settle a colony at the mouth of the Kennebeck river;* and the same year a more successful one was made in Virginia. There the enterprising Gosnold, who had explored Cape Cod, and the resolute John Smith, effected a permanent settlement. But the original Jamestown at this day presents ruins of not much greater interest than are to be found on Cuttyhunk or Stage Island.†



SHIP OF THE TIMES OF THE PILGRIMS.‡

1609. By this time England began to send out its rays of commerce to almost every part of the world. Such an interest was there in a trade to the East Indies, that James chartered a number of merchants with exclusive privileges to trade there forever. Other companies soon spread their charters over all the new

* The colony consisted of one hundred men. The winter was extreme; their Governor, Popham, died; Captain Rawley Gilbert, their Admiral, hearing that his brother, Sir John Gilbert, had died, to whom he was heir, and "finding nothing but extreme extremities, they all returned for England."— *Smith*, ii. 174.

† It has been supposed by some that the Gospel was first proclaimed in North America by those who settled at the mouth of the Kennebeck, in 1607. This is a mistake. Frobisher and his companions proclaimed it in Newfoundland in 1577, and two years after, Richard Hakluyt proclaimed the fact to the world. An Episcopalian friend is desirous that it should be understood at this day, that the Church of England service was performed in New England prior to any religious services by dissenters. The following extract from a journal of the voyage of the Sagadahock Colony will show the grounds of his claim: "August 17th, 1607, Capt. Popham, in his pynnace, with thirty persons, and Capt. Gilbert in his long-boat, with eighteen persons more, went early in the morning from their shipp into the river Sachadehoc, to view the river, and to search where they might find a fitt place for their plantation. They sayled up into the river neere forty leagues, and found yt to be a very gallant river, very deepe, and seldome lesse water than three fathomes when they found sest; whereupon they returned homewards. August 19th, they all went ashoare, and there made choise of a place for their plantacion, at the mouth or entry of the ryver on the west side (for the river bendeth yt self towards the nor-east, and by east), being almost an island, of a good bignes, being in a province called by the Indians Sabino, so called of a Sagamo or chief commaunder under the graund bassaba. As they were ashoare, three canoas full of Indians came to them, but would not come neere, but rowed away up the river.

"August 19th, they all went ashoare, here they had made choise of their plantation and where they had a sermon delivered unto them by their preacher; and after the sermon, the president's commission was read, with the lawes to be observed and kept."—*Strachey, Hakluyt Soc.* 171–2.

Since the preceding part of this note was written, some portion of Strachey's work has been reprinted in this city. But for its very recent issue in London, it would strongly commend itself to the notice of the *Maine* Historical Society.

‡ In a corner of Captain Smith's map of New England is found a view of a ship, from which the above is copied.

countries to which England could lay claim. Meanwhile, the Dutch were not idle. Henry Hudson, in their service, explored the river which bears his name for near one hundred and fifty miles from its mouth; and four years later, New York began to be settled.

Thus, by degrees, New England, though not yet so named, is coasted wherever the sea gives access to its boundaries, and every succeeding voyage to its shores adds to the common stock of knowledge, soon sufficient to enable the persecuted fathers to take and keep possession of its soil. But other attempts are yet required.

1611. Notwithstanding the failure of the Sagadahock colony, Henry, Earl of Southampton, and some merchants of the Isle of Wight, fitted out Captain Edward Harlow, "to discouer an island supposed about Cape Cod," but their charts so "much abused them"* that they fell in with "Monahigan." And afterwards sailing southwards "they found onely Cape Cod no Isle but the maine. There they detained three Saluages aboord them, called *Pechmo*, *Monopet* and *Pekenimne*, but *Pechmo* leapt ouerboard and got away; and not long after, with his consorts, cut their boat from their sterne, got her on shore, and so filled her with sand, and guarded her with bowes and arrowes, the English lost her. Not far from thence they had three men sorely wounded with arrowes. Anchoring at the ile of Nohono, the Saluages in their canowes assaulted the ship till the English guns made them retire; yet here they tooke *Sakaweston*, that after he had liued many yeers in England went a souldier to the warres of Bohemia. At Capawe they tooke *Coneconam* and *Epenow*, but the people at Agawom vsed them kindly; so with five saluages they returned for England."†

From these accounts, by eye-witnesses as it were, no one will be at a loss to account for whatever hostilities succeeding voyagers met with from the Indians of Massachusetts.

1614. Captain John Smith had acquired a world-wide reputation by his extraordinary adventures, which had now been of "near twice nine years" continuance. The four quarters of the world had witnessed his enterprise and bravery, and now New England is to become the theatre of his operations. A new era begins in its annals with the voyage of Smith to its shores in 1614; nor must he be overlooked among its fathers; especially as he prosecuted the planting "of New England," as he himself says, "for the increase of God's Church, conuerting Saluages and enlarging the king's dominions."

* After mentioning that "Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold" had printed an account of "Elizabeth Iles," and that "Capt. Waymouth" had printed another of Pemmaquid, he says, "From all these diligent obseruers, posterity may be bettered by the fruits of their labours. But for diuers others that long before and since haue ranged those parts, within a kenning sometimes of the shore, some touching in one place, some in another, I must entreat them pardon me for omitting them; or if I offend in saying that their true descriptions are concealed, or neuer well obserued, or died with the authors: so that the coast is yet still but euen as a coast vnknowne and vndiscouered. I have had six or seauen seuerall plots of these northern parts, so vnlike each to other, and most so differing from any true proportion, or resemblance of the countrey, as they did mee no more good, than so much waste paper, though they cost me more." —*Smith, Descrip. of N. E.*, 1616, p. 3.

† *Smith*, ii. 174.

But, with all these honest intentions, Smith had his calumniators — those who affected to sneer at his undertakings. Of them, however, he had vastly the advantage. He could not only hold them up to contempt in his own day, but there they remain posted for all time to come in his imperishable "Historie, writ with his owne hand." His traducers, he says, were such persons as could not "say their compasse, yet would tell what all England is by seeing but Milford Haven."*



JOHN SMITH.

What time Smith sailed on his first voyage to New England, he does not state in his first publication of the account of it, but he says, "In the moneth of April,† 1614, at the charge of Capt. Marmaduke Roydon, Capt. George Langam, Mr. John Buley and William Skelton, with two ships from London,‡ I chanced to arriue at Monahigan an Ile of America, in 43.4 of northerly latitude: our plot was there to take whales, for which we had one Samuel Crampton and diuers others expert in that faculty, and also to make trialls of a mine of gold and copper; if those failed, fish and furs were then our refuge to make ourselues sauers howsoeuer: we found this whale fishing a costly conclusion. We saw many, and spent much time in chasing them, but could not kill any; they being a kinde of *Iubartes*, and not the whale that yeelds fins and oile as we expected; for our gold it was rather the Masters deuice to get a voyage that proiected it than any knowledge he had at all of any such matter." Hence much time was lost before it was found that fishing and trading with the Indians were all they had to depend upon "to saue themselues howsoeuer." Therefore, "whilest the sailers fished," continues Smith, "myselfe with eight others, ranging the coast in a small boat, wee got for trifles neere eleuen thousand beuer skinnes, one hundred martins, as many otters, and the most of them within the distance of twenty leagues. We ranged the coast both east and west much furder, but eastward our commodities were not esteemed. They were so neare the French who affords them better: and right against vs

* One of Captain Smith's friends, in some poetry "to his honest Captaine," says:

"I neuer knew a Warryer: and I make the bolder,
For, many a *Captaine* now, was neuer a Souldier.
Some such may swell at this: but (to their praise)
When they haue don like thee, my Muse shall raise
Their due deserts to Worthies yet to come,
To liue like thine (admir'd) till day of Doome."
N. England's Trials.

† In his "*New England's Trials*" he says, "I went frō the Downes the third of March, and arriued in New England the last of April," and that he sailed for England the 18th of July. In the same work he says he had "but fortie-five men and boyes;" that they "built seuen boates, and that 37 did fish." Dr. Belknap loses his usual care when he says Smith sailed from London in April. — *Amer. Biog.*, i. 305.

‡ In another part of his "Generall Historie," he says, "I was sent forth at the sole charge of foure merchants of London." — ii. 262.

in the Main was a ship of Sir Francis Popham,* that had there much acquaintance, hauing many yeares vsed onely that porte, that the most parte there was had by him. And forty leagues westwards† were two French ships, that had made there a great voyage by trade, during the time wee tryed those conclusions, not knowing the coast, nor Saluages habitation : with these furres, the traine oile and cor-fish, I returned for England in the barke, where, within six moneths after our departure from the Downes, wee safely arriued backe. The best of this fish was sold for 5li. the hundred, the rest by ill vsage betwixt three pounds and 50 shillings. The other ship stayed to fit herself for Spaine, with the dry fish, which was sold at Maligo at forty rials the quintall, each hundred weighing two quintalls and a half. But one Thomas Hunt, the master of this ship (when I was gone) thinking to preuent that intent I had to make there a plantation, thereby to keepe this abounding countrey still in obscurity, that onely he and some few merchants more might enjoy wholly the benefit of the trade, and profit of this countrey, betraied foure and twenty of these poore Saluages aboord his ship, and most dishonestly and inhumanly for their kinde vsage of me and all our men, carried them with him to Maligo, and there for a little priuate gaine sold those silly Saluages for rials of eight ; but this ville act kept him euer after from any more imploiment to those parts."‡

During this voyage of Smith, he made a map or chart of the coast, and named it New England,§ which is, as he expresses it, "that part of America in the Ocean Sea, opposite to Noua Albion in the South Sea, discouered by the most memorable Sir Francis Drake in his voyage about the world, in regard whereof this is stiled New England."

On the map of which Smith speaks, the names strike the eye of a modern observer with a kind of surprise, like that which might arise

*This ship of Popham was probably commanded by "one Capt. Williams," who, before 1611, had "diuers times" been there to trade and fish, "but for any plantations there was no more speeches."— *Smith, Gen. Hist.*, ii. 174–5.

†Thus it appears that the French were before the English in and about Cape Cod. They probably came in to the present harbor of Boston, and the harbors in Narraganset Bay. This may account for the French coin which have been digged up in the vicinity of Boston, as will be hereafter mentioned.

‡If these were really the sentiments of Captain Smith, and I have no doubt they were at the time he published them, he saw cause to change his mind subsequently, in some degree, probably, as will be seen. Dr. I. Mather is particular relative to the kidnapping of the Indians, of which unfortunate affair he thus speaks in his *Relation :* "Hunt enticed Indians into his vessel, they in confidence of his honesty went aboard, to the number of twenty from Patuxet, since called Plimouth, and seven from Nosset (now known by the name of Estam), these did this Hunt seize upon, stowed them under hatches, and carried them to the Straights of Gibraltar, and there did he sell as many as he could of them for 20*l.* a man, until it was known whence they came; for then the Friars in those parts took away the rest of them, that so they might nurture them in the popish religion."

§"Now because at this time I had taken a draught of the coast, and called it New England, yet so long he [Hunt] and his consorts drowned that name with the eccho of *Cannaday*, and some other ships from other parts also, that upon this good returne the next yeear went thither, that at last I presented this discourse with the map, to our most gracious Prince Charles, humbly intreating his Highnesse hee would please to change their barbarous names for such English [names] as posteritie might say that Prince Charles was their God-father." Thus Smith's Indian names on his original map of New England, became, on that we now have, Boston, Cambridge, Plymouth, Bristow, &c. — See *Smith, Gen. Hist.*, ii. 176.

were he to look on a mirror expecting to see his own face, which, though indeed he might see, he could scarcely recognize it for the numerous deformities upon it. Yet it is no small matter of wonder that Smith has presented an outline of the coast of New England so near the actual outline as it unquestionably is. This map, though drawn six years before Plymouth was settled, and sixteen before Boston, yet both these names find a place on it. So do Cambridge, Sandwich, Dartmouth, Ipswich, Hull, Barnstable, Bristow, London, Oxford and many others. But Boston has given place to Portsmouth, Hull to Hampton, Cambridge is far "down east," Smith's Iles, Cape Anna, Talbott's Bay are conspicuous. The last named bay is Boston harbor, but instead of Boston at the head of it, we read Bristow; yet Cape Anna is Cape Ann to this day, and Tragabigzanda, the name of Smith's deliverer from slavery, is handed down only in the history of his eventful life.

This same map bears in one corner a portrait of "Captayne Iohn Smith," in the background of which the observer discovers that the author was but thirty-five years of age when he surveyed the coast of New England.

In his account accompanying his map, Capt. Smith describes the whole coast of New England, from Penobscot to Cape Cod, with much accuracy, which he says he has done "as he gathered from the niggardly relations in a broken language to his vnderstanding, during the time he ranged those countries." The "Tarrantines" lived on the east side of the Penobscot, with whom "the French lived as one family," and they were "mortall enemies" to the Indians on the west side. As he proceeds westward he mentions nearly all of the important bays and headlands, chiefly known by the same names at this day; speaks of numerous cornfields and great numbers of people. The great bay he speaks of, north of Cape Ann, is doubtless that extending thence to the Isle of Shoals. Flowing into that bay, "the Indians reported a great river [the Merrimac] and at least thirtie habitations."

"And then the countrie of the Massachusits which is the paradise of all those parts:* for here are many Iles all planted with corne; groues, mulberries, saluage gardens, and good harbors: the coast is for the most part, high clayie sandie cliffs. The Sea Coast as you passe, shewes you all along large corne fields, and great troupes of well proportioned people: but the French hauing remained heere neere sixe weekes, left nothing for vs to take occasion to examine the inhabitants relations, viz. if there be neere three thousand people vpon these Iles; and that the riuer doth pearce many daies iourneies the intralles of that countrey.† We found the people in those parts verie kinde; but in

* "I would rather liue here then any where, and if it did not maintaine it selfe, were we but once indifferently well fitted, let vs starue." — *Smith's Gen. Hist.*, ii. 184.

† The historian of Dorchester entirely mistakes Capt. Smith, and seriously misleads his readers, by his quotations from him. Compare the extract in the *Hist. of Dorchester*, p. 3, with a full extract from Smith, "namely, if there be neer three thousand people vpon these Iles; and that the Riuer doth pearce manie daies iourneies," *as he understood by the information he got from the Indians.*— See *Smith* (in Force) p. 15.

their furie no lesse valiant. For, vpon a quarrell wee had with one of them, hee onely with three others crossed the harbor of Quonahassit [Cohasset] to certaine rocks whereby wee must passe, and there let flie their arrowes for our shot, till we were out of danger."*

From Cohasset rocks Smith proceeded along the west side of the bay to Accomack, since Plymouth, "an excellent good harbor, good land, and no want of anything but industrious people." All along experiencing much kindness from the Indians, until, "vpon a small occasion," a quarrel arose, and a fight was unavoidable. A smart skirmish ensued, in which were engaged "fortie or fiftie" on the part of the Indians, and notwithstanding "some were hurt and some were slaine, yet within an houre after they became friends."†

The place where this fight happened was probably about Nauset, though Smith mentions no place except Chawum between Accomack and Cape Cod; which cape, he very aptly observes, is "in the forme of a sickle," on which "doth inhabit the people of Pawmet."

It is evident, on a comparison of Smith's accounts, that he did not proceed up the bay as far as the peninsula of Shawmut, and possibly he stretched across from about Cape Ann to Cohasset, and may not have landed higher up the bay than that place. Had he done so he would hardly have failed to obtain the names of such places as he visited.‡ That he had no accurate knowledge of the bottom of *this* bay, is not only evident from his map, but from his own faithful account in 1631, in which he says he mistook "the fairest reach in this bay for a river, whereupon I called it Charles River,§ after the name of our royall King Charles; but they [later observers] find that faire channell to divide itselfe into so many faire branches as make forty or fifty pleasant islands within that excellent Bay." ‖

While Smith was on his voyage, or, as he expresses it, a little before his return from his service on the coast of New England, "some of Plimouth, and diuers gentlemen of the West Countrey [Plymouth and places adjacent] in search for a mine of gold about an Ile called Capawuck, southwards from the Shoales of Cape Iames" [Cape Cod] had set

* "Yet one of them [Indians] was slaine and another shot through his thigh." — *Smith's Gen. Hist.*, ii. 194.

† In his "*Generall Historie*," Smith gives a few additional facts. He says the Indians continued the fight "till they had spent all their arrowes, and then we tooke six or seuen of their canowes, which towards the euening they ransomed for beuer skinnes." — *Ib.*

‡ It is true he speaks of "the Iles of Mattahunts on the west side of this Bay," but not as having seen them; nor is it unlikely that by Mattahunts we are to understand Mattapan; a neck of land like Shawmut, easily mistaken for an island, especially as he had his knowledge of them from the Indians.

§ From Smith's later "Relations," it is evident he had no information about the stream *since* called Charles River. He undoubtedly supposed what is now Boston harbor was the mouth of a great river, such as appears on his map. Writing in 1629, he speaks of "the Bay of Massachusetts, otherwise called Charles River." And it is evident that Capt. Squeb supposed he was *in* Charles River when he turned our fathers ashore at Nantasket, as we shall see hereafter.

‖ Here again the Historian of Dorchester has made Capt. Smith say in *his* work, what Smith does not say in his own. Compare *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 3, with the extract in the text, and the charge of "a direct contradiction" in Smith, will at once disappear. That the quarrel between Smith's men and the Indians "hastened his explorations," does not appear certain, for they were "friends again in an hour."

out an expedition to secure it. They had been assured of its existence by Epanow, the Indian before mentioned, hoping thereby to regain his liberty, "being a man of so great a stature, he was shewed vp and downe London for money as a wonder;" who, continues Smith, "it seemes of no lesse courage and authoritie, than of wit, strength, and proportion; for so well he had contriued his businesse, as many reported, he intended to haue surprised the ship; but seeing it could not be effected to his liking, before them all he leaped ouer boord.* Many shot they made at him, thinking they had slaine him, but so resolute they were to recouer his body, the master of the ship was wounded, and many of his company; and thus they lost him; and, not knowing more what to do, returned againe to England with nothing, which so had discouraged all the West Countrey men, they neither regarded much their promises, and as little either me or the countrey, till they saw the London ships gone and me in Plimouth according to my promise, as hereafter shall be related."

This was one of Sir Ferdinando Gorges' unfortunate enterprises. Instead of attributing the misfortune attending it, however, to the real cause, he attributed it to the enmity of the Indians to the English, growing out of Capt. Hunt's conduct already spoken of. But he strongly intimates that Hunt did not steal his Indians near enough to Cape Cod for it to cause the effect which Gorges imagines. He kidnapped them, according to Smith himself, far down the eastern coast, and Capt. Hobson's repulse and Epanow's adventure were at Martha's Vineyard. Moreover, the affair at the Vineyard must have happened very near the time Hunt left the coast.†

1614. August. Capt. Smith's return to England was before the return of Capt. Hobson, and hence Hobson's bad success was not then known. Reporting "himself to his honourable friende Sir Ferdinando Gorge, and some others," who, hearing from Smith himself the success which had attended him in his voyage, they encouraged him to continue in the service, and, as an inducement, offered him the government of New England for life. Accordingly, he engaged to go again for that country, and Sir Ferdinando and his associates agreed to get ready "four good ships to his hand" for the voyage, by the next Christmas; and Smith's affairs calling him to London, he proceeded thither, accompanied by Michael Cooper, the master of the bark in which Smith had returned from New England, and some others who had been in the same service.

Meantime, the ship, which had been sent to Cape Cod, under Capt. Harlow, with the crafty Epanow, returned to Plymouth, bringing the news of the complete overthrow of the voyage, by the loss of the Indian pilot, who had engaged to conduct his credulous followers to a gold

* In my Book of the Indians, this affair, in which Epanow acted so conspicuous a part, is more fully treated of. See that work, Book II, ch. i. pp. 72–4, ed. 1851.

† Compare *New England's Trials*, 16, *Gorges' America*, and *Smith's Gen. Hist.* ii. 206.

mine. The news of this disaster very much damped the ardor for a new undertaking, and several, who had been very forward to fit out the necessary ships, thought their money of more consequence than their honor, and so would not fulfil their engagements; while Gorges' ideas of integrity would not allow him thus to shuffle off obligations. Yet the affairs were much retarded by those desertions from the company.

Things lying in this state of inactivity with the Plymouth company, the London, or South Virginia Company, always jealous of its rival at Plymouth, stimulated as well by an emulation as by the accounts of the country by those who had been with Capt. Smith, without loss of time got ready four ships for New England, and offered the command of them to Smith. Under other circumstances, Smith would willingly have embarked with the London Company, but he was under obligation to that of Plymouth, and would not act dishonorably in the matter; but he used his utmost endeavors to try to bring the two companies to act in concert in the work, and to unite their interests for the common good of colonizing New England; but *that* he says "was most impossible," and "might well have been a worke for Hercules." And, having spent some time in trying to bring this about, and the day having arrived for 1615. Jan. him to be at Plymouth, "with two hundred pound in cash for adventure, and six gentlemen well furnished," he left London for that place. On arriving there, instead of the four ships that were promised, he "found no such matter." He found, too, that the great forwardness among many, when he left for London, to adventure in the enterprise was "extinct and qualified." "Notwithstanding," to use Smith's own forcible language, "at last, with a labyrinth of trouble," and the chief burthen upon himself and a few of his particular friends, "Sir Ferdinando George and Master Doctor Sutliffe, Deane of Exeter," a ship of 200 tons and another of 50 were got ready, and Smith departed again 1615. March. for New England. But, he says, "ere I had sayled 120 leagues, she brake all her masts; pumping each watch five or 6000 strokes; onely her spret saile remayned to spoone before the wind, till we had reaccommodated a iury mast to returne for Plimouth, or founder in the Seas." The smaller ship, commanded by Capt. Thomas Dermer, pursued her voyage unharmed, and returned to England in about five months, making a prosperous voyage.

As soon as he could refit, Smith put to sea again, but in a short time was taken by pirates, who stripped him of everything, kept him above three months, and from whom he escaped in the most surprising manner; "far beyond all men's reason, or his expectation."

1617. If Smith had been a fatalist, he would hardly have undertaken, or attempted to have undertaken, another voyage to New England, as he did within two years from his disasters by storms and pirates. But he was one of those whom no success could enervate, or misfortunes discourage, and we find him in the spring of this year ready, with three good ships at Plymouth, and men to begin a settlement in the country. His ill-fortune, however, still pursued him,— he was wind-bound three

months, and the voyage was finally abandoned. In consequence of his losses and disappointments about New England, it is said that the Plymouth Company conferred upon him the title of Admiral of that country, which office he was to hold for life.

It was thus by a combination of untoward events, which continued for several years, that Captain John Smith was prevented from being the founder of the first colony in New England, and probably the first settler of the peninsula of Boston—for his skilful and practised eye could not have overlooked the most favorable point, and the best harbor in the country, that he had himself denominated the "Paradise of New England."*

How Captain Smith employed his time, after the year 1617 to the time of his death in 1631, there is nothing to show farther than is contained in his General History; from which it is certain he had the great object of settling New England continually in view. The publication of his works gave him some employment. After he had published his "Generall Historie," Sir Robert Cotton and others of his friends found that he "had likewise undergone diuers other as hard hazards in the other parts of the world," requested him "to fix the whole course of his passages in a booke," which he consented to do, because his "fatal tragedies had been acted on the stage, and his relations had been racked at the pleasure" of those who had exhibited no disposition to do him justice, and, to "prevent future misprisons."

There is ample evidence that Capt. John Smith was a generous friend, as well as a magnanimous foe. In writing of his own achievements, he never forgets those of others who shared his fortunes. "To speak only of myself," he says, "were intolerable ingratitude. I cannot make a monument for myself, and leave them unburied in the fields, whose lives begot me the title of a soldier; for as they were companions with me in my dangers, so shall they be partakers with me in this tomb." At the same time he thus remembers his enemies, whose "envie hath taxed me to haue writ too much and done too little; but that such should know how little I esteem them, I haue writ this."

Speaking in the third person, Smith himself says "he was born in Willoughby in Lincolnshire,"† and from a reference already made to one

* The names of the men that were to have begun the settlement of Massachusetts, in 1615, are given by Captain Smith, as follows:—

John Smith, *Admirall [or Governor]*	Gent.
Thomas Dermer	
Edward Stallings [Rocroft?]	
Daniel Cage	
Francis Abbot	
John Gosling	Soldiers.
Thomas Digbie	
Daniel Baker	
Adam Smith	
William Ingram	
Robert Miter	
Dauid Cooper	
Iohn Patridge	
and two boies	
Thomas Watson	Were to learn to be Sailers.
Walter Chisell	
Iohn Hall.	

† There can be no mistake in what Smith himself says, so far as his own knowledge went, but it is remarkable that Fuller, who wrote during and after the civil wars, should say in his *Worthies*, that "Captain Smith was born in the county of Cheshire." This statement of Fuller is the more remarkable, because he unqualifiedly says, "Master Arthur Smith, Capt. Smith's kinsman, and my old school-master did inform me so." But, although Fuller makes up quite a story about Smith, he does not appear to have been very well informed with regard to him, and was unfavorably impressed towards him, as is very evident from the sneer-

of his maps, it appears that he was born in 1579; and from a monument to his memory in St. Sepulcher's Church, London, erected by "a friend," it also appears that he "departed this Life, the 21st of June, 1631." And, as the inscription upon his monument has never, to the writer's knowledge, been published in the land for which he made so many sacrifices, it is here presented.*

"To the living Memory of his deceased Friend, Capt. John Smith, some time Governour of Virginia and Admiral of New England, who departed this life the 21st of June, 1631.

Accordiamus, vincere est vivere.

Here lies one conquer'd, that hath conquer'd Kings,
Subdu'd large territories, and done things
Which to the world impossible would seem,
But that the truth is held in more esteem.
Shall I report his former service, done
In honour of his God and Christendom?
How that he did divide from Pagans Three,
Their heads and lives, types of his chivalry:
For which great service in that climate done,
Brave Sigismundus (King of Hungarion)
Did give him as a Coat of Armes to wear,
Those conquered heades, got by his sword and spear.
Or shall I tell of his adventures since,
Done in Virginia, that large continent?
How that he subdu'd Kings unto his yoke,
And made those heathen flee, as wind doth smoke·
And made their land, being of so large a station,
A habitation for our christian nation;
Where God is glorified, their wants supply'd,
Which for necessaries might have dy'd.
But what avails his conquest now he lies
Interr'd in earth, a prey to wormes and flyes?
O may his soul in sweet Elysium sleepe,
Untill the keeper, that all souls doth keep,
Return to judgement; and that after thence,
With Angels he may have his recompence."

New England as well as Old owes the memory of Captain Smith a debt which remains unpaid. Let Virginia look to this. Her sons will by and by be inquired of for the monument which they have *not* erected to his memory. So far as books go, we have several that aim at doing him justice,† and paintings and prints are not wanting, but an EDITED edition of his works?—there is *none!*

ing manner in which he speaks of "his ranting Epitaph," as he calls it, and which he did not think worth his while to copy. That Fuller knew little about Smith, is evident from another fact, namely, his supposing him to have died in old age; whereas he was but 52 when he died. This is only one instance among many, wherein this curious author bends his facts to his conceits. He wished to say, that "Smith had a prince's mind imprisoned in a poor man's purse," which obliged him to add, as he fancied, that "he led his old age in London." Now Smith's *Life and Travels* were common when Fuller wrote, and he has no excuse for errors about his birthplace, or age when he died.

* Maitland's *Hist. Lond.*, p. 1180. 2 v. fol. 1760.

† The neat and classic memoir of Captain Smith, by Mr. G. S. HILLARD, is creditable to its gifted author. It forms half of the second volume of Mr. Spark's American Biography; but loses its importance by sleeping in the same bed with Wilson, the Ornithologist.—Mr. W. G. SIMMS has given the most elaborate life of Smith that has yet appeared, but he does not pretend to give us anything new. It would be difficult, indeed, to find anything in the same compass, superior to the memoir of Smith, by Dr. Belknap; although it is to be regretted that the part in which we are most interested is so slightly touched upon by his able hand.

Among the last labors of Capt. Smith, was probably that of superintending the printing of his "Advertisements for the inexperienced Planters of New England, or any where."* It bears the date 1631 on its title-page, and this was the year "he finished his earthly career," as has just been stated.

About one year before the settlement of Boston by the company which came with Winthrop, Captain Smith recapitulated the affairs of New England, as follows: "When I went first to the north part of Virginia, [in 1614] where the Westerly Colony [of 1607] had been planted, which had dissolved itself within a yeare, there was not one Christian in all the land. The country was then reputed by the Westerlings [the Plymouth Company] a most rockie, barren, desolate desart; but the good return I brought from thence, with the maps and relations I made of the country, which I made so manifest, some of them did beleeve me, and they were well embraced, both by the Londoners, and Westerlings, for whom I had promised to undertake it, thinking to have joyned them all together. Betwixt them there long was much contention. The Londoners indeed went bravely forward, but in three or four yeares, I and my friends consumed many hundred pounds amongst the Plimothians, who only fed me but with delayes, promises and excuses, but no performance of any thing to any purpose. In the interim, many particular ships went thither, and finding my relations true, and that I had not taken that I brought home from the French men, as had beene reported; yet further for my paines to discredit me, and my calling it New England, they obscured it and shadowed it with the title of *Cannada*, till, at my humble suit, King Charles confirmed it, with my map and booke, by the title of New England. The gaine thence returning did make the fame thereof so increase, that thirty, forty, or fiftie saile, went yearely only to trade and fish; but nothing would bee done for a plantation, till about some hundred of your Brownests of England, Amsterdam, and Leyden, went to New Plimouth, whose humorous ignorances, caused them for more than a yeare, to endure a wonderful deale of misery, with an infinite patience; but those in time doing well, divers others have in small handfulls undertaken to goe there, to be severall Lords and Kings of themselves, but most vanished to nothing; notwithstanding, the fishing ships made such good returnes, at last it was ingrossed by twenty Pattenties, that divided my map into twenty parts, and cast lots for their shares; but money not comming in as they expected, procured a proclamation none should goe thither without their licences to fish; but for every thirty tunnes of shipping, to pay them five pounds. Besides, upon great penalties, neither to trade with the natives, cut downe wood for their stages, without giving satisfaction, though all the country is nothing but wood, and none to make vse of it

* This, a tract of some fifty pages, contains history, natural as well as civil, and a variety of things, told in an agreeable way. It would be very justly entitled the "Book of Good Counsel," as well to undertakers as actual settlers.

with many such other pretences, for to make this country plant itself, by its owne wealth. Hereupon most men grew so discontented, that few or none would goe; so that the Pattenties, who never one of them had beene there, seeing those proiects would not prevaile, have since not hindered any to goe that would; so that, within these few last yeares, more have gone hither than ever."

Thus, how affairs stood, and what influences operated, alternately, to retard and forward settlements in New England, is quaintly, yet graphically set forth, by one who lived in and among those affairs and influences; one who not only knew them better than any other, but also was, unquestionably, better than any other qualified to describe them. And, to do him full justice, his own summary recapitulation of his various fortunes shall here follow, which would suffer in any hands but his. Although delivered in the third person it is nevertheless his:— "Now to conclude," he writes, "the travels and adventures of Captain Smith, how first he planted Virginia, and was set ashore with about an hundred men in the wild woods; how he was taken prisoner by the Savages, and by the King of Pamaunke tied to a tree to be shot to death; led up and down their country to be shown for a wonder; fatted as he thought for a sacrifice to their idoll, before whom they conjured him three dayes, with strange dances and invocations, then brought him before their Emperor Powhatan, that commanded him to be slaine; how his daughter Pocahontas saved his life, returned him to Iames towne; releeved him and his famished company, which was but eight and thirty to possess those large dominions; how he discovered all the severall nations, upon the rivers falling into the Bay of Chisapeacke; stung neere to death with a most poysoned taile of a fish called Sting-ray; how Powhatann out of his Country tooke the Kings of Pamaunke and Paspahegh prisoners, forced thirty nine of those kings to pay him contribution; subjected all the Savages: how he was blowne up with gunpowder, and returned for England to be cured.

"Also how he brought our new *England* to the subjection of the Kingdom of great Britaine; his fights with the Pirats, left alone amongst a many French men of Warre, and his ship ran from him; his sea fights for the French against the Spaniards; their bad vsage of him; how in France in a little boat he escaped them; was adrift all such a stormy night at sea by himselfe, when thirteene French Ships were split, or driven on shore by the Ile of Ree; the generall and most of his men drowned, when God brought him safe on shore to all their admirations that escaped." *

In another place he says, "I have spent five years, and more than five hundred pounds, in the service of Virginia and New England, and in neither of them have I one foot of land, nor the very house I built, nor the ground I digged with my own hands; but I see those countries shared before me by those who know them only by my descriptions."

* Gen. Hist. Virginia, ii. 278–9.

Such are some of the last words of an honest man, one who shrunk from no responsibilities, and never knew fear; and, that friends and foes should never differ about what he said and did, he closes by saying "Iohn Smith writ this with his own hand."

CHAPTER IV.

Promoters of New England Settlements. — People early in the Country. — Voyages of Whitbourn. — Hawkins. — French Ship surprised by the Indians. — Indians' Idea of an Almighty Power. — Destroyed by Disease. — Does not affect the English. — Sir F. Gorges. — Sir John Popham. — Origin of the two Virginia Companies. — Discoveries Continued. — Baffin. — Death of Capt. Dermer. — Capt. Rocroft. — Charter of 1620. — A Settler in Massachusetts Bay. — Settlement of Plymouth.

THE distinguished men by whose exertions New England had become known, and by whom the minds of the people of England had been prepared for the great work of colonization, had chiefly gone, one by one, to the tomb, before any great settlements had been effected in the country. Gilbert had perished in the commencement of his career; Frobisher was sacrificed to the blindness of those who controlled his services; Drake had fallen a victim to disease, while in the service of his Queen; envy and misfortune had paralyzed the exertions of Raleigh, who finally perished upon the scaffold. Smith alone saw the sailing of a frail bark or two, with a feeble colony, for New England; he did, indeed, live to witness a second governor sent to the country of which he had held the office of Admiral. But death closed his eyes before he had very sanguine hopes that these efforts would found a permanent state.

It is true that there were a few fishermen scattered along the coast, who had made lodgments in several places upon islands and on the main land, even from the time of Smith's last voyage; but who they were, and where they were located, remain in as much uncertainty as the times of their arrival.*

1615. Voyages had become so frequent to the northern parts of America, that it was no uncommon thing for people to remain in the country, while the ships which brought them returned home and came again to the same coasts.

Captain Richard Whitbourn, who made a voyage to Newfoundland this year, says there were then on that coast two hundred and fifty sail of English ships fishing, "greate and smale." He had a commission equal to that of governor, held courts and corrected abuses. In a short time he heard complaints from one hundred and seventy captains or masters of vessels, of injuries committed on their trade; nor is this to be wondered at, when the fact is considered that there were congregated

* "The time when these things happened is controverted more than the things themselves."— *Mather's Relation*, 3.

in those seas "many thousands of English, French, Portuguese, and others."

Sir Richard Hawkins, not long returned out of a Spanish captivity, son of the famous Sir John Hawkins,* was the same year on the coast of New England. He was president of the Plymouth Company, and came over, on its behalf, to search into the nature of the commodities of the country, but finding a war raging among the Indians along the coast, he judged it unsafe to proceed in his intentions. Sailing hence to Virginia, he returned to England, without accomplishing anything of moment. At least, there appears no record of anything.

1616. In the autumn or fall of this year, a French ship was cast away somewhere about Cape Cod,† but the crew succeeded in getting safely to land. They were soon discovered and made prisoners by the Indians, who treated them in their barbarous manner, and eventually killed them all but three or four. These they sent as curiosities about the country, from one sachem to another. Three years after, when Captain Dermer was at Cape Cod, he found two of them alive, whom he redeemed out of their hands. As an illustration of the ignorance and simplicity of the Indians, it may be interesting to observe here their ideas of an Almighty power. When the English inquired of them why they killed the Frenchmen, they justified the murders on some frivolous grounds; and when they were told that the great God was angry with them for their crimes, and would destroy them, they looked significantly on one another, and inquired, sneeringly, of the English, if they thought *they* were such fools as to believe that God could kill *all* the Indians?

It was very remarkable in this case, and the superstitions of the Indians might well lead them to the belief that the white people truly held their fate in their hands: for, immediately after they had so cruelly treated the poor French mariners, a deadly sickness broke out among them, which, as old authors say, caused them "to die in heaps

* I have no authority expressly to this point. Southey, the biographer of Sir Richard, makes no mention that he ever made a voyage to New England, nor does the editor of his "Observations," republished by the Hakluyt Society, make any mention of it, or that he was a member of the first parliament of James I. He was a most expert seaman; had served under Drake, and was in "the iourney against the Spanish Armada." His "Observations," a copy of the original edition of which is before me, shows him to have been a man of learning, and possessing an excellent judgment and great experience in sea affairs; yet he was superstitious, as probably were nearly all seamen of that age. He believed there was much of good or evil to happen to a ship, as she had a fortunate or an unfortunate name. When he had caused an elegant ship "to be builded in the river Thames," for his famous South Sea expedition, he requested his mother-in-law to give it a name, "who, knowing what voyage was pretended to be vndertaken, named her the Repentance." This so disturbed Sir Richard that he would not undertake the voyage in her. Among a great many examples of ships with unfortunate names, he mentions the "Thunderbold of London, who in one voyage had her mast cleft with a thunderbolt."

† Captain Dermer's letter in Purchas. Dermer says the ship was cast away to the "North East of Cape Cod," which is not a very definite locality. Morton, of Ma-re-Mount, learned some important facts from the Indians relative to the French ship, which, he says, was riding at anchor, by an island, afterwards called Peddock's Island, that the Indians set upon the men at disadvantage, killed many of them, and burnt the ship. The captives they distributed among five sachems of different territories. This, so far as it goes, agrees with what Dr. I. Mather relates of the same tragedy. His informant gave him the name of the Frenchman living in his time, which was *Monsieur Finch*.

all up and down the country, insomuch that the living were in no wise able to bury the dead." What kind of malady this was that swept them off in so fearful a manner was never known. Some have conjectured it was the plague, and others that it was the small-pox ;* but whatever it was, its ravages were very extensive, even several hundred miles along the coast; probably from the Penobscot to Narraganset Bay ; but neither the Penobscots nor Narragansets were affected by it.

The disease that carried off the Indians with such fatality seems not to have affected the English at all ; for Sir Ferdinando Gorges says his agent, " Mr. Richard Vines, and the rest with him," were with the Indians in the time they were " dying mightily," and though they lived and slept in the same cabins with the Indians, yet " not one of them ever felt their heads to ache."

To Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who persevered so long and so unsuccessfully to colonize New England, something more than has yet been said in these pages is justly due. He was an intimate friend of Raleigh, and appears to be first noticed by the English historian in connection with the unfortunate Earl of Essex, with whose conspiracy against Queen Elizabeth he had knowledge, which he communicated to Raleigh. In the latter wars with Spain he served with reputation in the navy, and when James I. came to the throne, and peace was settled, Gorges was appointed governor of Plymouth, in Devonshire. He was of an ancient family, the ancestor of which, as appears by the roll of Battle Abbey, and other ancient records, came over with William the Conqueror.

Gorges' interest in New England grew out of the mere accident as he relates, of some Indians happening to be brought into Plymouth, whom he took into his keeping. Having at much pains learnt from them something of the nature of their country, his imagination was soon brilliant with golden harvests to be reaped in the western continent, and, naturally endowed with a sanguine temperament, he pursued his favorite project with a constancy that deserved a better issue than that which happened to him.

The high moral standing of Sir Ferdinando Gorges is apparent from the fact of his interesting with him, in his plan of discovery, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Sir John Popham ;† by whose acquaintance with many noblemen and gentlemen, an interest at Court secured a patent for making settlements in America.

1606. April 10. The patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert became void soon after his death,‡ and that to Raleigh, by his attainder, had reverted to

* Major Gookin says, in his valuable *Historical Collections*, that " some old Indians, who were then youths, told him, that the bodies of the sick were all over exceeding yillow before they died, which they described by pointing to a yellow garment."

† In the 30th of Elizabeth (1588) Judge Popham did, " by the Queen's command, inquire how many men, women and children there were in London, and then found that there were to be numbered about 900,000 persons." —*Proceedings in the House of Commons*, 1621, i. 317. — Chief Justice Popham died on the 10th of June, 1607, at the age of 76 years. — *Harris in Hubbard's* New England, 682.

‡ The terms of his patent were, to secure his discoveries to himself forever, provided he made settlements in the countries discovered, within six years from the date of its execution.

the crown, after the melancholy death of the former; therefore, there remained no obstacle in the way for whatever grants of territory the king thought proper to make in North America. The first step was to divide the whole country into two parts, because, "being found, upon experience and tryall," too large for one government. This division being made, the respective territories were named North and South Virginia. The latter of these districts was entrusted to the care of certain noblemen and gentlemen, who styled themselves the London Company, because the principal part of them resided in and about London; the other was under the direction of gentlemen of Bristol, Exeter and Plymouth. These were called the Plymouth Company, because they held their meetings at Plymouth. Of this company, Gorges and Popham were probably the most enterprising members. The proceedings immediately succeeding the procurement of these charters, so far as deemed necessary to a full understanding of their bearing upon this history, have been detailed in the preceding chapter.

Notwithstanding the disasters which attended the Sagadehock colony, Gorges continued his efforts to further his great object of colonizing New England almost alone; and although ships in considerable numbers were sent by the London and Plymouth Companies every season, fishing and trade with the Indians seem to have been the only thing aimed at in their voyages.

1616. Voyages of discovery, too, were kept up in the North American seas. Sir Thomas Smith, an eminent writer on government, and then Governor of the Virginia Company, with other gentlemen in England, sent out a ship for the fifth time, named the Discovery, to search for a passage to China by the north-west. William Baffin went as pilot, and the captain's name was Robert Bylot. The Discovery sailed from Gravesend on the twenty-sixth of March. In this voyage Horn Sound, Cape Dudley Digges, Wolstonholme's Sound, Sir Thomas Smith's Sound, Whale Sound, Hakluyt's Island, Cary's Islands, Alderman Jones Sound, and James Lancaster's Sound, were discovered and named. Thus far Captain Bylot seems to have had no ambition to leave his own name on any of the frozen sounds or gulfs in the north. But when the discoverers entered a great sea or bay in 78°, it was named for the pilot, Baffin's Bay, who was, very likely, the most important man in the voyage. He is said to have been a great mathematician, and the first of navigators who made use of lunar observations for finding longitudes at sea. He was afterwards an engineer in the war against the Portuguese, and was slain at the siege of Ormuz, "as he was trying his mathematicall projects and conclusions," before the year 1629.*

1619. Captain Thomas Dermer, one of the noblest of the seamen of these times,† of whom but slight notice has been taken, was engaged to

* Hutton, who professes to notice mathematicians in his *Mathematical and Philosophical Dictionary*, has not the name of Baffin. Perhaps the omission may be accounted for from the fact that the geographers of Hutton's time, who were thought the wisest of their craft, decided that no such bay as that laid down by Baffin existed! It is somewhere stated that Baffin was killed in 1622.

† Ledyard's *Naval History*, ii. 457.

carry out Sir Ferdinando Gorges' views in his endeavors to colonize New England ; but his death prevented all hopes Gorges may have entertained from his tried services and abilities. He was killed by the Indians in the midst of his enterprises in this manner : Being at Newfoundland, Gorges prevailed upon the Company to send Captain Edward Rocroft* to New England, with orders to remain there until Captain Dermer should join him. On his arrival Rocroft fell in with a French ship, which he took as a lawful prize, and sailed with it to South Virginia. Here, in some private quarrel, Rocroft was killed and his bark sunk.† Meantime, Captain Dermer returned to England, and having conferred with Gorges and the Company, sailed for New England in a ship which Gorges owned, expecting to meet Rocroft there ; but, disappointed in this, he ranged the coast and examined it minutely ; and, transmitting the result of his observations to Gorges, sailed for South Virginia.‡ Here learning the fate of Rocroft, and, disappointed of supplies, he returned again to the coast of New England. At the island Capawock he met with that subtle Indian, Epenow, who escaped so adroitly from Captain Hobson five years before. Suspecting some sinister design upon himself, knowing that Captain Dermer was in the employ of his old master, Epenow conspired with the other Indians to kill him and those with him, or to make prisoners of them. Watching his opportunity, therefore, when they came on shore to trade, not expecting mischief, he laid violent hands upon Captain Dermer, and his accomplices at the same moment fell furiously upon his men ; and thus was a very desperate fight begun. The English fought only to escape, while the Indians fought for victory as well as for revenge of former injuries. But Captain Dermer, "being a braue, stout gentleman," de-

* This person went under the name of Stallings at some period, and some of the old writers say Rocroft alias Stallings. *Prince* is copious in regard to him and his misfortunes. His name is written Ricroft, Rocraft, &c.

†Rocroft was expected to winter on the coast, but his men mutinied, and some of them left him and went to Monhiggon, where they spent the winter. Monhiggon then or soon after belonged to Mr. Abraham Jennings, of Plymouth, in Devonshire. These men were afterwards taken off by Capt. Dermer. Sawguatock, the place where Rocroft captured the Frenchman, is said by Willis to be Saco. See *Prince*, 145-6, 151 ; *I. Mather*, Rel. 3-4 ; *Willis*, Portland, 9. — *Report on Lincoln Difficulties*, 40.

The facts collected by *Dr. I. Mather* concerning Rocroft are thought worthy a place in this note. He says Rocroft's men "conspired against him, intending his death, who having secret intelligence of this plot against his life, held his peace untill the day was come wherein the intended mischief was to be put in execution, then unexpectedly apprehending the conspirators ; he was loth to put any to death, though they were worthy of it. Therefore he resolued to leave them in the wilderness, not knowing but they might haply discover something which might be advantageous. Accordingly he furnished them with ammunition and some victuals for their present subsistence, and turned them ashore to Sacodehock, himself with the rest of his company departing to Virginia. These English mutineers got over to the island Monhegin, three leagues from the main, where they kept themselves safe from the fury of exasperated Indians, until the next spring. One only having died of sickness."

‡ In his way thither he sailed through the whole length of Long Island Sound, discovering the island to be such ; the Indian name of which is rather uncertain ; while it may be said to be quite certain that it had many names ; as *Matouake* — the residence of the Manito ; *Sawanhake* — wampum island, or the place or residence of the wampum-makers, &c. These appellations were probably conferred by other than resident Indians. Montaukett and Montauk are probably variations of the original name of the east end of the island, whatever the primary name may have been.

fended himself with his sword, and finally escaped though not without fourteen wounds. All his men who accompanied him on shore were killed, excepting him who kept the boat, and this man, in the last extremity, saved the life of his captain, who, as he regained his boat, was about to receive a fatal blow, which was warded off in a moment of the utmost peril.

No mention is made of the number of men killed in the onslaught upon Captain Dermer, but it put an end to his labors in New England; for, going to Virginia as soon as he was able, to have his wounds cured, he died there not long after his arrival. He was a very worthy man, whose loss so discouraged Gorges, "that it made him," he says, "almost resolue neuer to intermeddle again in any of these courses." But soon after this a prospect began to open from a quarter where it was least expected. When Virginia was divided into two colonies, there was this singular proviso, that neither company should settle within one hundred miles of the other.

By the regulations of the South Virginia Company, none were allowed to trade or plant within their limits not authorized by them, while the North Virginia Company had no such restrictions. More effectually to place themselves on equal footing with their rival neighbors, some of the principal members of the North Virginia Company, among whom Gorges was the most active, solicited of the king a new Charter, which after some delay they obtained; and this is the famous charter of the third of November, 1620, which became the foundation of all the grants which were subsequently made of territory in New England. Its extent was from the 40th to the 48th degree of northern latitude, and between these parallels from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.*

* The charter recites, that, "henceforth, there shall be forever hereafter, in our towne of Plymouth, in the county of Devon, one body politique and corporate, which shall have perpetuall succession, which shall be called and knowne by the name the Councill established at Plymouth, which shall have perpetuall succession, which shall consist of the number of fortie persons and no more, and shall be called and knowne by the name, the Councill established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England in America," &c.

The names of the forty gentlemen composing the council, here follow, as they are printed in Hazard's *State Papers:*

Lodowick, Duke of Lenox, *Lord Steward of the King's household.*
George, Lord Marquess Buckingham, *High Admiral of England.*
James Marquess Hamilton,
William, Earl of Pembrocke, *Lord Chamberlaine of the King's household.*
Thomas, Earl of Arundel,
William, Earl of Bath,
Henry, Earl of Southampton,
William, Earl of Salisbury,
Robert, Earl of Warwick,
John Viscount Haddington,
Edward Lord Zouch, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.
Edmond Lord Sheffield,
Edward Lord Gorges,
Sir Edward Seymour,* Knight and Bart.
Sir Robert Manselle,
Sir Edward Zouch, Knight Marshall,
Sir Dudley Diggs,*
Sir Thomas Roe,*
Sir Ferdinando Gorges,
Sir Francis Popham,*
Sir John Brook,*
Sir Thomas Gates,
Sir Richard Hawkins,
Sir Richard Edgcombe,
Sir Allen Apsley,
Sir Warwick Hale,
Sir Richard Catchmay,
Sir John Bourchier,
Sir Nathaniel Rich,
Sir Edward Giles,*
Sir Giles Mompesson,*
Sir Thomas Wroth, Knights,
Matthew Suttcliffe, Dean of Exeter,
Robert Heath, Esq., Recorder of London,*
Henry Bourchier, Esq.,
John Drake, Esq.,*
Rawleigh Gilbert, Esq.,
George Chudley, Esq.,
Thomas Hamon, Esq.,
John Argall, Esq.

Those names to which a star is added were members of James I.'s third Parliament, of

1619. While these apparently more important public affairs were in progress, an individual, David Thompson by name, explores the islands in Boston harbor with a view of making some one of them his permanent residence. Having fixed upon one — that which to this day bears his name — he with the Indian Sachem of Agawam, as a witness, takes formal possession of it. The name of the Indian chief is believed to be Masconomo, who says this island was made choice of by Mr. Thompson, "because of the smale river, and then no Indians vpon it, or any wigwam or planting, nor hath been by any Endeans inhabited or clajmed since, but two years agoe, Harmlen, an old Indian of Dorchester."* Thompson did not reside regularly on the island. It is not unlikely that, soon after he took possession of it, he returned to England, and may have influenced the emigration of others. He was afterwards interested in the settlement at Pascataqua, and may have been there to select a location for others before this time. He had a grant of the island.†

Meantime, the small number of English families which had fled into Holland to avoid persecution under the laws enacted against dissenters, having resolved upon a removal to America, obtained leave of the South Virginia Company to settle within its territory. Accordingly they sailed for South Virginia, and probably intended to fix upon some point not far from the mouth of Hudson's river; but the Dutch, knowing or supposing this to be their destination, bribed their pilot; and the force of circumstances prevented their compelling him to perform his promise of carrying them to Hudson's river, and thus the first permanent settlement in New England was made within the bay of Cape Cod, on the ELEVENTH OF NOVEMBER, 1620, O. S., eight days after James I. had signed the new patent of New England, of which notice has been taken, but of which they knew nothing.

Thus the Pilgrims — as these emigrants were afterwards with much propriety called — found themselves within the North instead of the South Virginia patent; and thus to an iniquitous and highly criminal act New England became indebted for its first permanent colony. And hence it may with truth be said, that sometimes from accident and sometimes from iniquitous designs the most important and beneficial consequences flow.

Notwithstanding their hardships and sufferings, these pious Pilgrims found themselves intruders upon territory to which they had no claim; but fortunately for them it was very agreeable to the Plymouth Company to learn that there was at length, though very unexpectedly, a set-

1620–1, or, there were persons in that Parliament of the same names. The thirteen noblemen first on the list were probably members of the upper house; but I have not a list of that house at hand. In the same Parliament there was a good deal of puritan spirit. Papists were arraigned and their conduct scrutinized with an earnestness that a remembrance of the flames of Smithfield was calculated to excite in the minds of those whose kindred had suffered. A member from Devonshire moved that "none be justices of the peace, whose wife, alliances [connections], or children are papists." — *Proceedings and Debates in House of Commons*, i. 314.

* Depositions of Miles Standish, Wm. Trevoyre and Masconomo, in 1650; copied from the originals, and communicated to me by Wm. Gibbs, Esq., of Lexington, in 1834. The same has been since printed by Mr. Thornton in his Examination of Mr. Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*. See *Bost. Dai. Cour.*, 26 Aug. to 28 Sept., 1846.

† Ibid.

tlement begun within their limits. Therefore, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, ever the friend of New England, caused a patent to be issued for them to Mr. John Pierce, their agent in England.

Fortunate it was for the Pilgrims, in another respect, there were no Indians in the place where they settled, nor does it appear that any ever laid claim to it afterwards. The occupants had all died of the pestilence before mentioned.*

CHAPTER V.

Colony of Wessaguscus. — Weston. — Thomas Morton. — Weston's Colony Dissolved. — Standish attacks the Indians. — Pratt's Narrative. — Settlement of Nantasket. — Of Pemaquid. — First Settler in New England. — Settlements on the Pascataqua. — Robert Gorges. — Capt. West. — First Governor of New England. — Parliamentary Action relative to Trade and Fishing in New England.

1622. May. THERE came into the harbor of Plymouth a ship called the Sparrow, which had been on a fishing voyage at Damaris Cove at the eastward. It was sent thither by Mr. Weston, a merchant of London, and Mr. Beauchamp, and there were then about thirty other ships there upon the same design. In the Sparrow came a letter for Governor Carver, from Mr. Weston, dated the preceding January, in which he informs him that

* The following is an exact list of the inhabitants of Plymouth, or of such as arrived there in the Mayflower, Dec. 1620; the Fortune, 9 November, 1621; the Ann, &c., July or August, 1623. All these are usually considered as *the* Pilgrims. For its preparation I am indebted to the excellent little volume, "*Guide to Plymouth*, by W. S. Russell, Esq., 1846. The small letters at the end of each name refer to the respective ships in which they came over.

Adams, John *f*
Alden, John *m*
Allerton, Isaac *m*
Allerton, John *m*
Annable, Anthony *a*
Bangs, Edward *a*
Bartlett, Robert *a*
Bassite, William *f*
Beale, William *f*
Billington, John *m*
Bompasse, Edward *f*
Bradford, William *m*
Brewster, Fear *a*
Brewster, Jonathan *f*
Brewster, Patience *a*
Brewster, William *m*
Brigges, Clement *f*
Britterige, Richard *m*
Brown, Peter *m*
Bucket, Mary *a*
Burcher, Edward *a*
Cannon, John *f*
Carver, John *m*
Chilton, James *m*
Clarke, Richard *m*
Clarke, Thomas *a*
Conant, Christopher *a*
Coner, William *f*
Cook, Francis *m*
Crackston, John *m*
Cushman, Robert *f*
Cushman, Thomas *f*
Cuthbertson, Cuthbert *a*
Deane, Stephen *f*
De la Noye, Philip *f*
Dix, Anthony *a*
Dotey, Edward *m*
Eaton, Francis *m*
English, Thomas *m*
Faunce, John *a*
Flavell, Goodwife *a*
Flavell, Thomas *f*
Flavell, son of the above *f*
Fletcher, Moses *m*
Flood, Edmund *a*
Foord, Widow *f*
Fuller, Bridget *a*
Fuller, Edward *m*
Fuller, Samuel *m*
Gardiner, Richard *m*
Goodman, John *m*
Hatherly, Timothy *a*
Heard, William *a*
Hickes, Robert *f*
Hickes, Margaret *a*
Hickes, — her children *a*
Hilton, William's wife and two children *a*
Hilton, William *f*
Holman, Edward *a*
Hopkins, Stephen *m*
Howland, John *m*
Jenny, John *a*
Kempton, Manasses *a*
Leister, Edward *m*
Long, Robert *a*
Margeson, Edmund *m*
Martin, Christopher *m*
Mitchell, Experience *a*
Morgan, Bennet *f*
Morton, George *a*
Morton, Thomas *f*
Morton, Thomas, Jr. *a*
Mullins, William *m*
Newton, Ellen *a*
Nicolas, Austin *f*
Oldham, John *a*
Palmer, Frances *a*
Palmer, William *f*
Perce, Mr., his two servants, *a*
Penn, Christian *a*
Pitt, William *f*
Pratt, Joshua *a*
Prence, Thomas *f*
Priest, Degory *m*
Rand, James *a*
Rattliffe, Robert *a*
Ridgdale, John *m*
Rogers, Thomas *m*
Simonson, Moses *f*
Snow, Nicholas *a*
Soule, George *m*
Southworth, Alice *a*
Sprague, Francis *a*
Standish, Barbara *a*
Standish, Miles *m*
Statie, Hugh *f*
Steward, James *f*
Tench, William *f*
Tilden, Thomas *a*
Tilly, Edward *m*
Tilly, John *m*
Tinker, Thomas *m*
Tracy, Stephen *a*
Turner, John *m*
Wallen, Ralph *a*
Warren, Richard *m*
Williams, Thomas *m*
White, William *m*
Winslow, Edward *m*
Winslow, Gilbert *m*
Winslow, John *f*
Wright William *f*

A few of these names have undergone changes; Bassite is now Bassett; Bompasse, Bumpas (originally Bon passe); Burcher, Burchard; De la Noye, Delano; Dotey, Doty, Doten; Simonson, Simmons; Southworth, Souther; and perhaps a few others. — See *Guide to Plymouth*, 128–31.

he is about to begin a plantation near Plymouth, on his own account. The Plymouth settlers are somewhat disturbed at this news, because they had calculated upon his coöperation in their own undertaking. It was afterwards insinuated that he had dealt unfairly in the matter, but those insinuations are so vaguely made, that they do not authorize any unfavorable decision against his honest intentions. He had adventured large sums of money to aid the Pilgrims, and for furthering settlements in New England, and he may have had reason for believing that the community system adopted by the Plymouth settlers did not promise any immediate returns; and that therefore a plantation for profit was necessary in his affairs, and at the same time the two plantations might be of mutual help to one another.

June or July. Accordingly, there arrived, about one month later, two other ships of Mr. Weston's, the Charity and the Swan, with about sixty men. These were to begin a plantation, for which Mr. Weston had a patent. Many of them being sick on their arrival, the people of Plymouth took care of them until they could take care of themselves. In the mean time a place was selected by those who were able, and had the matter in charge, and a settlement was begun at a place called by the Indians Wessaguscusset or Wessagusset,* and afterwards by the white people, Weymouth. Of the affairs of this colony it is necessary to be somewhat particular, as Weymouth was afterwards within the jurisdiction of Boston.

Very few of the names of the persons who made up Mr. Weston's company have been discovered, which, perhaps, is not much to be regretted, as the good and orderly men who speak of them are unanimous that they were no people "for them," and that "they were not fit for an honest man's company." Even Mr. Weston himself wrote to the gentlemen of Plymouth, to prevent their being imposed upon by his colonists, "many of whom," he said, "were rude and profane fellows."

At or about the same time came to Plymouth Mr. Thomas Morton, "of Clifford's Inn, gentleman," as he styled himself, who, after he had had "ten yeeres knowledge and experiment of the country," made a book about it, "setting forth the originall of the natives, the natural indowments of the countrie, and what people are planted there," which he published in 1632. In this book he gives no very favorable account of the Pilgrims and other settlers. Nor is this at all to be wondered at, for they had represented him in the most unfavorable light possible, for several years before his book appeared; and though they may not have done him justice in every particular, he certainly has not erred in over justice to them. There are few greater curiosities, among earlier or later books, than this by Morton, and it discovers a good deal of talent

* Wessaguscus and Wessagusquasset are also names of the same place. Morton, who had the best means of knowing what the name was, writes it Wessaguscus, *New Canaan*. In 1633, Wood, speaking of the "severall plantations in particular," says, "Wichaguscusset is but a small village, yet it is very pleasant and healthful, very good ground, well timbered, and hath good stoore of hay-ground; hath a spacious harbour for shipping before the towne; the salt water being navigable for boates and pinnaces two leagues; here is likewise an alewife river." — *N. Eng. Prospect*, 31, ed. 1635.

as well as learning; shrewdness of observation, as well as much graphic description. He was as deeply in love with New England, as Captain John Smith. "The bewty of the place," he says, "with all her faire indowments," made him think that "it would not be paralel'd in all the knowne world."

Morton arrived in the country in that season which, in New England, is the most delightful part of the year. This will account for his raptures in describing it. According to his own account, which is no doubt correct, "he chaunced to arrive in New England in the moneth of Iune, Anno Salutis: 1622, with 30. servants, and provisions of all sorts fit for a plantation: and whiles their howses were building, he did endeavour to take a survey of the country:" and "the more he looked the more he liked it." That he did not change his mind afterwards, is pretty clear. from the title he gave his book, the "New English Canaan."

The description of the Indians, as given by Morton, is superior to that of most authors before his time, and though he indulges his imagination sometimes, yet this part of his work is of exceeding great value to inquirers about the primitive inhabitants of New England. The following is the concluding paragraph of his first book: — "The Indians may be rather accompted to live richly, wanting nothing that is needful; and to be commended for leading a contented life; the younger being ruled by the elder, and the elder ruled by the Powahs, and the Powahs are ruled by the Devill, and then you may imagine what good rule is like to be amongst them." This is not offered as a specimen of his observations and conclusions. His belief in the general government of the devil, was not singular; his neighbors had the same belief, but while they reported that there were lions in the country, Morton says distinctly, that "there are none."*

Though Morton is, by some, supposed to have come over with Mr. Weston's men, it does not appear certain that he was interested with him in his settlement; nor does it appear that he remained at Wessaguscus till the colony of Mr. Weston broke up. The probability is, he spent considerable time in viewing the country, but left it before the end of the colony. The larger of Mr. Weston's ships, the Charity, sailed for England about the end of September, and Morton may have returned in her.†

However this may be, there is something of truth, as well as fable, in Morton's own account of the advent of Mr. Weston's colony at Plymouth; nor is it at all difficult for the attentive reader of New England history to draw the line between them: it is in these words: —

"Master Thomas Weston, a merchant of London, that had been at some cost, to farther the brethren of new Plimmouth, in their designs for these parts, shipped a company of servants, fitted with provisions of

* "It is contrary to the nature of the beast, to frequent places accustomed to snow; being like the catt, that will hazard the burning of her tayle rather than abide from the fire." — *N. Canaan*, 56.

† Further details of many events, necessarily briefly noticed in this history, will be fully gone into in the *History of New England*, which the author many years ago proposed to himself to write.

all sorts, for the undertaking of a plantation to be settled there, with an intent to follow after them in person. These servants at first arrived at New Plimmouth where they were entertained with court holy bread by the brethren. They were made very wellcome in shew at least. There these servants goods were landed, with promises to be assisted in the choice of a convenient place, and still the good cheare went forward, and the strong liquors walked. In the meane time the brethren were in consultation, what was best for their advantage, singing the songe, *Frustra sapit, qui sibi non sapit.*" After this significant quotation, Morton insinuates that the Pilgrims were afraid that the new colony would get away their trade for beaver, and become greater than they were; "besides Mr. Weston's people were no chosen separatists, but men made use of at all adventures,* fit for the furtherance of Master Weston's undertakinges: and that was as much as he need care for. Now when the Plimmouth men began to finde, that Master Weston's men's store of provition grew short with feasting; then they hasted them to a place called Wessaguscus, in a weake case, and there left them fasting."†

1623. The plantation of Mr. Weston was under the care of the brother-in-law of that gentleman, whose name was Richard Green. He having died at Plymouth in the autumn of the preceding year, the colony seems to have soon after gone to ruin. Neglecting their business, the men came to want, robbed the Indians, who would probably have exterminated them, but for the interference of the people of Plymouth. Indeed, the Indians seem to have laid their plans to cut them off, but the plot was revealed and prevented. One John Sanders succeeded Mr. Green as overseer of the colony, which, by the end of February, was reduced to a state of perfect wretchedness. One man, Phinehas Pratt, who lived long afterwards to tell the story, fled from the place, and not knowing "a foot of the way," reached Plymouth in safety, "with a pack at his back," not knowing till some time after, that he very narrowly escaped death in the journey. An Indian pursued him for the purpose of killing him, but Pratt, from his ignorance of the paths, missed the direct one, which occasioned his pursuer to miss him, as the Indians confessed afterward.‡

* Picked up at random.

† Morton's *New Canaan*, p. 71–2, ed. 1632. The fact that the author, p. 57, speaks of Mr. William Wood's *New England's Prospect*, shows that his own book has a title-page with a false date in it, or that Wood printed his *Prospect* before Morton did his *New Canaan*. The former appears the more probable, because Wood did not leave the country till August 15th, 1633, and it is *im*probable that he had his book published before he returned to England, and his first edition is dated 1634. — Morton is often so enigmatical, that it is impossible to guess out his meaning. His dark insinuation against "Ould Woodman," is to the effect that he attempted, unfairly, to obtain a grant of land, and that "he was choaked at Plimmouth," for shooting "a carelesse fellow that was new come into the land;" "but," says Morton, "I cannot spie any mention made of it in the woodden prospect." By the *woodden prospect*, Wood's *New England's Prospect* is unquestionably meant. In another place (Book I., ch. v.) he says there is no need of the *woodden prospect* to prove that the Indians of New England have no religion at all.

‡ See *Morton's Memorial*, ed. Davis, 9; *Hubbard's N. Eng.*, ed. Harris, 72–9; *Belknap, Amer. Biog.*, ii. 333–5.

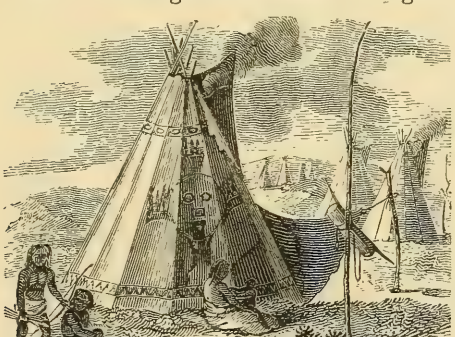
The Plymouth people immediately sent Standish to the relief of Sanders and his men, who found them in great distress, not only from fear of the Indians, but from famine also. He therefore assists them off for Monhiggon in their small ship, and thus the colony comes to an end. At Monhiggon they expected to meet with Mr. Weston or some of his ships, from whom they hoped relief.

Standish did not proceed directly to Wessaguscus, but went to the rendezvous of those Indians who had insulted and threatened, not only Weston's people, but the people of Plymouth also, and against whom the plot or conspiracy was charged of an intention of murdering all the English. These he found insolent and abusive, which confirmed his suspicions against them. He therefore fell upon them at great advantage, killed three chiefs on the spot, hung another, and, Weston's men taking courage thereby, killed two others at another place. In all, seven were killed.* This bloody business has ever since been referred to, as of doubtful justification; and even then it made the good Robinson exclaim, "O that you had christianized some before you had killed any!"†

Phinehas Pratt left an account of this colony, which he "called a Declaration of the Affairs of the English people that first inhabited New England." He probably had some interest in the patent with Mr. Weston, and did not leave the country with those that went to Monhiggon; for he says, "We bought the south part of the Bay [of Massachusetts] of Aberdecest,‡ the Sachem of the Indians." It is not certain how or

* They were killed at three different places. The chiefs by Standish, probably at or near Neponset river, those by Weston's men, near Wessaguscus, and another at a place called Agawam, perhaps in what is since Wareham. — Pratt in *Mather's Relation*, 19–20.

† From Pratt's *Relation* to Dr. I. Mather, it appears that when the Indians had determined to make an attack on Wessaguscus, "they built divers of their wigwams at the end of a great



INDIAN WIGWAMS.

swamp, near to the English," that they might effect their object easily; that, at the same time, a squaw informed the people that Aberkiest would soon come and kill them all, and also all those at Plymouth. He soon after actually appeared; but his object was to obtain satisfaction for the corn the English had stolen from them; that he had a great many times demanded justice, but they had given him none whatever. "Hereupon the English took the principal thief," bound him and delivered him to the sachem, and requested him to do with him as he pleased, but he would not receive him. "Nay," says he, "do justice upon him yourselves, and let your neighbors do justice upon theirs." He then left the place indignantly; and in their alarm the English took the thief and executed him in presence of the Indians. Hence, that an execution did take place among the English, as has been reported by the historians (though generally in doubting terms), there is no room for a question; though there may be a question as to whether the *real* offender was executed; for there is no proof that any of the Indians had the inspection of the preparations. They could only witness from the outside of the palisades, that some one was hanged. Very little, probably, would have been thought or said of this affair, had not Butler, by his Hudibras, given it an importance that it could otherwise never have acquired.

‡ This was very likely the sachem who led the Indians against Weston's plantation, though Dr. I. Mather spells the name of that chief Aberkiest. Of the three sachems killed by Standish, Aberkiest was unquestionably one, Peksuot and Wittuwamet were the others. — See *Book of the Indians*, 100–1.

with whom Pratt came to New England; for he says that he came with ten others, but at the same time (1668) he says, "he was the remainder of the forlorn hope of sixty men," who began the settlement of Wessaguscus. By which he is supposed to mean that all his associates of 1622 were dead; that, before they abandoned their settlement, "ten of them had died of famine;" to which he adds, "then said the Indians 'Let us kill them whilst they are weak, or they will possess our country and drive us away.' Three times we fought with them, thirty miles I was pursued for my life, in times of frost and snow, as a deer chased with wolves."*

When Mr. Hubbard wrote that part of his history which records Weston's settlement, he speaks of Pratt as then (1677) living, but says nothing by which it may be inferred that he derived any of his facts from him. He was then eighty-seven years old, and died three years after, at the age of ninety, at Charlestown, where his tombstone is yet to be seen. He died on the since memorable 19th of April.†

1622. The same year that Weston's plantation was begun at Weymouth, one Thomas Gray settled at Nantasket, or Nantaskith. How many followers he had, how or where he came from, nothing appears to be known. He made a purchase of that place of Chikataubut, and there were with him John Gray and Walter Knight. Lyford and Oldham came here afterwards by permission of Thomas Gray. ‡

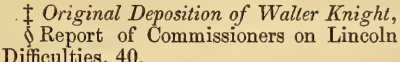
Before this time, even, there were Englishmen all along the New England coast. One John Brown lived at New Harbor, not far from Pemaquid, in 1621. He had a son, John, living in Framingham, in 1721, at the age of eighty-five, who, with his father, was driven from their lands in the time of the Indian wars. John, the elder, died in Boston, probably not long after Philip's war.§

Mr. Richard Vines came to New England in 1609, and again in 1616. He affirmed that he was in the country several years before any other inhabitant could be found. He was a royalist, and an Episcopalian, and after residing twenty-two years in Saco, he removed to Barbadoes.‖

1623. A permanent settlement is this year begun at the mouth of the Pascataqua river, and, at the same time, another is established a lit-

* *Original MS. paper.* — If my supposition be correct with reference to Pratt's alluding to his companions being all dead, he must have been the "Old Planter" who gave Dr. Increase Mather the circumstantial account of the capture of the French ship and murder of the crew, as stated in the present chapter.

† See *Hist. and G. Reg'r*, iv. 250; v. 224. Phinehas Pratt is the ancestor of many of the Pratts of New England. He married at Plymouth, in 1630, a daughter of Cuthbert Cuthbertson. His son, Aaron, died at Cohasset, in 1735, æ. 81; Aaron Pratt, 2d, died in 1766, æ. 76; Thomas, son of Aaron Pratt, 2d, died in 1818, æ. 83. Benjamin Pratt, now living in Cohasset, æ. 84, has living six brothers and sisters, whose ages average 76 years. Aaron Pratt, 3d, son of Aaron, 2d, has nine children whose ages average 76½ years. The average of the fathers' ages for five generations is nearly 83. Ephraim Pratt, of Plymouth, died in 1804, æ. 116. The autograph of the emigrant ancestor in 1668, copied from an original —



‡ *Original Deposition of Walter Knight, MS.*

§ Report of Commissioners on Lincoln Co. Difficulties, 40.

‖ *Williamson's* Hist. Maine, i. 696. — See, also, *Hazard's* Hist. Colls., *Hutchinson's* Col. Papers.

tle above on the same river. These were the beginnings of the since important towns of Portsmouth and Dover.*

The previous year, Captain Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando, obtained of the Plymouth Company a patent of a tract of land about Cape Ann, and this year came over with a commission, from the company, of Governor of New England. He arrived at Plymouth in September, with a number of families and passengers, intending to settle them at Weymouth. This is said to be the first attempt to establish a general government in the country. But Captain Francis West had acted before this in a similar capacity, and had resigned because he probably came to the conclusion that to govern a few straggling fishermen upon the water was something like an attempt to govern the fish in it. Whether Captain Gorges came to the same conclusion, or not, certain it is he did not exercise his authority to any great extent, and returned to England within a year from the time he left it. It may be said of him, what in fact can be said of but few colonial governors, he left no enemies behind him.

It will have been seen that Captain Smith was by appointment the first Governor of New England, and how by misfortunes he was prevented from being its first permanent settler. The appointment of a governor afterwards was, however, from a different motive from that to pay a debt of gratitude to Smith. Many of those who had been fishing and trading on the coast from before Smith's first visit to it, had carried home complaints and charges against one another ; — some for burning the forests, some for obstructing harbors by discharging "ballast and stones" from their vessels, some for wronging the Indians, and other crimes among the natives not fitting to be mentioned ; — until, in 1621, the matter was brought up in Parliament by Sir Edwin Sandys, from whose observations and explanations it seems that body could not have been very well informed in respect to the relation between Old and New England. Among those who participated with Sir Edwin in his remarks, were Sir George Calvert, Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir John Brooke and Mr. John Guy.† Their remarks were so desultory, that one is almost at a loss to understand what was aimed at by the speakers, from the printed report of what has been termed the first debate in Parliament upon American affairs. However, no bill to promote or restrain trade and fishing on the coast passed this Parliament, although it is tolerably certain that the grantees intended and hoped to establish a monopoly of both. Monopoly has always been the aim of companies or corporations. That great and important ends have been accomplished by such means, will not probably be denied ; nor will it be questioned, perhaps, that corporations belong to that class of things usually denominated necessary evils.

* The names of the early settlers at Pascataqua are given in the *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vol. ii. p. 39, from an ancient MS. in the hands of the editor.

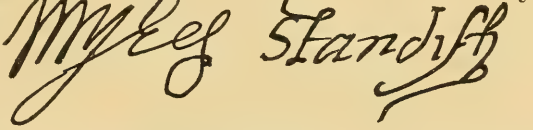
† Proceedings and Debates in the House of Commons, i. 318–89.

CHAPTER VI.

Early Explorations in Boston Bay by Plymouth Men. — They first land in Dorchester — Then at Charlestown. — Intercourse with Indians about Medford. — Discover Mystic River. — Return to Plymouth. — Sir William Alexander. — His Grant of Territory in America. — John Mason. — His Grant of Territory called Mariana. — Laconia. — Weymouth Colony. — Mr. John White. — Settlement at Cape Ann. — Conant, Oldham, Lyford. — Capt. Wallaston settles at Braintree. — He soon abandons it. — His Men continue. — Thomas Morton. — Difficulties with him. — He is captured and sent out of the Country.

1621. Sept. 18. THE people settled at Plymouth, having heard from the Indians accounts of a place called "Massachusets,"* and though the natives who inhabited thereabouts had "often threatened them," they resolved "to goe amongst them; partly to see the countrey, partly to make peace with them, and partly to procure their trucke." Accordingly ten men, including Miles Standish, captain in the expedition, and probably William Bradford, John Howland, Isaac Allerton, Richard Gardiner, &c. Squanto, or Tisquantum,† was their guide.‡

Sept. 18. Owing to the tide, they did not sail from Plymouth till "about midnight." They had not a correct idea of the distance; "and, supposing it neerer than it is, thought to be there the next morning betimes: but it proued



§

* A gentleman who has paid much attention to the language of the New England Indians, renders *Massachusetts* into English thus: — *Massa*, many; *Waschoo*, mountain; *auke*, place; hence, *Many-mountain-place*. Now in the *Massachusett* language, *wadchuut* was surely *mountain*. — See Eliot, *Ind. Bible*, Matt. xvii. 9, Mark iii. 13, &c. Hence the derivation is very obvious. The Indians inhabiting about Neponset river, and so around the bay to Mystic, were very naturally called the people at, about, or among the *many mountains*, by the Wampanoags and Narragansets, who had no mountains in their country. When it was not necessary to qualify the word *mountain*, it was simply *wadchuut;* therefore *Wachusett*, *the mountain*.

† It is a conjecture of long standing, that that well known point in Dorchester received its name from this chief. The rustic legend, that it was so named because an Indian squaw threw herself from the rocks there, in "early times," is not deemed worthy consideration. For the want of a better derivation, probably, some one converted "*Squaw tumble*" into *Squantum*. If named for the Indian before mentioned, the time when, and the circumstances which occasioned it, are alike unknown. It is very possible that the name Squantum, however, had nothing to do with this Indian at all. In *Mass. Col. Records*, 7 Nov. 1632, "one hundred acres of land are granted to Mr. Roger Ludlow, betwixt Musquantum Chapel, and the mouth of Naponset." — See Mr. Lunt's *Cent. Ser. at Quincy*, p. 65. Here for many years was celebrated "Pilgrim Feast," to which people from all parts of the state resorted, and spent the day in social glee, in memory of the Pilgrim Fathers, and their first landing at Plymouth. It had been discontinued "many years," when Mr. Whitney published his "History of Quincy," which see, pp. 29, 30.

‡ "For these ends the Governours chose ten men, fit for the purpose, and sent *Tisquantum*, and two other Salvages to bring vs to speech with the people, and interpret for vs." — *A Relation of ovr Voyage to Massachvsets, and what happened there;* from the work usually cited as *Mourt's Relation;* the only original authority for this part of the early history of Massachusetts.

§ The annexed autograph of Standish is from an original document in my possession, dated 1631–2.

well neer twentie leagues from New Plymouth."* They had, however, a fine run, for they arrived before daylight near the "Massachusets." Early in the morning they went on land. Looking about, they came upon a quantity of fresh lobsters. With these they retired under a cliff,† and breakfasted. Having placed "two sentinels behind the cliffe landward, to secure the shallop," and taking four men besides a guide, Capt. Standish proceeded into the country to find inhabitants. They had not gone far when they met a woman going for the lobsters with which they had just made free use; for which, however, they generously "contented her." By her they learned where the Indians were, and Squanto soon found them. The rest of the company returned to the place of landing, with directions to bring the shallop to them.

They called the place where they now were, "the bottom of the Massachusets Bay," and it probably was the chief settlement of the Massachusetts Indians; hereabouts, doubtless, were the "Massachusets fields," of those days.‡ Here lived their Sachem, called Obbatinewat, who received and treated them kindly. He might well have had a double purpose in this, for he lived in daily fear of the Indians on the eastern side of the bay, or Tarratines; confessing that he dared not continue long in any place, lest they should surprise him; also that the squaw sachem of Massachusetts was his enemy.

The English proposed to Obbatinewat to come under the government of England, to which he readily consented, and then volunteered to conduct them to the squaw sachem, that they might see what success they could have with her. To get to that part of the country where

* This is an estimate not much out of the way, as they must have made a far more indirect course than was usual afterwards. As a general thing, distances are much overrated in the early accounts. This is always the case in new and wild countries.

† After this part of my work was drawn up, my friend, W. T. Harris, Esq., of Cambridge, put into my hands a manuscript upon many passages of the early history of Massachusetts, and particularly upon this voyage of the Pilgrims. His conclusions agreeing perfectly with my own, so far as I had gone, and having been evidently arrived at with just discrimination, I take great pleasure in giving my readers the benefit of them, as they are more definite than I had determined upon, before reading them. Mr. Harris says: — "Dr. Belknap (*Amer. Biog.*, ii. 224) supposed this cliff to be Copp's Hill, in the north part of Boston, opposite Charlestown, adopted by most subsequent writers, has been finally sanctioned by no less an authority than the reverend editor of the Chronicles of Plymouth; who also conjectures that the party, after leaving Boston, recrossed the harbor (or 'Bay,' as it is called), to Quincy, and went ashore at Squantum on the 21st; and that a hill in this vicinity, perhaps Milton Hill, or some one of the Blue Hills, was the site of Nanepashemet's royal residence, &c. Yet I must confess, that, after a most patient and careful examination of the subject, from every point of view, I am unable to find any sufficient reason for supposing that Standish and his companions landed on any part of Shawmut, at this time; but have come to the conclusion that 'the bottom of the bay,' where they came to anchor, was Quincy Bay, and the cliff beneath which they first landed, no other than the abrupt pile of rocks known by the name of 'the Chapel,' at the north-east extremity of the peninsula of Squantum."

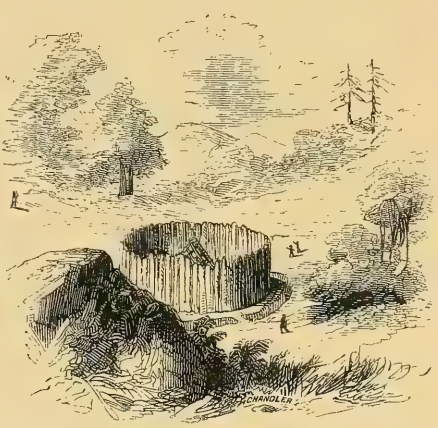
‡ Josselyn, in speaking of "*Mount-Wolleston*," says it is called "*Massachusets*-fields;" that here "*Chicatabut* the greatest *Sagamore* of the countrey lived before the plague: here the town of *Braintree* is seated." — *Two Voyages*, 159–60. "Three miles to the north of Wichaguscusset is mount Wolleston, a very fertile soyle, and a place very convenient for farmers houses, there being great store of plaine ground, without trees. Neere this place is Massachusets fields, where the greatest sagamore in the countrey liued before the plague, who caused it to be cleared for himselfe." — Wood, *New England's Prospect*, 31, ed. 1635.

she resided, they had to cross the bay,* "which," they say, is "very large, and hath at least fifty islands in it," but the Indians did not pretend to know the exact number. "Night it was," says the writer of the voyage, "before wee came to that side of the bay where this people were. On shore the salvages went, but found nobody." The English slept on board their shallop that night, which "rid at anchor."

Sept. 21. The next day, all but two of the men "marched in arms vp in the countrey." When they had gone three miles, they came to a place where corn had just been gathered, "a house pulled downe, and the people gone. A mile from hence, Nanepashemet,† their king, in his lifetime had lived. His house was not like others, but a scaffold was largely built, with pools and plancks, some six foote from the ground, and the house vpon that; being situated on the top of a hill."‡

Not far from this place, "in a bottom," they found a fort, built by the deceased chief, which they thus describe:

"There were pools, some thirtie or fortie foote long, stucke in the ground, as thick as they could be set one by another; and with these they inclosed a ring some forty or fifty foote ouer; a trench, breast high, was digged on each side; one way there was to goe into it with a bridge. In the midst of this pallizado stood the frame of an house, wherein, being dead, he lay buryed."



About a mile from this palisadoed fortification, they found another of similar structure. This is the place where the great sachem, Nanepashemet, was killed. None had lived in it since the time of his death, which, from some circumstances, is supposed to have been in 1619.

Here the Plymouth men rested a while, having sent two Indians to see if they could find any inhabitants; and, if they could, to invite them to a conference. At the distance of about a mile from the place where the English were, the two Indians found "the women of the place together, with their corne on heapes," whither they had fled, as was supposed, from fear of the English; "and the more, because in diuers places they had newly pulled down their houses, and for hast in one

* Here is certainly evidence enough that they were not at Shawmut, but evidence enough that they were on the south side of the bay, *somewhere*. Would going from Copp's Hill to Charlestown be crossing *the* bay? and eliciting in connection observations about its extent and the great number of islands in it? They might well say, as they do, "againe we crossed the Bay," for they had already crossed one bay, or what to strangers could appear no other than a bay, from point Alderton to Squantum.

† In Roger Williams' *Key*, *Nanepaûshat* is translated *The moon God*.

‡ Situated in the vicinity of Mystic Pond, so called, in Medford. MS. of Mr. Harris, *ut supra*. The reasoning employed by the author in support of his location of Nanepashemet's fort, for which I have not room, is quite conclusive.

place had left some of their corne couered with a mat, and nobody with it."

These women discovered much alarm at first, but their fears were soon overcome by the kind behavior of the intruders; and they, as is the custom of the Indians, hastened to treat them with such victuals as their wigwams afforded, consisting of boiled codfish "and such other things." The apprehensions of the Indian men were so great, that none would approach the English until they had been "much sent for," and then only one man ventured to come, who "shook and trembled with feare." When he found what the English wanted, that they came in friendship and "to truck," he promised "them his skins also." They endeavored to ascertain by this Indian where the squaw sachem was, but, from what they could learn, they concluded "she was far from thence; at least they could not see her."

On this occasion Squanto showed his propensity for mischief. He proposed to the English to plunder those women of what they had, — those who were then treating them so kindly, — but they rejected the proposal, as all honorable men would, and told Squanto, that though they "were never so bad," and might belong to a bad people, and have threatened the people of Plymouth, as he said, yet they would not wrong them.

This excursion occupied the whole day. At evening, as they returned to their shallop, accompanied "by almost all the women," who, in their eagerness to truck for the commodities which the English had, "sold their coats from their backes, and tyed boughes about them, but with great shamefastness, (for indeed they are more modest then some of our English women are)." Parting from these people, the voyagers promised to come again, and the Indians to keep their skins for them.

They understood the Indians to say that there were two rivers in the bay. One they saw themselves, but had not time to examine it.* They decided that "better harbours for shipping there cannot be then here are. At the entrance of the bay are many rocks; and in all likelihood good fishing-ground." They found, as Captain Smith did seven years before, that most of the islands had been inhabited, and that some had been cleared "from end to end, but the people were all dead or removed."

Such were the explorations "in and about the bottom of Massachusetts Bay," around where Boston is, nine years before the arrival of the colony which settled it. The country pleased those so well who made this exploration, that the report they carried to their friends in Plymouth caused them to express their sorrow "that they had not been seated there." But having planted corn and built huts at Plymouth,

*This was unquestionably the Mystic; in full view as they landed upon the peninsula of Mishawum (Charlestown); but the other river of which they heard, the intervening wooded promontories of Shawmut and Cambridge landlocked from their view, and which was doubtless Charles river. Hence, Charlestown was known before Boston, as well as settled before it. Mr. Harris, in his MS. before quoted, fully coincides in these views of the author.

and being there secure from the natives, they judged the motives for continuance to be stronger than for removal.*

1621. Sir William Alexander,† about the same time, through the
Sept. 10. friendship of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, shares a portion of the Plymouth Company's patent. Seeing that the English had done but little, or nothing, in fact, directly to establish settlements in New England, he hoped the Scotchmen might be more successful. The patent to Sir William was ample, embracing the whole territory of Acadia, which was confirmed to him and his heirs by King James, and erected into a Palatinate, to be holden as a fief of the Crown of Scotland. But the Scotch made out no better than the English ; one ship after another returned home with tales of misfortunes, till Sir William, like Sir Ferdinando, was forced to sit down, with what content he might, under heavy losses and disappointments.

The same year, Captain John Mason, Governor of Portsmouth, in Hampshire, who, like Gorges, had been an officer in the navy, and Governor of Newfoundland, and had by a vacancy become Secretary to the Council of Plymouth, procured a grant of territory in New England, "of all the land from the river of Naumkeag (Salem) round Cape Anne, to the river Merrimack, and up each of these rivers to the farthest head thereof; then to cross over from the head of the one to the head of the other ; with all the islands lying within three miles of the coast." To this tract was given the name of "*Mariana.*"‡

1622. The next year another grant was made to Gorges and Mason jointly, of all the lands between the Merrimack and Sagadahock, extending inland to the Great Lakes and to the River of Canada. This was called "*Laconia,*" and thus was laid the foundation of the State of New Hampshire,§ which has been briefly noticed in a previous page.

1623. Although the colony at Wessaguscus is generally supposed to have been abandoned last year, its abandonment appears to have been
1624. temporary ; ‖ for this year it is stated, on good authority, that the people there received an accession to their number by emigrants

* This was a momentous question in its day, and the decision of the pious fathers was no doubt weighed by them, as one involving their existence. But when the grave historian, Dr. Belknap, came to consider it, he could not help remarking, with feigned complacency, that though the Pilgrims thought it not worth while to remove, "many of their posterity have judged otherwise !"

† First Earl of Stirling. To this title he was raised in 1633. He was born in 1580, died in London, Feb. 1640. His father was Alexander Alexander of Menstrie, who died 1594. His father's name was Andrew Alexander. John Alexander, uncle of Sir William, was the ancestor of our *Lord Stirling*, conspicuous in the revolutionary war. He labored long and arduously to substantiate his claim to the Earldom, to which he was entitled in the judgment of some of the most learned barristers of Scotland and England ; but owing, perhaps, to the manner in which he presented his claim, he lost it. The House of Lords decided against its validity in 1762. This, *our* Lord Stirling married a daughter of Philip Livingston, and died at Albany, N. Y., 12 Jan. 1782, without male issue. The late Earl of Stirling probably found about as much perplexity in establishing his title to the lands of his ancestors in America, as his kinsman did in his fruitless and expensive pursuit of the Earldom. — See *Statement of the Case of Alexander, Earl of Stirling*, 8 vo., London, 1832.

‡ Belknap's *Hist. of New Hampshire*, Farmer's *edition*, p. 4.

§ Ibid.

‖ It is very probable that when the troubles had assumed a serious aspect, and actual war

from Weymouth in Dorsetshire; on which account it is supposed to have received the name of Weymouth. There were about fifty English ships fishing on the coast of New England this year, with better success than ever.*

Seeing that the colony of Plymouth was likely to continue and flourish, some of those in England who had anxiously watched its progress, — the most conspicuous of whom was the Rev. Mr. John White, a puritan minister of Dorchester, in Dorsetshire, — excited several gentlemen to prepare for another settlement in New England. Accordingly "sundry persons" are sent over, who begin a plantation at Cape Ann. Among this number were Mr. John Tilley and Mr. Thomas Gardiner; the former was "overseer of the planting," and the latter was "overseer of the fishing." Meantime, Mr. White having learned that the Plymouth people had driven Mr. Roger Conant, Mr. John Lyford and Mr. John Oldham from that place in consequence of a disagreement in their religious opinions; "wherefore that reverend person (one of the chief founders of the Massachusetts Colony) being grieved in his spirit that so good a work should be suffered to fall to the ground," and learning the excellent character of Mr. Conant from Mr. Conant's brother in England, procured from the company of adventurers his appointment "to be Governor, and to have the managing and government of all their affairs at Cape Anne." Lyford and Oldham went to Cape Ann also, but did not remain there long. The former removed to Virginia and died there, and the latter traded between New England and Virginia, and within two years was killed by the Indians.†

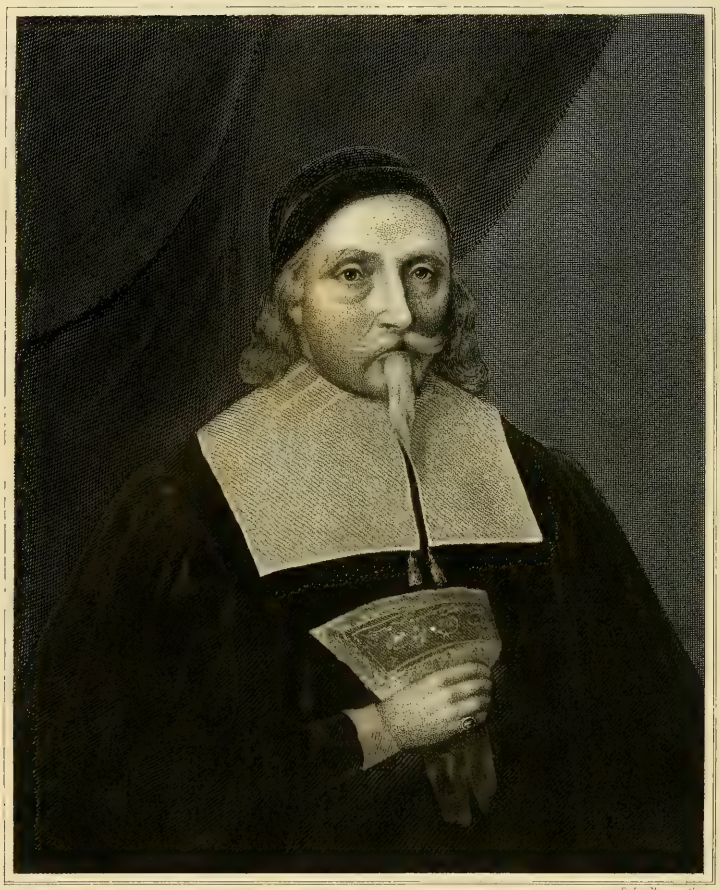
1625. The next year, "one Captain Wallaston" came into the Massachusetts Bay, and began a settlement within what was afterwards called Braintree.‡ With him came several persons of "some eminence;" but the actual number of his followers does not appear to be known; nor is it stated from what place this colony came, nor has the Christian name of Mr. Wallaston been discovered. Thomas Morton, of whom notice has been taken, returned to New England with this company. But Captain Wallaston, not finding things to his liking, removed, with a great part of his servants, to Virginia, in the fall of 1626. A Mr. Rasdale was left in command of the place on Mr. Wallaston's departure, but he soon proceeded to Virginia also, leaving a Mr. Filcher to manage affairs. But nothing further is heard of Filcher, while Morton made himself very conspicuous, and soon became obnoxious

had been begun, the people all fled from Wessaguscus; but a few weeks' time proved to them that they had nothing to fear from the Indians; the suspicious leaders of whom had all been killed by Standish and his war-party; that, therefore, they soon left their hiding-places and returned to their settlement. That they have not been particularly noticed by cotemporary writers is not at all strange, as they were few and politically unimportant.

* Prince, Hubbard, Holmes. Mr. Hancock says the emigrants who came in 1624, "were of the better sort of people." — *Century Sermon*, at Braintree, 1739, p. 18.

† Hubbard's *Hist. of New England*, ed. Harris, 106–7.

‡ When a section of Braintree was set off for a separate township, it was called Quincy, — in honor of the highly respectable family which resided there, and of which a branch remains to this day; Mt. Wollaston was included in this section, and was within the farm of one of the Messrs. Quincy.



P. L. Glover Sc.

FIRST GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Jo: Endecott

to his neighbors at Plymouth. They seem to have recognized him as the leader of the plantation, and the author of all the mischief that happened to it after Mr. Wollaston left it. He was, judging independently of what his neighbors say of him, evidently a "merry companion;" and his company, consisting of young men, were ready to enjoy themselves to-day, come what might to-morrow. Great offence was taken by the Pilgrims at their impiety, as they viewed their conduct to be impious, and Morton and his friends derided them for their overmuch piety and austere manners.* Mutual dislikes at length grew to such a height, that nothing short of the breaking up of the settlement of Mount Wollaston could be likely to satisfy the people of Plymouth. Morton and his party considered themselves an independent community, as in fact they were, and that it was nobody's business to call them to account for erecting a May-pole and dancing about it; whether they said their prayers as they had been taught to say them, or whether they read them out of a book, or whether they said or read prayers at all. But their neighbors thought otherwise, and, soon after the arrival of Governor Endicott, their opponents feeling themselves strong enough to force a compliance with their wishes, a company was raised among the scattered settlements, which proceeded, under Standish, to Ma-re-Mount, — as Morton had named Mount Wollaston, — captured the unruly party, and thus put an end to a colony † which has given rise to much curious inquiry, and a good deal of speculation; but of which, hitherto, no satisfactory history has appeared.‡

1628. The expense of capturing Morton and some half dozen other men was assessed on a part of the scattered inhabitants of New England; but whether with their consent, or whether they actually paid in the amounts assessed upon them, there is nothing to show; yet it has been said, that even Morton's Episcopal friends contributed towards the

* The Rev. Mr. Hancock, with the *New England's Memorial* open before him, says, "But one Mr. Morton, whom Capt. Wollaston left there with part of the company, fell to great licentiousness and profaneness, till the good people in their scattered plantations in the Massachusetts Bay unite with Plymouth government, and go and suppress them, and disperse the worst of the company, leaving the more modest here, and sending Morton to England, with a messenger and letters to inform against him, for his wicked and insufferable behavior." — *Century Sermon*, p. 18.

† An *end*, so far only, as appears from several accounts, as respects the riotous *part* of the colony. See Hancock's *Cent. Sermon*, ut supra, Davis *in Morton*, and Belknap, *Amer. Biography*, ii. 334.

‡ In my History of New England, I propose to go at large into the affairs of this colony. It is indeed a poor question where there is nothing to be said, except on one side. As yet the subject has been sketched from one point of view only. Morton was originally tried, condemned and transported, because, as he says, the colonists of Ma-re-Mount had better success in trading with the Indians than the people of Plymouth had; and because they read prayers after the manner of the Episcopal church. The charges brought against him are met with everywhere, and require no repetition here. They were brought with great gravity, by his namesake, the author of *New England's Memorial*, in his work, from which they have been copied, with such embellishments as suited the fancies of their copyists; while Morton probably considered the subject, in the time of it, as one not worthy of sober consideration; and hence we find it, in his *New Canaan*, treated only with ridicule. Had he ever imagined that it would become matter of serious history, he would doubtless have left us a very different and more circumstantial account. In speaking of the "tenents" of the people of New England, Morton says that they held the use "of a ring in marriage to be a relique of popery; a diabolical circle for the Devell to daunce in." — *New Canaan*, 118.

expense of the expedition against him; which circumstance, if true, would go to prove that they, at least, disapproved of his conduct. In justice to them, however, as well as to Morton, the case should be stated as it actually existed, that posterity may be able to come to a just judgment between all parties implicated.*

By the assessment referred to, some opinion may be formed of the state of the settlements; of their numbers and importance, and where they were situated. Thus, the whole amount assessed was twelve pounds and seven shillings. Of this amount Plymouth has set against it, two pounds and ten shillings; Naumkeak [Salem], one pound ten shillings; Pascataquack [Portsmouth], two pounds ten shillings; Mr. Jeffrey and Mr. Burslem [Isle of Shoals],† two pounds; Natascot, one pound ten shillings; Mrs. Thomson [Squantum], fifteen shillings; Mr. Blackstone [Shawmut], twelve shillings; and Edward Hilton [Dover], one pound.‡

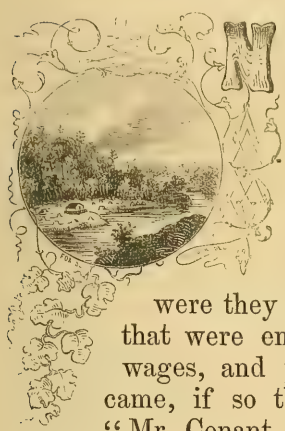
* It is true that Governor Bradford (Prince, 251) speaks of a "meeting of the chief of the straggling plantations," to take counsel about the disorders at the Mount. Those plantations he names as follows: — "Pascatoway, Naumkeak, Winisimet, Wessaguscusset, Natasco, and other places." At their meeting, they "agree to solicit those of Plymouth, who are of greater strength than all, to join and stop this growing mischief, by suppressing Morton and Company."

† Not much confidence is felt in locating these gentlemen at the Isle of Shoals. At, or before this period, I believe one Jeffrey had a fishing stage there; and it is certain, that, to this day, a noted fishing place in the neighborhood bears the name of *Jeffries*. That the Shoals were inhabited at this time seems probable, for the ship in which Morton was sent away, sailed from the Isle of Shoals, as appears from Bradford (Prince, 252), who says Morton was kept at Plymouth "till a ship going from the Isle of Shoals to England, he is sent in her to the New England Council [Council of Plymouth], with a messenger and letters to inform against him. Yet they do nothing to him, not so much as rebuke him, and he returns next year." — There was a "Mr. John Burslin," desiring to be made freeman at Boston, in 1630; and in 1631, a "Mr. Jo. Burslyn." See N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., ii. 90–1. It is not presumed that the memorandum of Governor Bradford is to be taken as presenting a complete catalogue of all the places occupied about the coast of New England. These enumerated might have been considered the only ones of whom any assistance was to be expected. It has been conjectured that several of the scattered settlers in and about the harbor of Boston came over with Captain Robert Gorges. The conjecture is a reasonable one. They were chiefly within Gorges' patent, which was "10 miles in breadth, and 30 miles into the land, on the north-east side of the bay called Messachuset." His intended colony was Episcopalian — Blackstone, Maverick, Walford, Thompson, and perhaps others, were of that faith. See Mr. Haven's learned and ingenious introduction to the *Records of the Comp. of the Mass. Bay*, &c., vol. iii. *Archa. Americana*. It is to be noted that the location of Gorges' patent has been misunderstood, and will continue to be, unless the reader considers that "the north-east side" of the Bay has reference to the *land* of Massachusetts. The land, as described in the patent, is "all that part of the main land called or known by the name of Messachusiack." Hence Gorges, perhaps by way of distinction, gives a little different name to his tract of country, from "Messachuset," by which name the whole was known; and hence I conclude that this patent covered that part of the country where the Massachusetts Indians had their chief residence, and which has already been described. It was an important object with patentees to have their grants cover Indian settlements, because trade with them for beaver could be carried on advantageously, and without infringing on the rights of others. Mr. Walford was located in a place "full of Indians;" and it will be seen with what anxiety the Massachusetts Company operated to exclude Mr. Oldham and others from the country about the bottom of the bay. Mr. Wheelwright's purchase of 1629 included great Indian resorts and settlements. Others might be mentioned.

‡ See Belknap, *Amer. Biography*, ii. 334.— The assessment, as given above, Dr. Belknap copied from the original Letter-Book of Governor Bradford; which assessment, though copied from that MS., is probably a mere memorandum by the Governor, as a sort of explanation to a copy of a letter sent to England, containing accusations against Morton. As such, it appears in the *original* edition of vol. iii. *Mass. Hist. Colls.*, p. 63. Why, in the reprint of this work, the matter under consideration stands with interpolation marks, there is nothing to explain. I have not seen the original MS., nor have I inquired whether it

CHAPTER VII.

Colony of Cape Ann. — Settlement of Naumkeag. — Roger Conant. — Origin of the Massachusetts Company. — Sir Ferdinando Gorges. — His early Prophecy of American Independence. — Rev. John White. — Governor John Endicott. — Sails for New England. — Settlement of Charlestown. — Description of the country. — John Oldham. — His Grant. — Thwarted by the Massachusetts Company. — Returns to New England. — Mr. John Wheelwright and others proceed from Massachusetts and purchase New Hampshire of the Indians. — Captain Mason's grant of the same territory from the Council of Plymouth.



NOTICE has been taken in the last chapter of a settlement at Cape Ann. The persons engaged there ("their design not likely to answer their expectations"), sent word to the Adventurers in England — at whose charge the settlement had been begun — how their affairs stood; briefly, that they were not prosperous. A relinquishment of the undertaking was therefore resolved upon by those Adventurers. "Yet were they so civil," says the historian Hubbard, "to those that were employed under them, as to pay them all their wages, and proffered to transport them back whence they came, if so they desired." The same historian adds, that "Mr. Conant, disliking the place as much as the Adventurers disliked the business," had, "meanwhile, made some inquiry into a more commodious place, called Naumkeak, a little to the westward, secretly conceiving in his mind, that it might prove a receptacle for such as, upon the account of religion, would be willing to begin a plantation in this part of the world;" and therefore he made known his discoveries and opinions to some of his friends in England. Accordingly, Mr. White, before mentioned, who had been grieved at the sudden abandonment of the undertaking by the Adventurers, wrote to Mr. Conant, and urged him not "to desert the business," promising that if he would stay in the country with three others, and occupy Naumkeag, and give him notice of the fact, he would provide a patent for them; and would send them whatever they should write for; either men, provisions, or goods.

Conant determined to continue. John Woodberry, John Balch, and Peter Jaffrey, who had been employed by the Adventurers, agreed to abide with him. The three last, however, after long waiting for assistance, thinking probably that supplies might fail to arrive in season, and their necessities being great; fearing, too, that the Indians were hostile towards them, came to the conclusion to go to Virginia, especially as their minister, Mr. Lyford, "upon a loving invitation, was thither

were preserved after it was used to print from. I have understood, incidentally, that many valuable MSS., so used, were not considered any longer of service, and that they remained in the printers' hands, and *went with their worthless paper rubbish!*

bound."* They urged Mr. Conant to go with them ; but had he had the heart of an old Roman he could not have shown superior in future ages. "No," he said, "though you all forsake me, I will remain." Seeing his firmness, and knowing, from experience, the goodness of his heart, they could not bring their minds to desert him, and thus the breath of life was continued on that sterile side of the Bay of Massachusetts. †

To the sterling integrity of Roger Conant, therefore, was Salem indebted for its first English inhabitants. Through the agency of Mr. White, great confidence had been reposed in him by the Adventurers, and, as before observed, he proved himself worthy of it. Nor was he mistaken in the promises of Mr. White on his part ; who, exerting himself among his friends, soon enlisted Sir Henry Rosewell,‡ Sir John Young,§ knights ; Thomas Southcoat,‖ John Humphrey,¶ John En-

* In Morton's *New Canaan*, Book iii., chap. viii., may be seen that facetious author's ideas of the reasons of "Master Layford's and John Oldham's" treatment from the Pilgrims.

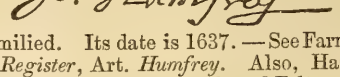
† "Meanwhile, White had projected an asylum for the silenced nonconformist clergy, who then thought themselves persecuted, because they were not allowed to persecute." — *Chalmers' Polit. Annals*, 135. This author omits no opportunity to slur the nonconformists and Puritans. In speaking of the settlement of Plymouth, he says, "The Brownists," who "nestled at Cape Cod." He probably well knew that the followers of Mr. Robinson always repudiated the name of Brownists, and that they were *not* of the sect of Robert Brown.

‡ Chalmers, 147, has the following roundabout note on Rosewell, or, as he is often written, Rowswell. "In opposition to the pretensions of the truly celebrated Sir Samuel Luke, it has been zealously contended by the partisans of this knight, so famous in the story of Massachusetts, that Sir Henry was assuredly the great prototype of the incomparable Sir Hudibras. See the subject discussed in the Introduction to Grey's [edition of] Hudibras, and the Sup. to Granger's Biography." Dr. Grey, it should be stated, is not of the opinion that Sir Henry Rosewell is intended by Hudibras ; and Granger says Sir *Samuel* Rosewell, which is no doubt a mistake. When Westcote wrote his *Views of Devonshire* (about 1620), he says, p. 245, Thorncombe "is now the inheritance of Sir Henry Rowswell, late sheriff of this county." Thorncombe is in Ford Parish. His wife was Mary, daughter of John Drake, Esq., of Ashe. She was interred in the parish church at Musbury, in 1643. Soon after her death, as I judge, Sir Henry sold his estates and went to reside in Somersetshire. See Lysons' *Magna Britan.*, ccxiii. 360.

§ Said to be of Devonshire. There was a Sir John Young (I think the same), of Cullitton, in that shire, whose daughter Jane was the wife of Sir John Drake, of Ashe. She died in 1682. This Sir John Drake was son of the John Drake, Esq., mentioned in the last note. Sir John Young was a member of the Long Parliament, 1640, and a signer of the "Solemn League and Covenant," in 1643 ; a member of Cromwell's second Parliament, in 1654, from Honiton ; and of the third Parliament, 1656. See Mr. Haven, in *Archol. Americana.*

‖ Supposed by Farmer to be the same person admitted freeman at Boston, 1631 ; but on what authority he comes to that conclusion he does not state ; if no other than that of his bearing the same Christian name, it is quite small. He was, perhaps, of the Southcotes of Mohuns-Otlery, county Devonshire. George, son and heir of Thomas, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Seymour, brother to the Duke of Somerset, and had a son Thomas. — See *Westcote.* This family was connected with the Pophams. There is a curious account of them in Prince's *Worthies of Devonshire.*

¶ It is to be hoped that the time is near at hand when we may find such names as Humphrey in Biographical Dictionaries. "John Humphreys, Esq.," was a man of great consequence in the first days of Massachusetts He was chosen deputy governor at the second meeting of the Massachusetts Company, in England ; came to New England in 1632 ; elected assistant same year, which office he held till 1641. He resided a while at Lynn, then at Salem. Meeting with some severe misfortunes, he left the country in 1641. Although his name usually appears in history and in historical documents, as above written, his own autograph, in my possession, is here



fac-similied. Its date is 1637. — See Farmer's *Gen. Register*, Art. *Humfrey.* Also, Hazard, Winthrop, Hutchinson ; Lewis and Felt may be consulted with advantage.

dicott,* and Simon Whetcomb,† gentlemen, "about Dorchester," to make a purchase of territory in New England of the Council of Plym-
1627–8. outh. On application, that corporation conveyed to the above
Mar. 19. named gentlemen, their heirs and associates, the country from three miles north of the Merrimack, to three miles south of the Charles River, and to extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. This grant, of course, swallowed up several others previously made. Why the Council utterly disregarded them does not clearly appear, though it is conjectured by some historians ‡ that they, being entirely neglected by the grantees, were looked upon as forfeited or void. But it is certain, that if the Council, as a body, so considered those grants, individual members of it were of a different opinion.§ Referring to this grant or purchase from the Council of Plymouth, Sir Ferdinando Gorges says, "Some of the discreeter, sought to avoid what they found themselves subject unto, made use of their friends to procure from the Council for the affairs of New England to settle a colony within their limits; to which it pleased the thrice-honored Lord of Warwick to write to me, then at Plymouth, to condescend that a Patent might be granted to such as then sued for it. Whereupon I gave my approbation, ‖ so far forth as it might not be prejudicial to my son, Robert Gorges' interest, whereof he had a patent under the seal of the Council. Hereupon there was a grant passed as was thought reasonable; but the same was after enlarged by his majesty,¶ and confirmed under the great seal of England, by the authority whereof the undertakers proceeded so effectually, that in a very short time numbers of people of all sorts flocked thither in heaps, that at last it was specially ordered, by the king's command, that none should be suffered to go without license first had and obtained, and they to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. So that what I long before prophesied, when I could hardly get any for money to reside there, was now brought to pass in a high measure. The reason of that restraint was grounded upon the several complaints that came out of those parts, of the divers sects and schisms that were amongst them; all contemning the public government of the ecclesiastical state. And it was doubted that they would, in short time, wholly shake off the royal jurisdiction of the sovereign magistrate." **

* Of Endicott, who came over with a commission as Governor in 1628, an excellent historical memoir has been printed, prepared by a descendant, Charles M. Endicott, Esq., of Salem. An abstract of this work will be found in the first volume of the *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* Chalmers says, with accuracy, "He laid the foundation of Salem in 1628, the first permanent town in Massachusetts; who, in 1629, was confirmed Governor within the colony, and was honored with new instructions." — *Political Annals*, 136, 142.

† Simon Whetcomb never came to this country, and nothing of his history or family has been found, further than his connection with the Company. These six persons are said, in all the early accounts, to be "gentlemen about Dorchester." It was doubtless true, while nearly all of them resided in Devonshire, though within a few miles of Dorchester.

‡ Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 8.

§ See Gorges' *Nar.*, chap. xxvi., B. I.

‖ From this passage, and what we elsewhere find concerning Gorges' disposition towards New England, is it hardly just in an American historian of the present day to say of him that he "*seemed* to favor" this patent? — See Bancroft, *Hist. U. S.*, 138, ed. Lond., 1843.

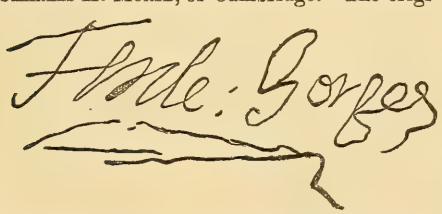
¶ Many early, as well as some late, writers, carelessly state that the charter which Gorges here refers to was granted by Parliament. See Prince, *New Eng. Chron.*, 249.

** For the accompanying copy of the autograph of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, I am indebted

In this short passage, by one of the men who had sacrificed so much to settle New England, is contained matter for volumes of history. In the first place, as regards the nature and extent of the grants of the Council of Plymouth. In the second place, as to the persons licensed to transport themselves out of England to reside here. And, thirdly, how they came to give occasion to their rulers for fears, at so early a day, that there was a design on their part to become independent of the crown. True, there was nothing more natural, under a government like that of England, where the civil and ecclesiastical powers composing it were nearly equal, than that the people who should undertake to deny a part of the authority of that government, should, of necessity, deny the whole; for they were inseparable; and, hence, a rebellion or revolution must unavoidably ensue. Those fears, time has shown, were not without good foundation.* And Sir Ferdinando Gorges, so far as anything as yet appears to the contrary, was the first to publish to the world a "prophesie," the fulfilment of which did not probably more astonish those who opposed, than those who accomplished it.

As soon as the grant was obtained from the Council of Plymouth, the grantees took the name of "the Massachusetts Company;" which, though composed of a small number of individuals at first, soon became respectable numerically considered. And, although above one hundred individuals, from time to time, are known to have belonged to it, yet it has not been ascertained how many did in reality belong to it, at any particular period.†

to the eminent collector of such things, Mr. Charles H. Morse, of Cambridge. The original is attached to a document in the hands of Mellen Chamberlain, Esq., of Chelsea. Although sufficient has been said to vindicate Sir Ferdinando Gorges from any ill intentions towards the settlers of Massachusetts, I cannot forbear citing a passage from the Journal of Mr. Richard Mather, going to show, that, in 1635, Sir Ferdinando professed much interest in the welfare of the colony. When Mr. Mather, in the ship James, lay in King Road, "four or five miles below Bristol," ready to sail for New England, "there came three or four more boates with more passengers, and one wherein came Sir Ferdinando George, who came to see the ship and the people. When hee was come, hee enquired whether there were any people there that went to Massachusetts Bay; whereupon Mr. Maud and Mr. Barnabas Fower were sent for to come before him; who, being come, hee asked Mr. Maud of his country, occupation, or calling of life, &c., and professed his good will to the people there in the Bay, and promised that, if ever hee came there hee would be a true friend unto them."—*Printed in the Colls. Dorchester Antiq. and Hist. Soc., from the original MS.*



* And thus some recent writers have made the *discovery* that the American Revolution of 1776 actually commenced with the emigration. Might it not, with at least equal propriety, be carried back to the germ of the first thought of liberty of conscience?

† The following is a list of all such as appear in the Company's Records, as published in vol. iii., Part 1., *Trans. Amer. Antiq. Soc.*, amounting to one hundred and fifty. Some of them may not have been members of the Company, but, as Mr. Haven, the editor, observes, they were in some way connected with it, as servants or otherwise. After the names of these, I have caused a *u* to be set, to denote the *uncertainty* of their membership.

Abrie, ——
A. C., ——
Adams, Thomas
Aldersey, Samuel
Andrews, Thomas,
Archer, John
Arnold, Andrew
Backhouse, ——
Ballard, Daniel
Barkley, William *u*
Bateman, ——
Beecher, Thomas (*captain of the Talbot*) *u*
Bellingham, Richard
Betts, John *u*
Bilson, ——

1628. March. Soon after a grant was obtained, probably within a few days, the members had a meeting, at which they chose Matthew Cradock governor, and Thomas Goff deputy governor. Mr. White had, in the mean time, engaged "several other religious persons in and about London," to be of the company, who, from their desire to provide an asylum "where nonconformists might transport themselves and enjoy the liberty of their own persuasion in matters of worship and church discipline," had, it appears, entered into the views and wishes of Mr. White. The Governor and Deputy Governor had probably joined the company about the time of its first meeting. They were opulent merchants of London; and their influence with other men of wealth made their acquisition to the company of great importance.

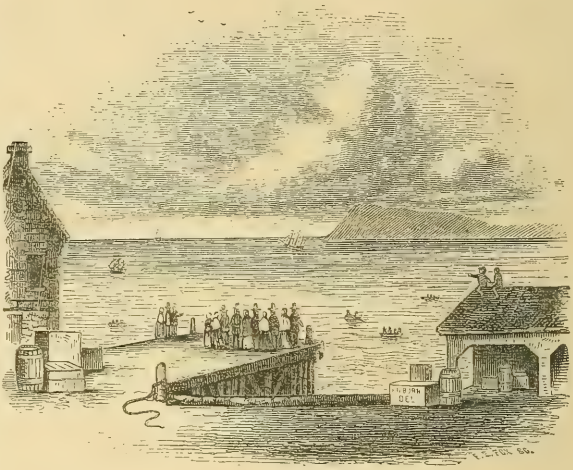
The sending succor to Mr. Conant seems not for a moment to have been lost sight of, or unnecessarily delayed; for, within three months from the organization of the Company, a ship had been provided, and all things made necessary for a voyage "into those remote parts of the earth," as New England was then accounted.

There seems to have been some difficulty at first about a proper officer to conduct this enterprise. Captain John Endicott, however, a member of the company, required only to be asked if he would go and reside in New England, and act as governor of the colony, when he promptly answered in the affirmative; which answer was in conformity with his previous and after history: A man of decision of character, "whose deep enthusiasm," says Chalmers, "engaged him zealously to promote

Boreman, Felix *u*
Bowry, Richard *u*
Bradshawe, Job
Bradshawe, Joseph
Bradstreet, Simon
Brereton, Sir William
Brickhead, Thomas *u*
Bright, Francis
Browne, John
Browne, Samuel
Browne, Kellam
Burgess, William
Burnell, [Tobias ?]
Bushord, Richard
Caron, Joseph
Casson, Edward (*merchant tailor*) *u*
Charlton, Robert *u*
Churchill, Joseph *u*
Clarke, ——
Claydon, Barnaby *u*
Claydon, Richard (*carpenter*) *u*
Coddington, William
Colburn, William
Cony, Thomas *u*
Cooke, Edward
Coulson, Christopher
Cradock, Matthew
Crane, Robert
Crowther, William
Darbie, William
Darley, Henry
Davenport, John
Davis, Richard,
Downing, Emanuel
Dudley, Thomas
Durbridge, Mr. —— *u*
Eaton, Theophilus
Edmonds, James (*sailor and fisherman*) *u*
Endicott, John
Fines, Charles
Flyer, Francis
Forde, Edward
Foxcroft, George
Gace, John (*turner*) *u*
Gardener, Mr. —— *u*
Gauden, Henry (*master of the ship Abigail*) *u*
Gladwing, John *u*
Glover, John
Goffe, Thomas
Graves, Thomas *u*
Hanscombe, Thomas *u*
Harwood, George
Harrett, Robert *u*
Helme, Gawen *u*
Hewson, George
Hewson, John
Hewson, Thomas
Higginson, Francis
Hodsen, Daniel
Hubbard, William
Humphrey, John
Hutchins, Thomas
Ironside, ——
Janson, Sir Brian
Johnson, Francis *u*
Johnson, Isaac
Joyce, Mr. —— *u*
Kerke, Jarvis *u*
Lewis, Humphrey *u*
Ludlowe, Roger
Malbon, John (*worker in iron*) *u*
Manstreye, Nathaniel
Mayo, Mr. —— *u*
Milburne, Capt. Peter
Miller, Sydrach (*cooper*) *u*
Mitchell, Barnard *u*
Morley, Robert (*barber and surgeon*) *u*
Moulton, Robert (*shipwright*) *u*
Nowell, Increase
Nye, Philip
Offield, Joseph
Palmer, Abraham
Pelham, —— *u*
Perry, Richard
Peters, Hugh
Phillips, George
Pocock, John
Pratt, John (*surgeon*) *u*
Puliston, Thomas
Pynchon, William
Revell, John
Roe, Lawrence *u*
Rossiter, Edward
Roswell, Sir Henry
Rovell, William (*ship master*) *u*
Rowe, Owen
Saltonstall, Sir Richard
Seale, Humphrey
Seale, Robert (*apprentice*) *u*
Sharpe, Samuel
Sharpe, Thomas
Sherman, William *u*
Skelton, Samuel
Smith, John
Southcot, Thomas
Spurstow, [William]
Stevens, Thomas
Tuffneale, Richard
Vassall, Samuel
Vassall, William
Venn, John
Wade, ——
Walgrave, ——
Waller, Capt. Henry
Ward, Nathaniel
Washborne, John
Waye, George
Webb, Francis
Webb, Thomas
West, Nicholas
Whitt, John *u*
White, Ralph *u*
Winthrop, John
Whetcomb, Simon
Whichcote, Charles
White, Edmund
White, John (*minister*)
White, John (*jurist*)
White, Richard
Wise, John (*shoemaker*) *u*
Woodgate, ——
Wright, Nathaniel
Wynche, ——
Young, James
Young, Sir John
Young, Richard

the success of an enterprise which was to gratify the favorite passions of every one." But this historian should have added, "when those passions have for their object purity of life, and the universal good of his fellow-man." John Endicott, like other great men who have immortalized their names, requires the addition of no sounding titles to ennoble his memory. His simple name is a better indication of greatness than any title that his native country's peerage could confer.*

1628. June 20. There was now riding at anchor in the harbor of Weymouth, a little ship called the Abigail, of about two hundred tons burden, Henry Gauden,† master. On the morning of one of the last days of the month of June, 1628, Captain Endicott, with his wife, children, and others of his company, being on board, to the number probably of about one hundred souls, with the last greetings of many friends assembled on the occasion, sails out of Weymouth bay; and, doubling the noted promontory called Portland Bill, is soon lost sight of in the channel beyond. Whatever were the incidents of the voyage across the Atlantic, there is nothing from which to form an account,‡ however important they may have been. But they arrived at Naumkeag, their place of destination, after a voyage of two months and "some few odd days." The joy with which they were received by Mr. Conant and his little company, can be conceived by those only capable of imagining what the real condition of the country then must have been, — an immeasurable expanse of lofty forests shrouded in the sable gloom of ages; separated from the wide Atlantic ocean only by a rugged curtain of fearful rocks and barren sands. The actual number composing the colony of which Mr. Endicott found him-



Sept. 6.

* The early historian of New England, Captain Edward Johnson, the cotemporary of Endicott, calls him in his history, "The much honoured," — "a fit instrument to begin this wildernesse-worke; of courage bold, undanted, yet sociable, and of a chearfull spirit, loving and austere, applying himselfe to either, as occasion served." *Wond.-work. Prov. of Sion's Sav. in New England*, p. 19. The preceding copy of Gov. Endicott's autograph is from a legal paper of 1647.



† Godden, Gooden, Goodin, Godwin, Goodwin, Gooding, &c., all probably traceable to the same original.

‡ Endicott wrote a letter to the governor of the Company, dated one week after his arrival, in which he probably detailed the incidents of the voyage, but that letter has not been preserved, or, if preserved, it has not come to the knowledge of historians.

self governor,* at his arrival at Naumkeag, has never been ascertained; but, judging from the data that are to be found, there could not have been many above one hundred persons in and about that part of the country.†

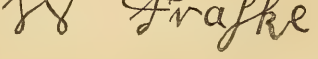
Some time after the arrival of Governor Endicott, several gentlemen, under his direction, crossed the country to Mishawum. The principal persons who went on this discovery were three brothers, Ralph, Richard and William Sprague. The place they "lighted of" was "on the north side of Charles river, full of Indians, called Aberginians. Their old Sachem being dead, his eldest son, by the English called John Sagamore, was their chief, and a man naturally of a gentle and good dispo-

* Half a century ago, or to be more exact, *sixty-two* years ago (1790), an edition of Gov. Winthrop's Journal was published at Hartford, in the title-page of which the editor or transcriber wrote, after the name of the author, "First Governor of Massachusetts." This is an error which no one will seriously deny. Matthew Cradock, as we have seen, was the *first* governor of the Massachusetts Company. The Company established a colony at Naumkeag, in 1628, over which Endicott had a commission, executed with all the formalities of those days, constituting him governor. He was exercising the office of governor in the colony at Naumkeag before Winthrop was even Governor of the Company in England. Governors in those days, and even a hundred years later, were not, as it respects the office, what they have been since. Roger Conant was *a* governor before Endicott arrived, but he was not so by the appointment of the Massachusetts Company, for that company was not formed when Conant was appointed Governor of the Cape Ann Colony. Hutchinson remarks, with regard to Conant's office, that "the superior condition of the persons who came over with the charter, cast a shade upon him, and he lived in obscurity." It depends altogether upon the number and wealth of a community, whether or not, in after times, those who held offices in it are to be dignified by the titles of such offices; and that it therefore follows, if offices are of more importance, because exercised over more or better people, the predecessors in the same offices are not entitled to be known by such titles of office! Such must inevitably be the reasoning warranted by the only inference to be drawn from the passage of Hutchinson. It is of no consequence whatever whether Conant, Endicott, or Winthrop was the first governor of Massachusetts, further than to have the facts stated exactly as they existed, and as the original records warrant.

† The following is a list of the names of such as are known to have been in Salem and about the north side of the Massachusetts Bay, before and in the year 1629; consequently, before the settlement of Boston. They have been collected from Original Papers, the *Ans. of Salem, Lewis' Hist. of Lynn*, &c,

Allan, William
Balch, John
Beard, Thomas
Brackenbury, Richard
Brand, Thomas
Bright, Francis
Brown, Hugh
Brown, John
Brown, Samuel
Button, Matthias
Claydon, Barnabas
Claydon, Richard
Conant, Roger
Davenport, Richard
Dixy, William
Dodge, William
Dorrell, John (?)
Edes, William
Edmonds, James
Endicott, Gov. John
Ewstead, Richard
Gardner, Thomas
Gott, Charles
Graves, Thomas
Gray, Thomas
Hanscombe, Thomas
Haughton, Henry
Howard, Richard
Herrick, Henry
Hewes, Mr. ——
Higginson, Francis
Higginson, John
Hoyte, Simon
Ingalls, Edmund
Ingersoll, Richard
Jeffrey, William
Knight, Walter
Leach, Lawrence
Lyford, John
Malbon, John
Maverick, Samuel
Meech, John
Miller, Sydrach
Moulton, Robert
Norman, Richard
Norman, Richard, Jr.
Palfray, Peter
Palmer, Abra
Palmer, Walter
Patch, ——
Rickman, Isaac
Ryall, William
Scruggs, Thomas
Sharpe, Samuel
Sibly, John
Skelton, Samuel
Sprague, Ralph
Sprague, Richard
Sprague, William
Strickline, John
Stileman, Elias
Stowers, Nicholas
Tillie, Hugh
Tillie, John
Traske, William
Walford, Thomas
Waterman, Richard
Webb, Francis
Wheelwright, John
Wilson, Lambert
Woodbury, Humphrey
Woodbury, John
Wood, William

An attempt has not been made to determine separately, the names of those whom Endicott found on his arrival at Naumkeag; the names of those who came with him, or of those who followed him in 1629. From a passage in Hubbard's *New England*, p. 109, it is pretty plain that Captain William Trask was there before the arrival of Endicott. He was an important man in the colony, and one on whom Gov. Endicott placed much reliance. He was a captain in the Pequot war, and held other offices of distinction. He died in 1666. His descendant, Mr. William B. Trask, of Dorchester, has furnished the fac simile subjoined.



sition, by whose free consent they settled about the hill of the same place, by the said natives called Mishawum, where they found but one English palisadoed and thatched house, wherein lived Thomas Walford, a smith, situated on the south end of the westernmost hill of the East Field, a little way up from Charles river side, and, upon survey, they found it was a neck of land generally full of stately timber, as was the main, and the land lying on the east side of the river, called Mystick river, from the farm Mr. Craddock's servants had planted, called Mystic, which this river led up unto; and indeed generally, all the country round about was an uncouth wilderness full of timber." *

The discovery and possession of Mishawum was undertaken thus early to prevent the validity of the claims of those who held that part of the Bay under the grant of Captain Robert Gorges. Especially against the claim of Mr. John Oldham, who, with one John Dorrill, held a lease or grant of the lands between Charles and Abousett (Saugus) rivers, extending "by a right line" five miles up Charles and three miles up Abousett rivers. This claim the Company resisted, because, as they say, "it was voyde in lawe." † At what time this grant to Oldham and Dorrill was made does not appear, but it was doubtless before 1628. Seeing that Mr. Oldham was firm in his views, as it respected his grant, the Company "left him to his owne way;" because, probably, that appeared the *only way*. That he was a man of much energy, and no little importance in the commercial community of that

* This interesting record of the earliest account of Charlestown, is not quite contemporary with the settlement; but, as Mr. Prince tells us, "was wrote by Mr. Increase Nowell, afterwards town clerk of Charlestown, and secretary of the Massachusetts Colony." But Mr. Frothingham, in his *History of Charlestown*, says it was written by John Greene, in the first book of the records of the town, in 1664. Mr. Nowell having died in 1655, it is clear that Prince fell into an error respecting the authority of the record in question, and is by Mr. Frothingham set right in his history. Most New England historians, following Mr. Prince, have fallen into the same error respecting the date of the emigration to Charlestown from Salem. The facts and dates are correctly given in *Chalmers' Polit. Annals*, 142–3.

† Among the many unexplained matters of these times, are the titles of certain grants of lands in New England. If the validity of Mr. Oldham's title rested on that of another grant, as I presume it did, what invalidated it? If his title was from Robert Gorges, the title of the latter must have been defective, and if defective, wherein? Gorges certainly had a grant from the Council of Plymouth. Was it a condition of validity that he should reside personally upon his grant? No such condition appears in it. Was it that he should improve it by actual settlers? If this were a condition, Blackston, Walford, Maverick, and others could not have held under him; for if they did, there *was* actual possession. In the Company's letter to Endicott, dated 17th April, 1629 (Hazard, i. 258–9), great complaint is made *about* Oldham, though nothing like a tangible charge of any sort is brought *against* him. They say, indeed, in a kind of general way, that "they had bin cast behind two months tyme in their voyage, through the varyetie of his vast conceipts;" which "vast conceipts" appear to have been plans for realizing great profits which he had endeavored to get the Company to join in. But there were two insuperable difficulties; first, Oldham probably demanded, as a condition, that his grant from Gorges should be recognized; and, second, that he might trade for beaver with the Indians as he saw fit. But, says the Company's letter, "after long tyme spent in sundry treaties, fynding him a man altogeather vnfitt for vs to deale with, wee haue at last left him to his owne way." How long before the date of this letter, he had been "left to his owne way," does not appear, but, as will be seen, he was in New England on the 17th of May following. As to the trade in beaver, "that," they say, "wee deny to the best of our owne planters." This sharp eye to the trade in beaver was doubtless commendable, notwithstanding they say, "the propagation of the gospele is the thing wee doe profess above all to bee, or ayme in settling this plantacion."

day, is abundantly shown by the documents under consideration. The Company were in great alarm lest he should "interest others, who," they say, "for ought wee knowe, are never likely to bee benefitiall to the planting of the country; their owne prticuler prfitts (though to the overthrewe of the gen^rall plantacon), being their chiefe ayme and intent." Therefore they direct Mr. Endicott to "vse the best meanes he can to settle an agreem^t with the old Planters, so as they may not harken to Mr. Oldham's dangerous though vaine propositions." They complain also that "he is a man so affected to his owne opinion, as not to bee removed from it, neither by reason nor any perswasion;" that therefore, they expect, as he had lately gone, or was going for New England again, he would, by drawing others to his opinions, make trouble there, it was their will that "when faire meanes will not prevaile," such other means might be "vsed to suppresse a mischiefe before it take too great a head, as in yo^r discrecons you shall thinke fittest for the gen^rall good and safety of the plantacon, and preservacon of o^r priviledges. And because wee would not omitt to doe anything wch might strengthen o^r right, we would have you (as soone as these shipps, or any of them, arrive with you, whereby you may have men to do it), send forty or fifty persons to Massachusetts Bay,* to inhabit there; which we pray you not to protract, but to doe it with all speede; and if any of o^r company in perticuler shall desire to settle themselves there, or to send servants thither, wee desire all accommodacon and encourag-m^t bee given them theronto, wherby the better to strengthen o^r possession there against all or any that shall intrude vpon vs, wch wee would not haue you by any meanes give way vnto."†

From the tenor of these instructions to Endicott, it is manifest that the defeat of those claiming under Gorges the younger was intended; and these were "Oldham and his adherents."

Being defeated in all his endeavors to effect an arrangement with the Massachusetts Patentees, Mr. Oldham appears to have embarked for New England early in the spring of this year. In what vessel he sailed, or in what company he came, is not discovered; but soon after his arrival, he is found at a noted Indian place, — probably then long

* It was a long time before places received their appropriate names; owing in a great measure to the want of correct geographical knowledge. It could not be otherwise, under the circumstances. Strictly speaking, the Bay of Massachusetts included, anciently, only the south-western portion of what is now Boston harbor. It was so named from the proximity of the tribe of Massachusetts Indians. There does not appear to have been any particular name to that great body of water from the harbor and Cape Ann to Cape Cod, until a much later period than that now under consideration. The precise date when the Great Bay received the name it now bears, I have not attempted to fix. It has stood so inscribed upon some maps for about one hundred years. On one now before me (an English map of Massachusetts, of 1780), *Bunker Hill* appears; but, instead of being in Charlestown, it is south of Charles river, in Brookline! Massachusetts Bay does not form a separate article in the early geographical works, down to and including those of Dr. Morse. All of those who wrote of the country in the times of its settlement, speak of what is now Boston harbor as Massachusetts Bay. The people of Salem spoke of going from that place to Massachusetts Bay. In the *Planter's Plea* (Force), p. 15, the "Mattachusets Bay" is described as near Salem. In the MS. of Mr. Harris (referred to, ante, p. 44) are curious facts relating to the early geographical knowledge of these parts, which it is to be hoped he will, ere long, in some form, give to the public.

† Hazard, i. 260.

known to the early traders for furs, — called Swamscott, or Squamscot (since Exeter), in company with Mr. John Wheelwright. How or when this gentleman came, is likewise unknown. However, for anything that is found to the contrary, he may have been in the country one, two, or more years ; long enough, at all events, to find out a good tract of country, then thought not to be included in any patent, exceedingly valuable for its timber and for the fur trade.

May 17. Mr. Wheelwright, probably by his agents, having assembled the principal Indian Sagamores at Squamscot, they gave him a deed of a tract of country which, for near fifty years after, embraced the whole of New Hampshire.*

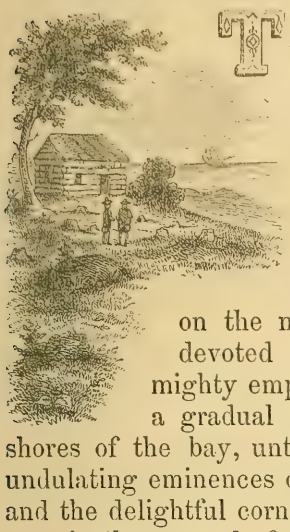
Nov. 7. Notwithstanding Captain John Mason procured a patent of the Council of Plymouth, of nearly the same tract which Mr. Wheelwright had purchased of the Indians, and which, for a time, may have prevented him from asserting his claim, yet, eventually, his posterity enjoyed it, or a portion of it at least ; for, when the colony from about Londonderry, in Ireland, came to New England, in 1718, and had liberty to make choice of a place for settlement, the tract, since Londonderry, in New Hampshire, was selected by them. To obtain a title to the land they had selected, they were referred to Colonel John Wheelwright, of Wells, grandson of the original grantee, because "he had the best Indian title, derived from his ancestors." And, although there were one or two claimants of the same territory, — which was ten miles square, — yet the government protected the settlers under that of Colonel Wheelwright.†

* In the deed Mr. Wheelwright is styled "of the Massachusetts Bay, late of England ;" and Augustine Story [Storre], Thomas Wite [Wright], William Wentworth, and Thomas Levet [Leavitt], are also named "of Massachusetts Bay." From which fact it is evident they had been residing somewhere about Boston harbor, because then, as has been shown, the Massachusetts Bay was confined to this harbor; perhaps Mr. Wheelwright had been residing with the hospitable Mavericke, whose son Samuel afterwards married his daughter Rebecca. However, Wheelwright, Storre, Wright, Wentworth and Leavitt, all probably belonged to the same company. Oldham may have been their agent in England, upon whose return here, finding their patent swallowed up (if they had any interest in that of Robert Gorges), and so lost beyond hope of recovery, they at once proceeded beyond the limits of that company, and made the purchase as stated in the text. To prevent any question as to their purchase, they took a large number of witnesses from the eastern settlements, namely, "George Vaughan, factor, and Ambrose Gibbons, trader, for the Company of Laconia, Richard Vines, governor, and Richard Bonighton, assistant, of the plantation at Saco ; Thomas Wiggin, agent, and Edward Hilton, steward of the plantation of Hilton's Point." All these witnessed the acknowledgment of the deed, and John Oldham, Samuel Sharp and two Indians witnessed the deed.

† His deed to those settlers is dated 20 Oct., 1719, in which he says he conveys "by virtue of a Deed or Grant made to his grandfather, a minister of the Gospel," &c.—*Parker's Hist. Londonderry*, p. 321.

CHAPTER VIII.

Settlements first made on outskirts of a country. — Particularly so in New England. — Why the Massachusetts Company sought a Royal Charter. — How obtained. — Its Boundaries. — Its Government. — Its Conditions and Restrictions. — Examination of its Conditions. — Privileges assumed under it which it never authorized. — Religious Liberty denied in it. — Case of the Plymouth Settlers. — Origin of Religious Liberty. — Charter Privileges contended for not contained in the Charter. — The times favor the assumption.



THE planters of new countries usually locate themselves at first in such places as accident provides, or some peculiar circumstances make unavoidable; hence it has happened that the poorest parts have been first improved, and the best localities neglected till the last. It was truly so in the settlement of Plymouth and Massachusetts, as it was also in Canada and Virginia. Cape Cod on the south, and Cape Ann on the north, were among the first resting-places of the devoted men who led the way in the early path, to a mighty empire. From these inhospitable and sterile points a gradual progress was made along the south and north shores of the bay, until the wanderers met in its bosom, among the undulating eminences of Shawmut, the beautiful groves of the Mystic, and the delightful cornfields of the Massachusetts. This will have been seen in the perusal of the previous chapters.

1629. Thus, at this time, Englishmen had located themselves in all the prominent places around the Massachusetts Bay, and a tolerably accurate knowledge of the country had been learned by several gentlemen in England who had become immediately interested in its settlement. It remained now to push forward a further occupation of the country embraced in their patent, for many and obvious reasons. Before entering upon a detail of the next great emigration, however, it is deemed necessary to take notice of the charter and its provisions, or conditions under which it was made, as they had a most important bearing upon the affairs of Boston, and consequently upon the whole country; and hence somewhat of recapitulation may be necessary.

The Massachusetts Company, judging from the experience of former colonial companies, doubted partly the validity of the conveyance lately made to them by the Plymouth Company, but more the authority given by it to rule the intended plantation.* They therefore insisted, not

* This is Chalmers' explanation; but there was a motive back of all this. The Council of Plymouth had been disposing of their territory in a manner which can be accounted for in two ways only;—first, that, owing to their extreme ignorance of the geography of the country, they had conveyed parts of the same tracts twice over, to different individuals;—or, secondly, that they, or those whom they empowered to act for them, dishonorably sold territory whenever purchasers offered, regardless of what had been previously sold; and the most favorable construction that this will admit of is, that they had been deceived by the representations of purchasers, who had been in the country, and knew the value of certain localities which they desired to possess, and were not scrupulous to inquire into

only that a charter should be obtained from the Crown confirmatory of the grant from the Council of Plymouth, and authorizing them to govern the colonists, but that their names should be inserted in it, and their affairs transacted at London. Under these considerations, a patent was applied for, and, by the personal solicitation of Lord Dor-
1629. chester, it was obtained of King Charles I.* This patent re-
Mar. 4. cited the grant to the Council of Plymouth, of 1620, and the subsequent sale of a small portion of its territory before mentioned, and regranted to Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcot, John Humfrey, John Endicot, Simon Whetcomb,† and their associates, namely, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Knight, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Aldersey, John Ven, Matthew Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goff, Thomas Adams, John Brown, Samuel Brown, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pynchon, and George Foxcroft,‡ their heirs and assigns forever, that part of New England which lies between the rivers Merrimack and Charles, being the bottom of a certain bay, there commonly called Massachusetts alias Mattachusetts alias Massatusetts Bay, and also all lands lying within the space of three miles on the south part of the said Charles river, or of any or every part thereof; and also of all lands lying within the space of three miles to the northward of the said river called Monomack, alias Merrimack, or to the northward of every part thereof, and through the main lands from the Atlantic and western sea and ocean on the east, to the South sea on the west. To be holden by them, their heirs, and assigns, in free and common soccage, as of the manor of East Greenwich; paying, in lieu of all services, one fifth of the gold and silver that should be found.§

the rights of others, especially where they could flatter themselves that claims had been abandoned or neglected. Therefore, in view of these facts, and to possess at least a right or claim paramount to all others, nothing short of a patent under the royal seal would enable the Massachusetts Company to contend successfully against a swarm of minor patentees. Though historians have not viewed the motives which influenced the Company in this light, they are to me the most satisfactory of all others together. I am aware that, in a moral point of view, the Company, as a body, are somewhat exposed to censure. If a straightforward detail of facts lead to exposures, it is no fault of the historian. His convictions should always be honestly stated. If he errs in judgment, it only proves that he has misjudged in the particular case under consideration. Whether the Company possessed all the *moral* rights which they exercised is the question. Certain it is they put no particular stress on *that* kind of right, while upon their *legal* rights they were sufficiently emphatical.

* I here follow Chalmers in this matter of the charter, who thus remarks at this point: "Whether we reflect that this is the only charter which Massachusetts possessed prior to the Revolution [of 1688], which contained its most ancient privileges; that on this was most dexterously established not only the original government of that colony, but independence itself, a minute discussion of it must appear equally necessary and interesting."—*Political Annals*, 136. But *his* "discussion of it" is not to my purpose.

† Mr. Hubbard called these six persons "Gentlemen *about* Dorchester;" not *of* Dorchester, as a popular historian of the present day cites him as saying. See *ante*.

‡ These names of the grantees are taken from Prince's *Annals*. The spelling of some of them differs from those in Hutchinson's *Collection of Papers*.

§ Patent in Hutchinson's *Col. Papers*, entire, also in Mauduit's *View of the History of New England*, and Hazard. Mauduit says it had not been printed in England before his time.

The executive power of the corporation was invested in a governor, deputy governor, and eighteen assistants, whose duty was, "for the best disposing and ordering of the lands granted, of the affairs of the plantation, of the government of the people there." The governor and seven or more assistants were authorized to meet in monthly courts "for despatching such business as concerned the Company or settlement." The legislative power of the Corporation, however, was invested in "a more solemn assembly." This body was to be composed of the governor, deputy governor, the assistants, and of the whole freemen of the company in person, and was directed to be held "every last Wednesday in the four terms," which meetings or sessions were named "the four Great and General Courts." It was empowered to make laws or ordinances for the government of the plantation, which "should not be repugnant to the laws of England." This "Great and General Court" was authorized to elect freemen, a governor, deputy governor, assistants and other officers. The governor and company were enabled to transport to New England "all such of the subjects of King Charles I., as shall be willing to accompany them, and such strangers as will become subjects and live under his allegiance;" but with this proviso: "that none of the said persons be such as shall be especially restrained;" that the emigrants and their posterity were declared "to be natural born subjects, and entitled to the immunities of Englishmen within every other dominion of the Crown as if born within the realm." They were empowered to carry thither warlike stores and merchandises, without paying any customs for the space of seven years; and, as a further encouragement, they were exempted from the payment of taxes in New England, during the same term of years, and from any duty on commodities imported to England or any dominion of the Crown, or exported from them, for twenty-one years after the expiration of the former term of exemption, except five in the hundred of the value for custom.

That the colony which was to be planted "might be so religiously and civilly governed, as the good life and orderly conversation of the inhabitants might invite the natives to the knowledge of the Christian faith; which, in the royal intention, and in the adventurers' free profession, was the principal end of the plantation," power was therefore conferred on the General Court, and its successors, to establish ordinances and instructions, which should not be contrary to the laws of the realm, for settling forms of government for the colonists; for determining fines, imprisonments, or other legal correction, according to the usages of other corporations in the realm of England; and for naming necessary officers; that these ordinances being published under the seal of the Company, were to be duly observed and executed within the plantation. The chief commander and other magistrates who should from time to time be employed by the governor and company in the government of the colony, were invested with absolute power to punish

or pardon, to rule the emigrants or colonists, according to the above-mentioned ordinances and instructions. They were authorized to defend themselves against invaders; but, should they do any injury to foreign states, or to other subjects, without making proper reparation, a right was given to the injured to prosecute them with every act of hostility. Agreeably to the repeated resolutions of the Commons, there was reserved to the other subjects of the Crown a right of free fishing, with the necessary incidents of drying fish on the shores, and of taking timber upon the coasts of New England.

In these days of large liberties it is difficult to discern what had been secured by that charter, to cause those who obtained it to feel any special gratitude to those who had the power to bestow it. But civil and religious liberty had not then dawned on the world. It was scarcely an object of speculation in the abstract theories of philosophers, or dreamed of by men of ordinary minds. Nevertheless, those who emigrated to New England under that charter professed to look upon it as something which God in his benevolence had moved the heart of their king to grant, and they cherished it as a sort of palladium of their liberties. In analyzing it, it is not easy to discover what great advantages they had with it, that they would not have had without it. It gave them the privilege of emigrating to New England. This was no *new* privilege. It did not compel them to stay here. They were as much the subjects of the crown of England as though they had remained in England. Their condition in New England was the same as it would have been in any incorporated borough in England, — with this difference, however: they could not be so easily watched over. And in this existed the grand secret in which all their advantages lay hid. They improved those advantages in due time, as light and strength from the nature of their situation clustered around them. As to any important liberties secured to them, it was merely ideal. They grew naturally and spontaneously out of the nature of their circumstances. True it is, the officers of the colony had the power of making laws, and of executing them; but around all this hung the laws of England, which admitted nothing without or beyond them; all laws and ordinances must be in accordance with them. There was no opportunity for improvement in their laws, unless the improvement originated in the mother country; or unless, by some revolution at home, the course of its laws became deranged. This, indeed, soon happened.

Much was said, even by the emigrants themselves, of their coming into this wilderness to enjoy the privilege of worshipping God according to their convictions of what he required of them. In fact, to worship God as they were not allowed to do at home; in other words, contrary to law. Surely their charter granted no such liberty,* nor did it recognize the least departure in religious worship from that of the Church of England. It was the same before, when the people came

* It could not grant any such liberty, because it would be in violation of the common law. *Coke, 5 Rep.*

to Plymouth. Their agents attempted to procure, under the hand of James, a clause in their charter, allowing them to worship God as they saw fit; but he would allow of no such liberty; yet, in a conversational way, he gave the agents to understand, that they were too insignificant to be looked after, unless they made a disturbance by their fanatical practices. It was thus the pious Pilgrims were allowed to break the laws, because they did it at a safe distance from their fountain-head. And thus was the "higher law" successfully put in practice on the barren sands of Cape Cod.

The case was different on the other side of the bay. There the colonists did not agree upon forms of worship among themselves, and the stronger party forced the weaker to return to England. Those expelled belonged to the Episcopal Church.* This expulsion, says Chalmers,† inflicted a wound on that church from which it never recovered.‡ "And the liberal-minded exclaimed that the same conduct has been invariably pursued at all times, and in every country; the persecuted, when they acquire power, will always persecute."§ If different sects quarrelled at home, was it not to be expected that they would quarrel elsewhere? Those churchmen, forcibly sent to England, complained to the Company there, and demanded redress for the wrongs and violence done them. If they ever received reparation of any kind, nothing of record appears to show the fact; and the country then being on the verge of a civil war, the wheels of jurisprudence were clogged, which may account for the silence with regard to the matter which ensues.

There are reckless people in all periods and in all communities, and, whether it be acknowledged or not, much of the liberty enjoyed in this

* In the Company's records the following entry is found, under date 19 Sept., 1629:— "At this court letters were read from Capt. Endicott and others from New England; and whereas a difference hath fallen out betwixt the Governor there and Mr. John and Mr. Samuell Browne, it was agreed by the court, that for the determinacon of those differences Mr. John and Mr. Samuell Browne might choose any three or four of the Company on their behalf, to heare the said differences, the Company choosing as many. Whereupon the said Mr. John and Mr. Samuell Browne made choice of Mr. Samuel Vassell, Mr. William Vassell, Mr. Symon Whetcombe, and Mr. William Pynchon; and for the Companie there were chosen Mr. John Whyte, Mr. John Davenport, Mr. Isack Johnson, and Mr. John Wynthropp; who, with the Governor or Deputy, are to determine and end the business the first Tuesday in the next tearme."

The letters sent by the Brownes to their friends in England had been intercepted, and at the next meeting of the Company it was "considered whether these letters should be delivered or detained, and whether they should be opened and read, or not." Some of them, however, were opened and read, but we hear nothing of any aspersions contained in them against New England, as had been alleged. A sufficient explanation of the whole grounds of difficulty, I apprehend, is found in the statement in the text. In the "Company's General Letter of Instructions" to Gov. Endicott, the gentlemen accused are spoken of in the highest terms. "They are men (says the letter) wee doe much respect, being fully perswaded of their sincere affeccons to the good of o^r Plantcon. Mr. John Browne is sworne an Assistant heere, and by vs chosen one of the Councell there; a man experienced in the lawes of o^r Kingdome, and such an one as wee are persuaded will worthylie deserve yo^r fauo^r; and that in the first devision of lands, there may bee allotted to eether of them 200 acres."

† Political Annals, 145.

‡ Churchmen of our times will hardly allow this. If at any period a death-blow had been inflicted, it was a good deal anterior to this. Chalmers here did not exercise his usual acumen. His observations and deductions are generally those of the profound jurist and able expounder of state affairs.

§ Political Annals, 145.

age is owing to that very recklessness. The number of the early emigrants to New England who renounced allegiance to the mother church was exceedingly small; for the obvious reason, that it was at the same time a renunciation of their allegiance to the crown. The course of things in New England clearly proves the truth of these positions; for, when it was safe, or even promised a faint prospect of success in the attempt, to throw off their allegiance, it was done in earnest. The *reckless* followers of freedom showed themselves everywhere then, and their success was equal to the prize contended for.

As though there were real grounds for certain assumptions of the colonists contained in the charter, their agents submitted it to some of the best politicians and ablest lawyers in England for their opinions. They observed, "that, it being originally granted to a great company resident in England, it was wholly inapplicable to the circumstances of a distant colony, because it gave the body politic no more jurisdiction than had every other corporation within the kingdom!" Such being the opinion of a Somers, a Holt, a Treby and a Ward, what did this boasted charter amount to? It must, however, be confessed that, in the adroit use made of it by the colonists, it amounted to almost the same thing that they contended it was; for by a constant appeal to it, and admitting of no construction of its provisions which did not suit them, they gained — what? — what was everything to them, — time and strength, with which to back up their claims. Nothing more was needed, nothing more was required, and nothing more was probably expected.

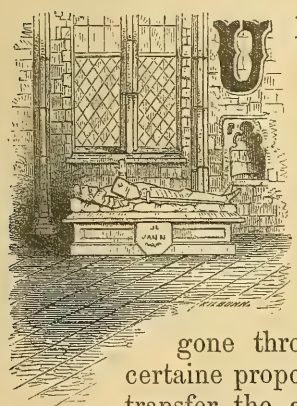
Did the great American Revolution begin here? The English Revolution? The World's Revolution? Liberty was a tender plant then, of uncertain age, and no man could say, "I planted it;" though many hands had now begun to water it, yet none conjectured to what height and extent it would grow and spread. Although there was a period when it was nursed by unskilful hands, and its growth was smothered by its enemies, and it was even cut off to the ground in the land of its origin, yet its roots remained, which soon sent up their branches in all directions. Its growth was still slow; but in the years of Cromwell it was rapid, — too rapid to sustain itself against the storms which burst upon it. Its great defender was not yet born, though his progenitors were upon the soil of England. They found their way to America, but it required a century more to produce a Washington. His hand it was that cultivated the plant Liberty with success, and his arm it was that shielded it from its enemies, till its strength had become too powerful to fear all its adversaries combined.

It made no difference, in fact, whether the corporation remained on the island of Great Britain, or on any other island, or in any country belonging to the Crown of England. Its final remove, Charter and all, whether clandestinely or openly, does not at all affect the main question; while practically, there was a great difference. A company

consisting of many restless spirits, had been got rid of; and whether they conformed to all the laws of Church and State, or not, they were three thousand miles off, and could not be easily brought to punishment, even if they deserved it, or made to mend the laws if they broke them. The time of the principal emigration was auspicious. The rise of the civil war in England gave its rulers more work than they could do at home, and their King's power soon fell down to the pitiful restrictions of subjecting those of his subjects who wished to emigrate to New England to vexatious oaths of "allegiance and supremacy." This state of things did not last long. Those who chose "disorderly to leave the kingdom," did so; and thus, what they gained in that kind of liberty is lost by their descendants who happen to be antiquaries and genealogists.

CHAPTER IX.

Records of the Massachusetts Company. — Gov. Cradock proposes a removal of the Government to New England. — The Question is discussed. — Decided in the affirmative. — Ways and Means considered to carry it into effect. — Trade and Joint Stock of the Company. — What of the Government to remain in England, and what in New England. — Endicott to be continued Governor. — Ship Eagle. — Arbella. — Agreement for settling the Joint Stock affair. — New Governor and other Officers elected. — Case of the Brownes. — Winthrop reports on the Joint Stock. — Proposals for pecuniary relief. — Disposal of the Joint Stock. — Ships ordered for emigration. — Rates of Passage and Freight established. — Wisdom displayed. — Common Stock proposal. — For what service. — Sir Wm. Brereton. — The Company at Southampton.



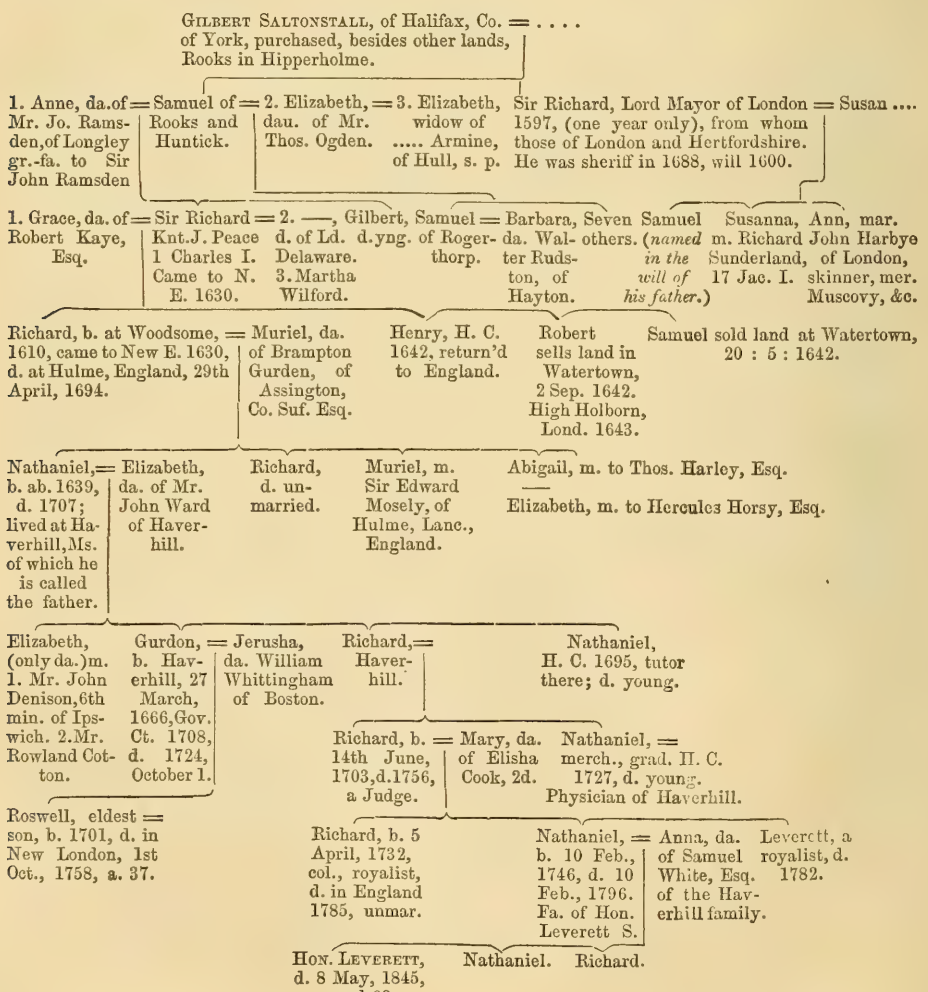
UP to this time there appears no intimation that any of the members of the Corporation (as the Massachusetts Company was usually called), had even a remote idea of transferring the Government to New England. On this day, namely, July the twenty-eighth, 1629, the Governor of the Company, Matthew Cradock, Esquire, when the business of the meeting of the Company on that day was presumed to be finished, and the usual routine of matters was gone through with, surprised its members by "reading certaine proposicons conceived by himself," recommending "to transfer the gournment of the plantacon to those that shall inhabite there." Thus taken by surprise, the members had secrecy more than once enjoined upon them, and considerable debate ensued; and every one was "desired privately and seriously to consider hereof, and to sett downe their prticuler reasons in wryting pro and contra," and to produce the same at the next meeting, that "the Company may then prceede to fynall resolucon therein; and in the meane tyme to carry this busines secretly, that the same bee not devulged." This meeting was held, as they had generally been of late, at the house of Deputy Governor Goffe, in London.

1629. July 28.

Aug. 28. The time for a meeting to discuss the great question about a removal having arrived, "Mr. Deputie acquainted this Court, that the espetiall cause of their meeting was to give answere to divers gentlemen intending to go into New England, whether or noe the chiefe Gou^rnm^t of the Plantacon, together with the pattent, should bee setled in New England or heere."

Accordingly it was ordered, that, in the afternoon of the same day, "Mr. Wright, Mr. Eaton, Mr. Adams, Mr. Spurstowe, and such others as they should thinke fitt to call unto them, whether they were of the Company or not," to consider the arguments against the proposed removal; and on the other side, "Sir Richard Saltonstall,* Mr. Johnson,

* From Thoresby's History of Leeds, and an abstract of the will of Gilbert Saltonstall, I am principally able to present the following pedigree. It is enough to add, concerning this family, that they opposed the persecutions in New England, in its early settlement; denounced with becoming language the proceedings against Quakers, and set a worthy example in the witchcraft delusion.



Capt Venn, and such others as they should call vnto them," to prepare arguments for a removal; which arguments were assigned to be heard in a full Court on the next day, at nine o'clock. When the hour arrived, there "were prsent many of the Assistants and gen-
Aug. 29. eralitie, and after a long debate, Mr. Deputie put it to the question, as followeth: As many of you as desire to haue the pattent and the Gournment of the Plantacon to bee transferred to New England, soe as it may bee done legally, hold vp yo^{r} hands. So many as will not, hold vpp yo^{r} hands. Where by ereccon of hands, it appeared by the gen^{r}all consent of the Company, that the Gou^{r}mn^{t} Pattent should bee setled in New England, and accordingly an order to bee drawne vpp."

Sept. 19. At the next sitting of the Court, the records are silent upon the subject of removal; but, at its session ten days later, "that business being of great and weighty consequence, is thought fitt to bee deferred for determinacon vntil Sir R. Saltonstall, Mr. Johnson and other gentlemen bee come vpp to London, and may be here present."

Sept. 29. Meantime a committee was proposed, which should "take advice of learned counsel, whether the same may bee legally done or noe; by what way or meanes the same may bee done to corrispond with, and not preiudice the Gou^{r}m^{t} here; to consider of the tyme when it wilbe fitt to doe it; to resolve on whom to conferr the Gou^{r}nm^{t}, and diuers other circumstances materiall to bee resolued on, &c."

Oct. 15. At the next session of the Court the subject of a removal of the government to New England is but incidentally mentioned; the "espetiall and only occasion of this meeting beinge to consider and resolue of settling the trade in New England (now vpon transferring the Gou^{r}mnt thither), for the incouragm^{t} as well of the Adventurers in the Joynt Stock heere, as of those who already are, and of others who intend to goe ouer in prson to bee planters there."

After a long debate upon the respective claims of the parties, "the Court, in conclusion, fell vpon a moderacon;" that the Company's Joint Stock should have the trade of beaver and all other furrs, solely, for seven years from this day, in consideration of the charge it had undergone, and is yet annually to bear, for the advancement of the Plantation. That for fortifications, the Company's Joint Stock to bear half the expense, and the planters the other half, and the charge for ordnance, munition, &c. That for the charge of ministers now there, and that shall hereafter go to reside there, as also for building churches and other public works, one half to be borne by the Joint Stock, and the other half by the planters, for seven years.

The business of this day's session was closed by the appointment of a committee,* who were desired to draw "fitt and conuenyent clauses to bee incerted in articles of agreement, which may bee comodious for

* Which committee was to consist of "prt of the Adventurers here, and prt of those that intend to goe ouer." Judging by modern committees, this was a very unwieldy one; con-

either prt, and to prepare the same for a Court of Assistants, appointed that afternoone to determine therof." In the preamble to this, the record reads, "forasmuch as by former order the Pattent and Gou^rnm^t to bee transferred to New England." "All which being seu^rall tymes read, was by Mr. Gou^rno^r put to the question, and by gen^rll consent, by erreccon of hands, was agreed and concluded on, and ordered accordingly."

Oct. 16. In Court the next day, the quesiion was considered, "what gou^rmn^t shalbe held at London, wherby the future charge of the Ioynt Stock may bee cherished and preserved, and the body politique of the Company remaine and increase. What persons shall have the charge of the managing of the Ioynt Stock, both at London and in New England; wherein it is conceeved fitt that Captain Endicott continue the Gou^rmn^t there, vnless iust cause to the contrarie" appear. It was finally thought as more "fitt and naturall that the Gournmnt of persons bee held there," in New England, and that of "trade and merchandizes to bee heere" in London. At the same time the Governor and Treasurer of the Company were appointed to examine the affairs of the Ioint Stock company, reputed to bee much in debt; and an order was passed for freighting the ship Eagle,* at Bristol, for New England.

sisting of eighteen members; eight of whom were of those "that intend to goe ouer;" namely,

Sir Ri. Saltonstall	Mr. Dudley
Mr. Johnson,	Mr. Vassall
Mr. Winthrope[1]	Mr. Pinchon
Mr. Humfry	Mr. Downing

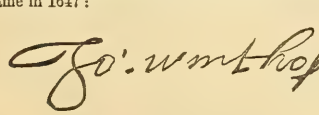
The residents were:

Mr. Davenport	Mr. Adams
Mr. Wright	Mr. Whetcombe
Mr. Perry	Mr. Young
Capt. Waller	Mr. Spurstowe
Capt. Venn[2]	Mr. Revell.

* This was a ship of 350 tons, which was purchased for the service of the Company, pursuant to a motion of the Governor, made at a session of the Court held 28 July, 1629. "But in regard the Company are not now in cash," say the records, several members agreed to advance "cash" sufficient, because they were not willing so good a ship, and such favorable terms should be missed of. Accordingly, Gov. Cradock, Mr. Adams, Mr. Wright, Mr. Milburne, and the Company, each took *one eighth* of the ship, and Mr. Goffe, Mr. Eaton, Mr. Whetcombe, Mr. Revell, Mr. Aldersey and Mr. Huson, took each a *sixteenth*.

As will be seen, the name of the Eagle was afterwards changed to that of Arbella, an abbreviated way of writing *Arabella*, a name appropriated to females. Whether this name were originally written with two *a's* or three, it is not worth extending a note much to settle the question, especially as writers of the times of the first settlers of Boston often wrote their own names differently. Yet it may be well just to state that there can be no question as to *how* the name *ought* to be written, in view of its etymology; *ara*, altar; *bella*, beautiful, fair; hence, a fair altar. That even a scholar, just out of his classics, should confound the

(1) This, I believe, is the first time the name of Mr. Winthrop occurs in the records of the Company. Five days after, he is elected Governor, as will be seen. He thus wrote his name in 1647:



(2) Capt. John Venn became noted in Cromwell's revolution or *rebellion*, — as the great tory, Clarendon, will have it, — though he was now of London, he probably originated at Dorchester, where, in remote ages, the name was De Venn or De Vann. Geoffery De Venn built the church there, and his effigy is supposed to be that "lying at length" in one of the windows of the chancel; and about whom this tradition is preserved:

Geoffery Van
His wife Ann
With his maid Nan
Built this church.

It was the daughter of Capt. John Venn, probably, about whom there is a book of 1658, with a preface by Tho. Weld. Like most books of that day and character, it contains very few facts, but details very particularly her "experience," incidentally giving the date of her birth, about 1627; her father, she says, commanded a regiment in 1642, at Windsor, of which "Master Love was chaplain." The family resided in London several years, but in 1647 they settled in Fulham, near London, on the Thames, where Capt. Venn died on the 28th of June, 1650. This daughter was Anne. In her book she makes frequent mention of many of the prominent Puritan divines of the day; as Mr. Isaac Knight, Mr. Rogers, author of the "Evidences," Mr. Stevens, Mr. Archer, Mr. Barker, Mr. Milborn, Mr. Sidrach Simpson, who lectured in Friday Street, Mr. Smallwood, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Blake, Mr. Price, Mr. Cradock, Mr. Nye, and many others, all of whom she knew and heard preach during "the eighteen years she was sorely tempted of the Divell."

Letters which had been prepared to be sent to Governor Endicott were also read.*

Oct. 19. Three days later the Company held another meeting; the occasion, say the records, "being to resolue of the alteracon of gouerment, and therein to consider" how the debts of the Joint Stock shall be discharged, and other management of that affair. As time could not be spared to debate the subject then, it was proposed that certain committees should be appointed "to meete and make prposicons each to other, and sett the same downe in wryting; and, if they can, to agree and conclude of a fitt end to bee made for the good of the plantacon; and if any difference happen wch they cannot agree on, that then the same be referred to the vmprage and determinacon of some of the preachers to bee chosen to that purpose; who are desired to sett downe in wryting what they shall thinke in conscience is fitt to bee done. To this end Articles betweene the Planters and Adventurers were nowe drawne by Mr. Whyte, the councellor, read and approved." A Court was to be convened on the next day, when the Articles were to be presented for ratification; and at the same Court it was appointed that a Governor and Assistants should be chosen for New England.

Oct. 20. There was a very large attendance at the Court held on this day. The Governor acquainted those present that the "espetiall occasion of summoninge them was for the election of a new Governor, Deputie, and Assistants; the gournment being to bee transferred into New England, according to the former order and resolucon of the Company." But before proceeding to the proposed election, the Articles of agreement between the Adventurers and Planters were read, "and recommended to the Court for their approbacon and for the nominacon

name of the place where the immense armies contended under Alexander and Darius, with that of *Arabella*, is not a matter of the least surprise. It is plain enough that the name became thus corrupted. Numerous instances might be cited of similar corruptions. Even the learned Sir Walter *Ralegh* gave way sometimes, it is said, to the popular corruption of his own name, so far as to write Raleigh. If the lady *Arabella Stuart* sometimes conformed to an error of the sort, it only proves that she did so conform, and nothing more. The old saying, that "the errors of the learned are learned errors," is a paradox that had better be dispensed with. The name of the lady Arabella Churchill (sister to John, Duke of Marlborough), is everywhere *printed*, so far as my reading has extended, as it is here. The accurate Prince wrote *Arbella*, because he found it so written by Winthrop (who, in official papers, wrote his *own* name a letter short), and perhaps one or two of his associates. Hubbard wrote it so from the same cause. If any better authorities were desired that the real name of the lady, for whom the ship was named, should be written *Arabella*, than Edmund Lodge and James Granger, — two of the most learned biographers England has ever produced, — I will own I have no better. I have myself an engraved portrait of the lady, under which *Arbella*, &c., are written. Everybody knows that painters and engravers are not authority for the orthography of names so found. With one of these before him, Mr. Granger constantly wrote *Arabella;* and Mr. Lodge, at the head of the College of Arms, with old MSS. in his hands, to which *Arbella* was signed, constantly wrote *Arabella*. Names may, indeed, be somewhat arbitrary, — not so their origin; yet it is of small importance if a ship bear a nickname, if no one be misled thereby. To this end I have made this note, and I will only add that good English writers have always written *Arabella*. Does any one presume to write *Dolbella?* — another name for females, — abridged like the one in question. So of Isabella. Does anybody write *Isbella?*

* The originals of these letters are preserved in the first book of Deeds in the Suffolk Registry, Boston. They are printed in the *Archæologia Americana*, iii. 53–4.

and appointment of a competent number of Comittees to meete and treat and resolue of these businesses." The articles being approved of, "fiue comittees on either part were thereupon chosen, namely, Sr. Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Winthrop,* Mr. Dudley, Mr. Johnson, and Mr. Humfrey, for the Planters; and for the Adventurers, Mr. Gouernor, Mr. Aldersey, Mr. Wright, Mr. Hutchins, and Capt. Venn." Should these not come to an agreement, "there was chosen for vmpires, Mr. White, the councellor, Mr. Whyte, of Dorchester, and Mr. Dauenport, to whom the desition and determinacon" were left. Any members of the Company were allowed to have access to the committee, "to propound such things as they conceived benefitiall for the business, or to present their opinions in wryting, but not to debate with them for interrupting their proceedings." "And now the court proceeding to the

* ADAM WINTHROP, of Groton, Co. of Suffolk, Eng., appears to be the first of the name, from whom this distinguished family can be traced. He is known to have seated himself at Groton on the dissolution of monasteries by Henry VIII., and is said to have been a lawyer of distinction. His burial is recorded upon the parish Register of Groton, 12 Nov., 1562. = Annis,..... who m. 2d, probably, Wm. Mildmay, 1563.

Adam, like his father, was bred to the law. Little concerning him has been preserved. His burial appears upon the Register at Groton, 29th March, 1623. = Anne Browne, (probably,) 20 Feb. 1580.

Alice = Thomas, son of Wm. Mildmay (the husband of her mother.)

1. Mary, da. of John Forth, b. 1588, m. 12 Ap. 1605, buried 26 June, 1615.

JOHN, (gov. Ms.) b. 12 Jan., 1588, came to N. E. 1630, d. in Boston, 26 March, 1649, aged 61. = 2. Thomasine, da. Wm. Clopton, m. 6 Dec., 1615, d. Dec. 1616.

3. Margaret, d. Sir John Tindale, Kt., 29 April, 1618, d. 14 June, 1647. (Anne, da. Sir Thos. Egarton, m. 1. Sir Wm. Deane; 2. Sir John Tindale, fa. of Margaret.)

4. Martha, wid. of Tho. Coytmore of Charlestown, 1647.

Jane, bp. 1592, m. Thos. Goslin, 1613.

Lucy, b. 1601, m. Emanuel Downing, 10 Ap., 1622.

Anna, m. Thos. Jones, 1605.

Martha = JOHN, (gov. Ct.) b. 12 Feb., 1606, d. Boston, 5 Ap. 1676, a. 70. An early member of the Royal Soc. of London. = 2. Elizabeth.

Henry, drowned, Salem, 1630, a. 22.

Forth, d. bef. 1643, a wife d. 1630.

Mary, m. Rv. Sam. Dudley, of Exet'r, N. H. Anna, d. 1614. Anna, d. 1615.

A child d. 1616.

Adam, b. 7 April, 1620, d. Boston, 1652. = Elizabeth Glover, ab. 1642.

Stephen, bap. 1619; recorder of Bost'n, M. P for Scot'd, Coll. in Cromwell's army. = Judith

Stephen, b. 1651.

John, b. 1646.

Margaret.

Judith.

Elizabeth, b. 24 July, 1636.

FITZ JOHN, (Gov. Ct.) b. at Ipswich, 14 March, 1639, F.R.S., and d. in Boston, 27 Nov. 1707.

Wait Still, b. 27 Feb. 1642, Ch. Jus. Sup. Ct. Ms. &c. d. in Boston, ab. 1688. = Mary, da. of Wm. Browne of Salem, d. 14 June, 1690.

Adam, H. C. = . . . 1668, d. 1700.

Adam, H. C., 1694, = Anne. d. 1743, commander of Castle William; lived in Atkinson St.

John, F.R.S. b. 26 Aug. 1681, N. London, d. 1 Aug. 1747. = Anna, da. Gov. Joseph Dudley, b. 27 Aug. 1684.

Anna, m. to Thomas Lechmere, surveyor of customs, Boston, bro. of Ld. Lechmere. She d. 22 Nov., 1746.

Adam, H. C., 1724, merch., lived in Brattle St.

John, H. C. 1732, LL.D. Prof. H. C., F.R.S., d. 3 May, 1779, aged 65.

1. Jane, only da. Francis Borland, Boston. = John Still, b. 15 Jan. 1720, d. 6 June, 1776. = 2. ..... da. Wm. Sheriff

Basil, d. unmar.

A da. m. to Gov. Wanton, of R. I.

Deane, b. 1623, d. at Pul. Pt., 1704. = ... Deane, Boston.

Samuel, 1627. = Anne, 1630.

William. Nathaniel. Joshua, (by 4th wife)

John, H. C., 1770. William, N. Y. Joseph, Charleston, S.C., d. 1823. Jane.

1. Eliza Marston. = Francis B. of New York. One of his wives d. at N. London, 1789. = Phebe Taylor.

THOMAS LINDALL, b. 1760, H.C. 1780 lt. gov. Ms. 1826–1832. LL. D. d. 22 Feb. 1842, aged 81. = Elizabeth, da. Sr Jno. Temple, by Elizab. da. of Gov. Bowdoin, d. 1825.

Benjamin, N. York, m. Stuyvesant.

Robert, admiral Eng. navy.

Elizabeth S., Middletown, Ct.

Ann, mar. David Sears, Esq., of B., fa. of the present Hon. DAVID SEARS. Mary.

Elizabeth B. T. Sarah B. Thomas L. Augusta T.

Augusta T. 2d. James B., a true antiquary, d. 1833, a. 38.

John T. Francis William. Francis Wm. 2d. Jane.

Ann. George Edwd.

ROBERT CHARLES, now HON. R. C., Speaker H. Reps. U.S. 1847–9, Senator U. S. 1850–1.

Grenville T. d. 1852.

eleccon of a new Gouernor, Deputie and Assistants; and having receiued extraordinary great commendacons of Mr. John Wynthrop, both for his integritie and sufficencie, as being one every way well fitted and accomplished for the place of Gouernor, did put in nominacon for that place the said Mr. John Wynthrop,* Sr. R. Saltonstall, Mr. Is. Johnson, and Mr. John Humfry; and the said Mr. Wynthrop was, with a gen[r]all vote and full consent of this Court by ereccon of hands, chosen to bee Gouernor for the ensuing yeare, to begin on this present day; who was pleased to accept thereof, and thervpon tooke the oath to that place apprtaining. In like manner, and with like free and full consent, Mr. John Humfry was chosen Deputy Gouernor."

Nov. 20. At the meeting of the Court of Assistants, Mr. Wynthrop presided as Governor. The chief business before them was to devise ways and means "for bringing in of monyes," with which to pay mariners' wages, freight of ships, "and other debts." Mr. Cradock informed the Court "what somes he had disbursed for accompt of the Company, and what more was owing for maryner's wages vpon the shipps Talbot, Mayflower, and Four Sisters, and for the fraight of those shipps, amounting to £1200 and upwards." Power to grant warrants for the payment of money was conferred on the Governor and Deputy, as formerly, and they thereupon drew one on treasurer Harwood in favor of Mr. Cradock for £800, to be paid "soe soone as mony shall come to his hands."

At the same court a complaint, brought by Mr. John and Mr. Samuel Browne, was taken up, and "some debate was had" concerning it. These gentlemen had been forcibly sent out of New England, as has already been mentioned, and had sued for redress to the Company. This is another complaint. The authorities in New England had sold or appropriated their effects there, and they now complained that their goods had been undervalued, and that "divers things had been omitted to bee valued," and they desired relief and justice. The Court decided that if they could bring proof of what they complained, they should have relief; otherwise the case to be suspended for settlement when the new Governor should arrive in New England.†

* The Assistants at the same time chosen were:

Sir R. Saltonstall	Mr. Thomas Sharpe
Mr. Is. Johnson	Mr. John Revell
Mr. Tho. Dudley	Mr. Matt. Cradock
Mr. J. Endecott	Mr. Thomas Goff
Mr. [Increase] Noell	Mr. [Saml.]Aldersey
Mr. Wm. Vassall	Mr. John Venn
Mr. Wm. Pinchon	Mr. Nath. Wright
Mr. Sam. Sharpe	Mr. Theoph. Eaton
Mr. Edw. Rossiter	Mr. Tho. Addams.

† At one of the last courts held by the Company in England, 10 February, 1630, "a wryting of grevances of Mr. Samuell and John Browne was presented," asking remuneration for their damage and losses in New England, by which it appears that if they ever had any claim, as specified, that claim had never been attended to; and now, judging from the journal entry of the Company, they had little to expect. They were told that if they would come under written obligation to abide the decision of the Company, Mr. Wright and Mr. Eaton would, on the part of the Company, inform them what they thought requisite for their "pretended damage." Whether the Browns gave up the matter here, or whether they ever received any remuneration, nothing of record appears. It must have been a pretty serious business for those gentlemen, in those times, to have been expelled the country almost immediately after reaching it. An entire suspension of their business, their outlays for a plantation residence, and two long voyages across the Atlantic.

Nov. 25. The General Court met on this day, it being one of the quarter days appointed for holding courts by the charter. The general business of the Plantation, being the chief object; "but by reason of the small appearance (few attending) and the shortness of tyme, nothing was done therin." "The Governor, however, made a relacon of the proceedings of the ioynt comittee concerning the setling of the Ioynt Stock;" from which it appeared that there was a balance on the books against that stock of upwards of £3000. Against that amount there was due in subscriptions £1900; and on freight of ships about £900 more. After some propositions about the management of the Joint Stock affairs, the Court was adjourned to the thirtieth of the same month. "Lastly, vpon the mocon of Mr. Whyte, to the end that this business might bee proceeded in with the first intencon, which was chiefly the glory of God; and to that purpose that their meetings might be sanctifyed by the prayers of some faithfull ministers resident heere in London, whose advice would bee likewise requisite vpon many occasions, the Court thought fitt to admit into the freedome of this Company, Mr. Jo. Archer, and Phillip Nye,* ministers heere in London, who, being heere present, kindly accepted therof; also Mr. Whyte did recomend vnto them Mr. Nathaniell Ward, of Standon."

Nov. 30. Agreeable to adjournment, the General Court met at Mr. Goff's. For the relief of the Company from its present liabilities it was proposed that the Adventurers should double their former subscriptions; but this was not agreed to. It was then proposed that ten persons should take the Joint Stock at its real value, and assume its responsibilities, for which they were to have these privileges, for seven years, namely, half the beaver trade, and all other furs; the sole making of salt; the furnishing of a magazine at set rates; and the sole transportation of passengers and goods at certain rates. Five of the ten persons above-named were to be of the Adventurers, the other five planters. A committee was appointed to value the Stock, who were requested to report on the next day. This committee consisted of Mr. Whyte of Dorchester, Mr. Thomas Goff, Mr. Webb, and Mr. Increase Nowell.

Dec. 1. The decision of the committee was, that, owing to the nature of the undertaking, there was a depreciation in the value of the Stock to the amount of two thirds of all adventured; "which value, vpon due examination and long debate, was allowed by all the court." And

* There is a more full account of Mr. Nye in *Palmer's Calamy* than in any of *our* books, yet some who have used the larger part of his facts, give others credit for them. Though Dr. Calamy says he died in 1672, I had been led to think he was alive in 1677, as in that year, according to Dr. Increase Mather, "Mr. P. Ny" published "A Case of Great and Present Use. *Whether we may lawfully hear the now Conforming Ministers, who are re-ordained, and have renounced the Covenant, and some of them supposed to be scandalous in their lives? Considered and Affirmatively resolved.*" Whether the Philip Nye of our text were the author of this tract (which is now before me), I cannot say. However this may be, for the sorrow of all good men, — antiquaries, — Dr. Calamy informs us that Mr. Nye "left behind him a character of a man of uncommon depth, who was seldom or never outreached;" and that "a compleat history of the old Puritan Dissenters by him, in MS., was burnt at Alderman Clarkson's, in the fire of London;" 1666, of course.

hereupon the following ten gentlemen were desired to take the Stock agreeably to the above proposal; namely, Mr. John Winthrop, the governor, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Kt., Isack Johnson, Esq., Mr. Thomas Dudley, Mr. John Revell, Mr. Matt. Cradock, Mr. Nathaniel Wright, Mr. Theophilus Eaton, Mr. Thomas Goff, and Mr. James Young; which gentlemen, upon much entreaty of the Court, accepted accordingly. These were usually denominated the *Undertakers*.

At the same court it was ordered that the Undertakers should provide a sufficient number of ships of good force, for transporting of passengers, at the rate of five pounds each, and four pounds a ton for goods. These ships were to be ready to sail from London by the first day of March, 1630. That the ships should touch at the Isle of Wight, and take in any passengers which might desire to embark there, having first registered their names at London, "with forty shillings towards their fraight, to one of the said Vndertakers abyding in London, in the Michaelmas tearme before; and shall deliuer their goods on shipp-board before the twentieth of Februarie following; and shall giue security for the rest of their fraight as they can agree with the said Vndertakers, either for mony to bee paid here, or for comoditie to bee deliured in the Plantacon." In the charge for passage, children at the breast were not to be reckoned; those under four years of age, three were to be counted as one; under eight, two for one; under twelve, three for two. And that a ship of two hundred tons should be allowed to carry not more than one hundred and twenty passengers; and in this proportion ships of other tonnage were restricted. Freight on goods sent "home" to be, for beaver, three pounds per ton, and for other commodities, forty shillings per ton. Goods "assured" to pay five pounds per hundred pounds' value.

Concerning the "Magazine," it was agreed "that the Vndertakers should furnish the Plantacon with all such comodities as they shall send for;" the planters to take and sell them as they pleased, allowing the Undertakers £25 in the hundred, above all charges; the planters to have the liberty to dispose of their part of the beavers as they chose to do.

Such were the proceedings preparatory to the settlement of Boston; which, considering all the circumstances, it must be confessed were dictated by sound judgment, wisdom, and that care for the ultimate good of all concerned, which will ever command the gratitude and admiration of an enlightened posterity. And though there may be few, even in this day of light and knowledge, who care to look back to these times, that number must increase, through future ages, in proportion to the improvement of the human mind, and as true benevolence takes the place of a sordid selfishness. These transactions of an ancestry of a posterity spread over the fairest part of the world, lie hid in no mist of uncertainty; their acts, plain and simple, written with their own hands, are everywhere to be read, and, it is to be hoped, will be for ages to come.

Dec. 15. Some members of the Company not present at the last meeting of the court, now appeared and complained that so great a reduction had been made in the property of the Joint Stock, and the matter received "a large discussion;" but the present court would not reconsider the matter; only, according to a former provision, and a mutual consent, the consideration of the case was committed to Mr. Davenport,* Mr. Nye, and Mr. Archer, three ministers there present.



JOHN DAVENPORT.

1630. Feb. 10. It was proposed, at this meeting of the General Court, to create a common stock in the Company, because of "a great and continuall charge in the furtherance of the plantacon, which cannot with convenyence bee defrayed out of the Ioynt Stock of the Company." This stock "should bee raysed from shuch as beare good affeccon to the plantacon and the propagacon thereof," to be employed "only in defrayment of publique charges; as maintenance of ministers, transportacon of poore famylies, building of churches and fortyfycacons," and other occasions in the plantation. To those advancing fifty pounds in this new stock, two hundred acres of land were to be allotted, and so on, in that proportion. Of this new Cōmpany Mr. George Harwood was chosen treasurer.

At the same court a motion was made on behalf of Sir William Brereton, who, it appears, had a claim to lands under some Patent, which lands were now covered by the Patent of the Massachusetts Company. His claim is spoken of in the records of the Company, as held "by vertue of a late pretended Pattent." He proposed to waive his claim, provided "a proportionable quantitie of land might be allotted vnto him for the accommodacon of his people and servants now to be sent over." But the Court, after due "consideracon," did not think proper to enter into any "prticuler capitulacon with him therein," and informed his messengers that the Company did not acknowledge that "anything was due vnto him as of right by vertue of his said Pattent," nor would they "give any consideracon in case hee" should relinquish it. Six hundred acres being due to him as one of the Adventurers, "they are well content hee should ioyne with them in the prosecucon of this business, according to their Charter;" and any servants he might send over to settle in the Plantacon should receive all

* Of all the early emigrants to New England, Mr. John Davenport, probably, could trace his lineage to the highest antiquity, — seventeen generations, his own included, — to Orme de Davenport, born 20th William the Conqueror. It is only necessary to refer to "A History and Genealogy" of the family, by A. Benedict Davenport, Esq. (of the twenty-fourth generation), published in New York in 1851.

courteous respect, and be accommodated with land, as other the servants of the Company. Captain Waller and Mr. Eaton were desired "to signifie the Companye's affection and due respect vnto him; he hauing written to them about this business."*

Mar. 18. The Assistants held a court at Southampton, at which was present the Governor, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Humfrey, Mr. Nowell, Mr. Pynchon, and Mr. Goffe. "It was ordered and concluded by erreccon of hands, that Sir Brian Janson, Kt., Mr. William Coddington and Mr. Simon Bradstreete, gent., shall be chosen in the roomes and places of Assistants of Mr. Wright, merchant, Mr. Theophilus Eaton, and Mr. Thomas Goffe, of London, merchants."

Mar. 23. This was the last court held by the Company in England, and was "aboard the Arbella;" at which Mr. Coddington, Mr. Tho. Sharpe, Mr. William Vassall, and Mr. Simon Bradstreete appeared, instead of Humfrey, Nowell, Pynchon and Goffe. Nothing appears to have been recorded of any transactions at this session, only it is noted that "Mr. John Humfrey (in regard hee was to stay behinde in England), was discharged of his Deputyshipp, and Mr. Thomas Dudley chosen Deputy in his place."

* It is not unlikely that Sir Wm. Brereton intended to settle in New England; indeed, it is highly probable that such was the fact; but his rights, or what he considered his rights, being disregarded, or not acknowledged by the Massachusetts Company, no doubt caused him to remain in England, the affairs of which soon gave him an opportunity to act a distinguished part therein. There is a portrait of him to be seen in the celebrated work of Mr. John Vickers, published in 1647; and who, according to that trustworthy author, gained *seventeen* victories over the armies of *Charles I.*, one of which was commanded by *Prince Rupert* himself. There is another portrait of him in the curious work of Josiah Ricraft, published also in 1647, "*A Survey of England's Champions*," being "*Truth's faithful Recitements; with the lively Effigies and Eulogies of those who fought against the Romish Sicera, or the Great Scarlet Whore, with whom the Kings of the Earth have committed Fornication.*" Under his portrait in this book is inscribed, "Sr. William Brereton, Major General of Cheshire, Staffordshire, and Lankashire."

The relation of Sir William Brereton to the Massachusetts Company was no doubt the same as Mr. Oldham's. There is in the *Mass. Archives*, *Lands*, i., p. 1, a document explaining the nature and extent of his claim. The reason why it was so unfavorably regarded may be found in the note, p. 58, *ante*. *See Hutchinson*, i. 6, 18. *Frothingham's Hist. Charlestown*, 13 and 14. He is said to have been one of the judges at the trial of the King. It is true that he was appointed to be of the number of the triers of Charles, but his name does not appear upon the warrant for the execution. My slight researches in regard to him, furnish nothing beyond the ordinary histories above referred to, and others more common. The Biographical Dictionaries consulted do not even contain the name of the "Champion" who risked his life in *seventeen* battles in the cause of human freedom, and the rights of man!

CHAPTER X.

Sailing of the Mary & John. — Her Company. — Sailing of Winthrop's Fleet. — Some Account of it — Capt. Burley. — Sir Thomas Roe. — The Governor and Company's "Humble Request." — Charles Fines. — The Fleet proceeds on its Voyage. — Incidents and Accidents attending it. — Arrival of the Mary & John. — Nantasket. — Charlestown. — Settlement of Dorchester. — Tedious Voyage of Winthrop's Company. — Sir Robert Mansel. — The ships on the Coast. — Arrival at Salem. — Gov. Endicott. — Winthrop explores about Boston. — Thomas Walford. — Arrival of other ships. — Deputy Governor Dudley. — His Account of the Colony the first year. — Deaths of eminent persons.



BUT before the last meeting of the Government of the Massachusetts Company on board a ship in the harbor of Southampton, another ship, named the Mary & John, of four hundred tons, had been receiving passengers and goods, as she lay in the port of Plymouth; and, being now ready for sea, sails out of Plymouth Sound, bound for the Massachusetts Bay, in New England. Of this ship "one Captain Squeb was master," and among his passengers were "the reverend Mr. Warham and Mr. Maverick, with many godly families and people under their care, from Devonshire, Dorsetshire and Somersetshire." In the same ship were also Mr. Rossiter and Mr. Ludlow, two assistants of the Massachusetts Company, and a young man in humble circumstances then, named Roger Clap, but who became in New England a gentleman of high consideration.

Mar. 20.

Mar. 29. "Riding at Cowes, near the Isle of Wight," it being Monday, there were now the "Arbella," of three hundred and fifty tons, Captain Peter Milbourne, master and part owner, with twenty-eight guns and fifty-two seamen; the Ambrose, Captain John Lowe, master; the Jewell, Mr. Nicholas Hurlston, master; the Talbot, Mr. Thomas Beecher, master. The two last-named ships belonged to Mr. Cradock, the captains of which, with their owner, came on board the Arbella, early in the morning. The wind serving, Mr. Cradock advised them to improve it. Accordingly they weigh their anchors, and at ten o'clock set sail, saluting their venerable late Governor with several pieces of ordnance, as he took his leave of them. Running up Solant Sea, they come to anchor again near Yarmouth, which lies over against Lymington, in Hampshire.

Meanwhile there were lying at Hampton, not quite ready to sail, the Mayflower, the Whale, the William & Francis, the Trial, the Charles, the Success, and the Hopewell.

In these eleven ships there were about seven hundred souls, besides the "people" of the ships, and this has been appropriately styled "the great emigration." They were long in getting clear of the English coast, the weather being unfavorable, as though it had compassion on the hundreds of unwilling minds, and kept them lingering near their

beloved friends and kindred; as if sensible it was the only and last adieu they would ever pay to their native land.

April 6. As the ships lay windbound at Yarmouth, Captain Burleigh,* of the Castle there, "a grave and comely gentleman, and of great age," paid those on board a friendly visit, breakfasted with them, and was honored with a salute, at his departure, from four pieces of cannon. He had commanded in the navy of Queen Elizabeth, against the Spaniards, and had been a prisoner three years in Spain. After that, himself and three of his sons were captains in Sir Thomas Roe's famous voyage† to the empire of the Great Mogul.

April 7. While lying in Yarmouth harbor, an important letter was addressed by some of the principal emigrants to their brethren of the Church of England; a letter which has given occasion for some reflections upon their conduct, by those who desired to find such an occasion; as though therein they professed to be of the Church of England, while, in fact, their real intentions were to separate from it entirely. There is no ground for controversy, as to the meaning of the letter, among historians. It is a simple, intelligent epistle, in many works extant, and every one can read it and form his own judgment upon the points at issue. There is a vein of holy melancholy running through it, plainly showing that they felt that they were about to enter upon a new theatre, that they desired to be remembered as members of the same great Christian family, acknowledging those to whom they were writing "as those whom God had placed nearest his throne of mercy." "Consider us," they say, "we beseech you, by the mercies of the Lord Jesus, as your brethren, and the principals and body of our Company, as those who esteem it our honor to call the Church of Eng-

* So Winthrop has the name, or rather his transcribers; but it should probably be Burley. In Higginson's Journal it is Borley. There was a family of this name, both ancient and respectable, which had long been established in that island. But I can hardly suppose that the aged Capt. Burleigh, whom Winthrop saw, was the same who, eighteen years afterwards, endeavored to raise an insurrection there in favor of Charles I. when confined in Carisbrook Castle, and for which, by order of Parliament, he was executed. This Capt. Burley had been thrown out of office when the navy changed masters, and his attempt to rescue the king was the result of chagrin which broke out in rashness. He may have been one of those three sons who had been captains under Sir Thomas Roe. — See *Buller's Isle of Wight*, — *Clarendon's Rebellion*, — and *Heath's Chronicle*.

† Winthrop, in his *Journal*, says merely, "Roe's voyage;" and, from the events in the life of Sir Thomas Roe, I have no doubt that his "famous voyage to the dominions of the Great Mogul" is that to which Winthrop refers. His name appears before in my pages. See ante, p. 34. He was a gentleman of great note in his time; a son of Robert Roe, Esq., of Low Layton, Wanstead, Essex. He died in November, 1644. His widow, who survived him, was the lady Eleanor, daughter of Sir Thomas Cave, Bart., of Stanford, County of Northampton. The facetious and learned Fuller dedicated a portion of his "*Church History*" to her. The embassy of Sir Thomas continued from 1614 to 1618. From 1621 to 1628 he was an ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, during which time he kept a journal of all transactions there. This laid in MS. till 1740, when it was published in part, with a beautiful engraving of the ambassador, in folio. He possessed great learning, and made extensive collections of oriental MSS. during his residence in the East, which, in 1628, he presented to the Bodleian library. To show his respect for Sir Thomas, Captain Lucas Fox, who made a voyage of discovery to the north, in 1631, named the main land in 64° 10′, N. in Hudson's Bay "Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome." — See Granger's *Biographical Hist. Eng.* — Fuller's *Church Hist. Brit.* — *Brit. Cyclop.* — Forster's *Discov. in the North*, p. 363, ed. 4to. — Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*, vol. i. 696, &c.

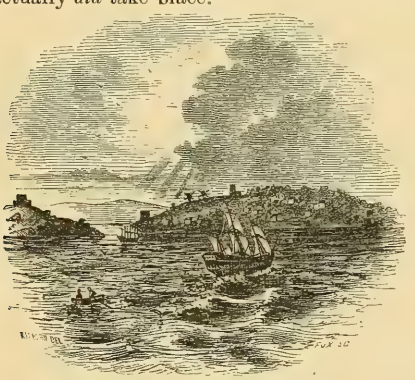
and, from whence we rise, our dear mother ;* be pleased therefore, reverend fathers and brethren, to help forward this work now in hand."

The names found to the printed letter are "John Winthrope, Charles Fines,† George Phillipps, Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Thomas Dudley, William Coddington, &c. &c."‡

April 8. About six of the clock in the morning, the wind having "hauled to the northward and eastward," the ships began to get under way, spreading their sails for the broad Atlantic Ocean. With the Admiral ship ahead, they passed Hurst castle, and running over Cowel and Totland bays, before ten the same morning they had cleared the "Needles;" but the wind shortening, they had to come to anchor in the English Channel. However, before ten at night, the wind, which had been light and variable, settled in to the north, so they weighed again and stood on through the night, and by daylight next morning

April 9. they were abreast Portland. It was found that the rest of the ships could not hold way with the Admiral, which caused her to lie to for them to come up. Meantime, to lessen her speed, she clewed up her mainsail, and then they all "went on with a merry gale." Early in the morning of the same day, a man from the mast-

* Was this *separating* from the Church of England in the light some have considered it? Certainly not. A later date must be assigned to the *real* separation which *gradually* and actually *did* take place.



SAILING FROM THE ISLE OF WIGHT.

† That this gentleman belonged to a branch of the ancient Norman family of the name of De Fynes, De Finnes, &c., whose ancestors, from the time of the Conquest to the reign of John, were hereditary constables of Dover Castle, there may be no doubt; but that he was a *brother* of a cotemporary Sir William "Fiennes," I find no proof whatever. The family of *Finnes*, besides its own titles to nobility, became connected with that of Dudley, Lord North; Lord Dacre; Earl Bourchier, Lord Berners; &c. It is presumed that though Charles Fines signed the famous "Humble Request," he may not have come to New England. There are, in the history of nearly every family, facts of great interest; we meet with one in this of Finnes, for digressing to notice which, the author will probably be pardoned. Sir James Fienes perished in "Jack Cade's rebellion." William Crowmer, Lord Mayor of London, married the only daughter of Sir James Fienes (Viscount Say and Sele). The rebels beheaded both Sir James and his son-in-law; "whose heads, pitched upon high poles, were carried through the streets of London, whose bearers caused their trunkless faces (in spite and mockery) to kiss one the other at every street corner, as they marched along in this their damnable triumph and hellish ovations; which horrid act was committed the 3d of July, 1450."— *Weevers Fun. Monuments.* Henry Fiennes, the grandson of this first Lord Say and Sele, married Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Harcourt, of Stanton-Harcourt, Knt. Richard Fiennes, the nephew of Lord Say and Sele, married the daughter and heiress of Thomas, Lord Dacre.—*Guillim's Banner Displayed*, 437.

‡ The original edition of the famous letter was printed at London soon after the sailing of "the fleet," in a small 4to, of 12 pages. Those who had not seen the original edition, but had sighed to do so, believing that the two "&c.s" at the end, in our old transcripts of it, would reveal other names, sighed in vain. They are &c.s and nothing else, in the *editio princeps*. It is entitled "The Humble Request of his Majesties loyall Subjects," &c. It might well have been entitled their "Farewell Address," as its tone throughout is truly the language of men bidding a final farewell to the world.

head descried eight sail of ships astern. This discovery threw all on board into consternation, believing the strangers to be enemies; for they had been told at Yarmouth that ten sail of Dunkirkers were lying in wait for their sailing, and Captain Lowe, of the Ambrose, said he saw suspicious-looking vessels lying at Dunnose the evening before.* However, orders were given to clear the ships for action, and, though they were "four to eight," they determined to fight. "The ordnance were loaded, powder-chests and fireworks were made ready, the landmen were quartered among the seamen, and every man written down for his quarter." "And, for an experiment, Captain Milborne shot a ball of wild-fire, fastened to an arrow, out of a cross-bow, which burnt in the water for a good time. The Lady Arbella and the other women and children were removed into the lower deck, that they might be out of danger." Prayer was then had on deck, after which "it was much to see how cheerful and comfortable all the company appeared; not a woman or child that showed fear, though all did apprehend the danger to have been very great." The supposed enemy, having more wind than the pursued, "came up apace." It was near one o'clock, however, before they had approached within a league, when Captain Milbourne, "because he would show he was not afraid of them, and that he might see the issue before night should overtake them, tacked about and stood to meet them; and when they came near they perceived them to be" some of their own countrymen and friends.

Though this great peril proved to be imaginary, its relation serves to set in a strong light the immense hazards to which those were exposed, as they were upon their embarcation for a naked wilderness. It would have been nothing out of the ordinary course of the events of that day, had their worst fears been realized. These poor Pilgrims might have overcome their adversaries after a bloody battle; but their voyage would have been ruined; or they might, like Captain Smith, but few years before, have been captured, carried into an enemy's port, plundered and cast into prison, and thus their intended settlement brought to an end.

April 10. Being thus happily delivered from their fears, the colonists proceeded on their voyage, having the wind at east-by-north, a "handsome gale with fair weather." By seven of the clock in the morning, they were "over against Plymouth," and about noon, the Lizard, that noted promontory of Cornwall, was in view. About eight the next morning, they passed the Isles of Scilly, which lie about nine leagues to the westward of the Land's End, it blowing "a very stiff gale" from the north-by-west, and, having laid their course west-south-west, they stood off into the main ocean, and were soon out sight of land.

* There may be no error as to Dunnose; but how Captain Lowe could have seen ships at that place, is quite surprising, because the only Dunnose that I can find is near the extreme east end of the Isle of Wight; while the Needles through which our fleet had sailed are at the extreme west end, certainly above twenty miles from Dunnose.

All thoughts were now turned on their present condition, whither they were going, the strange things they were to meet with in the New World, and what they would do when they should arrive there; with occasional misgivings of many, as to the propriety of the hazardous step they had taken; the probable long time that must pass before they could so much as hear from dear fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters. From these reflections, though often awakened by the sudden plunging, heaving, and rolling of the ship, the roaring of the winds, and breaking of the billows around them, it was only to return to them again with a willing sadness, as their little bark righted and seemed to leap with more steadiness from sea to sea.

The voyage thus proceeded without anything uncommon or extraordinary, and soon became monotonous, till even an accident might have been welcome, if of sufficient importance to break in upon the irksome hours. Very few of these happened, or, if they happened, they were not recorded. There are, indeed, notes of "two men falling at odds, and fighting, contrary to orders," and how they were punished withal; and how one, "for using contemptuous speeches" before the high officers and gentlemen, "was laid in bolts till he submitted himself, and promised open confession;" though whether he did anything more than promise, is not recorded.*

Notwithstanding such events, — the "seamen sometimes playing wags with children," a great storm which split some of their sails to pieces, and the separation of the ships, — "the wind put them on to the west amain," where, in their approach to the summit of the Atlantic Ocean, it may be well to leave them, for the present, to take a view of the Company which sailed before them.

Mar. 20. The ship Mary and John, as has been before recorded, sailed from Plymouth for New England, on the twentieth of March. She seems to have had a very prosperous voyage, passing "through the deeps comfortably." The "captain of that great ship of four hundred tons" was named —— Squeb, who arrived at Nantasket on the thirtieth of the following May, and "here he turned his passengers and their goods ashore the next day, leaving them to shift for themselves in a forlorn place in this wilderness."† But there were

May 30.

* "A servant of one of our company had bargained with a child to sell him a box, worth 3*d.*, for three biscuits a day, all the voyage, and had received about forty, and had sold them and many more to some other servants. We caused his hands to be tied up to a bar, and hanged a basket of stones about his neck, and so he stood two hours." — *Winthrop, Journal*, i. 18. This extract is made as a specimen of punishments practised in those days.

† Captain Roger Clap wrote this, many years after these events, but he recorded what he knew and what he saw, for he was one of the efficient men of the Company. But his censures of Captain Squeb's conduct are to be taken with allowance, for reasons already stated. [See ante, p. 22.] At the time of their arrival, I have no doubt the Captain supposed himself at the entrance of Charles River, and that by bringing them there he had performed his voyage. It appears that he was urged to carry them up further into the river, and that he declined to do so, and a difficulty arose thereupon, which was not settled till the 17th of June, after the arrival of Winthrop, who, in his Journal, says, "as he and others of his Company were returning from Mr. Maverick's [on Noddle's Island], they came by [way] of Nataskott, and sent for Captain Squib ashore, and ended a difference between him and the passengers." Am-

"some old planters" there and in the neighborhood, who, kindly assisting them with a boat, they loaded it with goods, and some able men, well armed, went in her to Charlestown, where they found some wigwams and one house.* They did not make much stay here, but proceeded up Charles River until it grew narrow and shallow, and there they landed their goods with much labor and toil, the bank being steep, and they not above ten in number.

May 31. At the approach of night, they were informed that there were not far off, three hundred Indians, which caused the English to apprehend trouble; but an old planter, who had kindly accompanied them, went out and met the Indians, and, being acquainted with their language, made them understand that the English did not wish them to come to them in the night, and they readily consented to keep away. Sentinels were set for the night, of which Roger Clap was one, and here Englishmen slept for the first time on the banks of Charles River. Of this little company was Mr. Richard Southcot, "a brave Low Country soldier," who did not continue long in the country, but in about a year returned to England.†

June 1. The next morning a few of the Indians came and looked at the strangers "at a distance off," but after a while they came and held out a great bass towards them. One of the English took a biscuit, and approaching the Indians, offered it for the bass, which they accepted. With this a friendly intercourse commenced, and the Company got a supply of bass at the same easy rate for some time after.



The place where the landing was effected, and where the interview with the Indians took place, is believed to be at or very near the point,

icably, we may suppose; because, when the Governor and his company left him, the Captain gave them a salute of five guns. This seems hardly to countenance what Trumbull, in his *Connecticut*, i. 23, says, namely, that the said Captain "was afterwards obliged to pay damages for his conduct;" but Trumbull may have had good authority for *his* statement. The impossibility of a ship of 400 tons, deeply laden, going up Charles River, must have been well known to Captain Clap when he wrote his Memoirs.

* That of Mr. Walford, before mentioned, no doubt, "situate on the south end of the westernmost hill of the East Field, a little way up from Charles River side." — *Charlestown Records*. See Frothingham, 14.

"And in the house there was a man, which had a boiled bass, but no bread that we see; but we did eat of his bass, and then went up Charles River," &c. — *Clap's Mems.*

† He had liberty from the Court, in July, 1631, "to go for England, promising to return with all convenient speed." — *Prince*, 358.

in what was soon after Watertown, on which the United States Arsenal now stands. Here, while some were preparing shelters for their goods, others proceeded to select the most suitable place for their future abode. It was soon discovered that a noted Indian resort, called Matapan, offered good grazing for their cattle, and other advantages for settlement, which they considered superior to those where they now were, and they accordingly removed to Matapan, since called Dorchester Neck, and afterwards South Boston. The name Dorchester was given to their residence, in memory of the "famous town" of the same name in Dorsetshire, whence many of the first settlers came.* They gave the same name to the place where they first encamped upon Charles River, and a place thereabouts is known as "Dorchester Fields" to this day.†

Meanwhile, the "Arbella" and her two consorts — the Ambrose and the Jewel — are ploughing the wide Atlantic Ocean, sometimes in company, and sometimes apart; separated by the violence of storms, the darkness of high northern nights, and the dense fogs swept by the broom of heaven from innumerable fields of ice over the polar seas. For several days together they could make no headway within many points of their true course; and sometimes they could only "lie at hull," with just sail enough to steady the ships, and keep them from foundering in the "trough of the seas."

May 1. After having been above three weeks at sea, they found themselves but about one third of their voyage onward, and, by contrary winds and currents, were driven to the forty-sixth degree of northern latitude; but, notwithstanding cold, stormy weather continued, and often accompanied by sleet and snow, the three ships were all in company on the sixth of May; and, on the previous night, it having come fair, and the wind "large," they were able to lay their course west by south, "with a merry gale in all their sails;" so that they soon ran down to the parallel of forty-four degrees north; but, so unfavorable was the weather for many days following, that they changed their latitude scarcely half a degree, though their course was nearly south.

June 6. At length, at two o'clock in the afternoon of June the sixth, and in forty-three degrees and a quarter north, soundings were had, "and, the mist then breaking up," land was descried on the starboard bow, about five or six leagues off, which was supposed to be Cape Sable. The wind soon after hauled south-easterly, and the ships bore

* I have given, in the *N. Eng. Hist. Gen. Regr.*, vol. iii., p. 389, &c., a somewhat extended account of the early beginnings of "Old Dorchester," the origin of its name, its early inhabitants, &c., to which the reader is referred. I would also refer to *Blake's Annals of Dorchester*, and the *Hist. of Dorchester* now in course of publication, by Mr. David Clapp.

† "In walking over the grounds at the place of landing," says Dr. Holmes [in Watertown], "several years ago, with Maj. Winship, a respectable inhabitant then living near by it, he pointed to a pasture, and told me it was called "*Dorchester Fields.*" — See *American Annals*, i. 203. — Both the excellent annalist and his informant sleep with those of whom they spoke and wrote. Dr. Holmes died at Cambridge, 4 June, 1837; Mr. Winship a few years later.

June 7. away west by north, intending to make the well-known point in York called Agamenticus. The next day, being becalmed, they had splendid fishing, on thirty fathom ground, "taking, in less than two hours, sixty-seven codfish, most of them very great, some a yard and a half long, and a yard in compass." This supply was very seasonable, their salt-fish being spent, and their other provisions were running short.

Thus, with the usual attendants on the coast of New England, — head winds, storms and calms, — the ships were one day able to keep near their course, and the next only to lie off and on, without making

June 8. any headway at all. Stretching cautiously towards the coast, on the eighth of June they saw Mount Desert, then generally called Mount Mansel, after Sir Robert Mansel;* and they were able to run all the next day with the welcome coast in sight of the sea-worn passen-

June 10. gers.† On the tenth they made other land, which appeared to them at a great distance off. This was, not unlikely, the since well-known White Hills. Boone Island, the Isles of Shoals (where a ship was riding at anchor), and the Three Turks' Heads, were all recog-

June 11. nized before the close of this day. All the next day they were obliged to beat against a head wind, in sight of Cape Ann and the Isles of Shoals, and "five or six shallops under sail, up and down."

June 12. About four in the morning, it being Saturday, being near their port, they shot off two pieces of ordnance, and, soon after, sent a boat on board a ship‡ which lay at anchor in the harbor, which they knew belonged to Captain William Peirce.§ That ship had arrived some time before. "About an hour after," says Winthrop, "Mr.

* A distinguished gentleman, one of the patentees of 1620, whose name will be found in a previous page (34) of this work. The name is often written Maunsell, and is traced to remote ages in England. John Maunsell was named one of the chaplains in the will of Henry III., 1253; but to whose dishonor nothing need be said beyond the fact of his being in the interest of that rapacious monarch. The worthy Knight, the subject of this note, I take to be a younger son of Sir Edward Mansel, knighted in 1572, Chamberlain of Chester, "and a man of great honor, integrity and courage." He was knighted by the Earl of Essex, for his valor in the taking of Cales, 1596; and, having signalized himself in several other encounters, was made Vice-Admiral of the fleet by James I., in which station he was continued by Charles I., and lived to a very old age, much esteemed for his "great integrity, personal courage, and experience in maritime affairs." — Kimber & Johnson's *Baronetage*, i. 236. — The island was named Mount Desert by Champlain in 1608. It is about twelve miles broad, and fifteen in length, and is about three hundred and thirty-five miles from Boston. In 1613, Sir Samuel Argall went from Virginia, and dispossessed the French of it, and its name was changed to Mount Mansell. This proceeding of Argall was an outrage upon the French, for which no attempt at justification will avail anything in unprejudiced minds.

† "We had now fair sunshine weather, and so pleasant a sweet air as did much refresh us, and there came a smell off the shore, like the smell of a garden." — Winthrop, *Jour.*, i. 23. — The same day, June 8th, "there came a wild pigeon into our ship, and another small bird." — *Ibid.* — "Noah could hardly have been more gratified to behold his dove, with the olive-leaf in its mouth." — *Snow.*

‡ The Lyon. She belonged to Bristol. — *Dudley to the Countess of Lincoln.* — She sailed from that port in February, and arrived at Salem in May; but the day of the month has not been ascertained. Mr. Hubbard says she "was some days arrived there before" Winthrop. — *Hist. N. England*, 130.

§ Captain Peirce had been often on this coast, and had many times crossed the Atlantic. He belonged to London, and Captain Michael Peirce, of Scituate, was his brother. I shall have occasion to say more of him. — See *News from N. England*, a rare tract of 1676, re-published by me. 4to, 1850.

Allerton came aboard us in a shallop, as he was sailing to Pemaquid. As we stood towards the harbor, we saw another shallop coming to us; so we stood in to meet her, and passed through the narrow strait between Baker's Isle and Little Isle, and came to an anchor a little within the islands. After, Mr. Peirce came aboard us, and returned to fetch Mr. Endecott,* who came to us about two of the clock, and with him Mr. Skelton and Captain Levett. We that were of the Assistants, and some other gentlemen, and some of the women, and our captain, returned with them to Nahumkeak, where we supped with a good venison pasty and good beer, and at night we returned to our ship, but some of the women stayed behind.† In the mean time, most of our people went on shore upon the land of Cape Ann, which lay very near us, and gathered store of fine strawberries;"‡ "with which, in those times, the woods were everywhere well furnished, and it is like, as merry as the gentlefolks at their venison pasty and strong beer."§

June 13. The "Arbella" was immediately visited by Indians. Masconomo, "the sagamore of that side of the country towards Cape Anne," with one of his men, came on board in the morning, and bid the English welcome, and stayed all day, and another Indian had slept on board the previous night. In the afternoon of the same day, the Jewel, Captain Low, came in sight, and was soon after moored in the harbor. The Ambrose, Captain Hurlstone, arrived five days later, and the Talbot, Captain Beecher, did not get in until the second of July.

June 14. Two ships only had arrived at Salem, but on this day the passengers made a kind of formal landing, upon which occasion a salute of five pieces was given.

June 17. The Governor and others of the principal men of the Company set out, on the since memorable seventeenth of June, to explore

* I take pleasure in transferring to this page Mr. Savage's note upon Endicott, as it is one of the best written notes in his edition of Governor Winthrop's Journal. The italicized words have been so italicized in this use of the note, for reasons which will be apparent to the reader of my previous pages. The Editor of Winthrop says: "This distinguished father of Massachusetts had, two years before, been sent to found the plantation, which was effected by the settlement of Salem, the oldest town in the colony. *He had a commission from the company to act as governour, which was, of course, superseded by the arrival of Winthrop with the charter.* With the history of his adopted country that of Endecott is interwoven till the time of his death, 15 March, 1665. He served four years as deputy governour, and sixteen as governour; being at the head of administration a longer time than any other under the old patent; exceeded under the new charter by Shirley alone, and that only by one year. The farm which he cultivated remains in possession of an honorable descendant; and one pear-tree planted by the governour on it is said still to repay his care." This was in 1824. In 1848 I received a number of fine pears from the same tree. — See *N. E. H. Gen. Regr.*, ii. 402. Since 1757, the pear-tree has been included in Danvers. — See Felt's *Annals of Salem*, i. 180; Hanson's *Hist. Danvers*, 26.

† "Who, like Noah's dove, finding sure footing on the firm land, returned no more to their ark, floating on the unstable waves." — Hubbard, *Hist. New England*, 130.

‡ I am sorry not to be able to give these extracts from *Winthrop's Journal* as Winthrop wrote them; having only a modernized copy of them must be my excuse. The quaint old orthography of that day, so refreshing to the genuine antiquary, would have rendered that work incalculably more valuable; but, as most of Winthrop's original work has been destroyed by fire, any hopes of a *restoration* are beyond the effects of lamentations, even with the prospect of a new edition in view.

§ Hubbard, *Hist. New Eng.*, 130.

the bottom of the bay, which might very properly then have been denominated the *Disputed Territory*. They were in pursuit of a suitable place for settlement; and, before returning, they went several miles up Mistick River, stayed one night at the hospitable dwelling of Mr. Samuel Maverick, probably paid a visit to Mr. Walford,* and perhaps to Mr. Blackstone, on Shawmut, and returned to Salem by way
June 19. of Nantasket, after an absence of about three days. A difficulty had arisen between Captain Squeb and the passengers who came over with him, as has before been noticed. Squeb was still at Nantasket; and Mr. Winthrop's business there at this time was no doubt owing to that unpleasant affair. He sent for the Captain to come to him on shore, which request being at once complied with, the difficulty seems to have been adjusted without delay. Captain Squeb had been charged with not performing his voyage; and some called him "a merciless man," for "turning his passengers on shore at Nantasket, in a forlorn place," when he was to land them in Charles River. Mr. Winthrop and his council, having made themselves personally acquainted with the bay, and seeing the difficulty of getting into Charles River with a ship of four hundred tons, very probably saw no cause to censure Captain Squeb, and thus the difficulty was amicably ended; and when they left him, he saluted them with five guns.

July 1. "The Mayflower and Whale arrived safe in the harbor of Charlestown; the passengers being all in health, but most of their cattle dead. If Jacob himself had been there, he could not have, with all his skill and care, prevented the over-driving of cattle, shut up in the narrow room of those wooden walls, where the fierceness of the wind and waves would often fling or throw them on heaps, to the mischiefing and destroying one another."†

July 2. In the Talbot, which arrived this day, there had been great distress, owing to the passengers having been "sore visited with the small pox in her passage, whereof fourteen died in the way." In

*The reader will have met with this name several times before in this history. Thomas Walford was the first known English inhabitant of Charlestown, then called by its Indian name, Mishawum; concerning whom, in the Charlestown records, it is said that those who settled in the same place in 1629 "found him living in an English house, palisadoed and thatched, situate on the south end of the westernmost hill of the East Field, a little way up from Charles River side." Mr. Frothingham says he has not been able to locate the residence of Mr. Walford beyond a doubt, but that it was probably on Breed's Hill, a short distance from the water. — *Hist. Charlestown*, 14, 23, 24. — Two years after, he was driven away by the authorities of Massachusetts, probably for his *heretical* opinions, or, perhaps, more properly to speak, for his *minority* opinions. The act by which he was banished will be noticed in its chronological order. Some writers have regretted the severity exercised towards him, while for others, very similarly dealt with, they withhold their sympathy altogether; thus showing that historians have their favorites among the dead as well as among the living.

Mr. Walford removed to New Hampshire, and became an inhabitant of Portsmouth. From certain court papers at Exeter, it is ascertained that he had the following children: *Mary*, wife of William Brookin, and that she was born 1635; *Martha*, wife of ——— Westbrook; *Elizabeth*, wife of ——— Savage; *Jeremiah*, wife Mary, perhaps daughter of Alexander and Ann Bachelder, of Portsmouth; *Hannah* (probably the oldest), as she married ——— Pease, before 1648. Will proved 25 June, 1667; wife Jane, who survived him, and was æt. 69 in 1667. — MS. of Mr. A. W. Brown.

† Hubbard, *Hist. N. Eng.*, 131.

one of the late ships "came Mr. Henry Winthrop, the Governor's second son, accidentally left behind at the Isle of Wight, or Hampton, whither he went to provide further supply of provisions for the gentlemen in the Admiral. A sprightly and hopeful young gentleman he was, who, though he escaped the danger of the main sea, yet was unhappily drowned in a small creek, not long after he came ashore, even the very next day, July second, after his landing, to the no small grief of his friends and the rest of the company."*

July 6. By the sixth of July there had arrived eleven ships of those employed to bring over the colonists to Massachusetts Bay, exclusive of the Mary and John, which brought the Dorchester people, already mentioned. "So as now," says Mr. Hubbard, "all the whole fleet being safely come to their port, they kept a public day of thanksgiving, through all the plantations,† to give thanks to Almighty God for all his goodness and wonderful works, which they had seen in their voyage."

July 8.

Thomas Dudley, now deputy governor, afterwards governor, came over with Winthrop, and like him wrote an account of their settling in the country. His account is of great interest; but as he did not write at the precise time in which events occurred, he has committed several mistakes; yet these are not of much account. He says "seuenteen shipps arriued‡ all safe in New England, for the increase of the plan-

* Hubbard, *Hist. N. Eng.*, 131.

† Here is evidence of many settlements existing in the country when Winthrop arrived. This is on the authority of Mr. Hubbard, who wrote fifty years after the settlement of Boston. If other evidence be necessary, that of Governor Dudley will not be questioned by anybody, for he recorded the same year (1630) the events which I am now detailing. Dudley, speaking of the settlements on the south side of the bay, as Plymouth, Weymouth, and Mount Wallaston, says, "Also diverse merchants of Bristow, and some other places, have yearly, for this eight years or thereabouts, sent shipps hether at the fishing times, to trade for beaver, where their factors dishonestly for their gaines, have furnished the Indians with guns, swords, powder and shott." — *Letter to the Countess of Lincoln*, in Force's *Tracts*, ii.

‡ Chiefly from Mr. Prince I give the following list of the seventeen ships; whence they sailed, time of sailing, masters' names, where and when they arrived.

Ships' names.	From	1630.	Masters.	1630.	Arrived at
1 Lyon	Bristol	February	Wm. Pierce	May	Salem
2 Mary and John	Plymouth	20 March	—— Squeb	30 May	Nantasket
3 Arbella	Isle of Wight	8 April	Peter Milborne	12 June	Salem
4 Jewell	Isle of Wight	8 April	John Lowe	13 June	Salem
5 Ambrose	Isle of Wight	8 April	Nicholas Hurlstone	18 June	Salem
6 Talbot	Isle of Wight	8 April	Thomas Beecher	2 July	Salem
7 Mayflower	Southampton	May	*Not known*	1 July	Charlestown
8 Whale	Southampton	May	"	1 July	Charlestown
9 Hopewell	Southampton	May	"	3 July	Salem
10 Wm. and Francis	Southampton	May	"	3 July	Salem
11 Tryal	Southampton	May	"	5 July	Charlestown
12 Charles	Southampton	May	"	5 July	Salem
13 Success	Southampton	May	"	6 July	Salem
14 Gift	*A French ship*	*End* of May	—— Brook	2 August	Charlestown
15 *Not named*	*Not known*	June	*Not known*	*Unknown*	*Unknown*
16 Handmaid	London	6 August	John Grant	29 October	Plymouth
17 *Not named*	*Sent out by a private merchant.*				

The only authority for several of the above facts is contained in Dudley's *Letter to the Countess of Lincoln.* — See Prince's *N. Eng. Chron.*, 329.

Among the ships which sailed the preceding year for New England were the George Bonaventure, Thomas Cox, master; the Talbot, Thomas Beecher, master; the Lyon's Whelp, John Gibbs, master. — See *Company's Second Lett. of Instructs. to Endicott.* — *Archæol. Amer.*, 96.

tacon here theis yeare, 1630, but made a long, a troublesome, and costly voy'ge, being all wind-bound long in England, and hindred with contrary winds after they set saile, and so scattered with mists and tempests, that few of them arriued togeather. Our four shipps which sett out in Aprill arriued here in June and July, where wee found the colony in a sadd and unexpected condition, aboue eighty of them being dead the winter before, and many of those aliue weake and sicke; all the corne and bread amongst them all hardly sufficient to feed them a fortnight; insoemuch that the remainder of one hundred and eighty servants wee had the two years before sent ouer, comeing to vs for victualls to sustaine them, wee found ourselves wholly unable to feed them by reason that the p'visions shipped for them were taken out of the shipp they were put in, and they who were trusted to shipp them in another failed us, and left them behind; whereupon necessity enforced us, to our extreme loss, to give them all libertie, who had cost about sixteen or twentie pounds a person, furnishing and sending ouer.

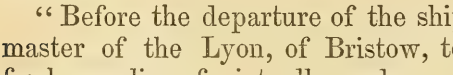
"But bearing theis things as wee might, wee beganne to consult of the place of our sitting downe; ffor Salem, where wee landed, pleased vs not. And to that purpose some were sent to the Bay, to search vpp the rivers for a convenient place, who, vppon their returne, reported to haue found a good place vppon Mistick. But some other of us seconding theis to approoue or dislike of their judgement, wee found a place liked [of] vs better, three leagues vp Charles River. And therevppon vnshipped our goods into other vessels, and, with much cost and labour, brought them in July to Charles Towne. But there receiving advertisements by some of the late arriued shipps from London and Amsterdam of some French preparations against us (many of our people brought with vs beeing sick of ffeavers and the scurvy, and wee thereby vnable to carry vp our ordinance and baggage soe farr), wee were forced to change counsaile and for our present shelter to plant dispersedly; some at Charles Towne, which standeth on the north side of the mouth of Charles Riuer, some on the south side thereof, which place we named Boston (as wee intended to haue done the place wee first resolued on); some of vs vppon Mistick, which we named Meadford; some of vs westward on Charles River, four miles from Charles Towne, which place wee named Watertoune; others of vs two miles from Boston, in a place wee named Rocksbury; others vppon the riuer of Sawgus, betweene Salem and Charles Towne; and the western men four miles south from Boston, at a place wee named Dorchester.

"This dispersion troubled some of vs, but help it wee could not, wanting ability to remoue to any place fit to build a Toune vppon, and the time too short to deliberate any longer least the winter should surprise vs before wee had builded our houses. The best counsel wee could find out was to build a fort to retire to, in some conuenient place, if any enemy pressed therevnto, after wee should haue fortifyed ourselues against the iniuries of wett and cold. So, ceasing to consult further for that time, they who had health to labour fell to building, wherein

many were interrupted with sicknes, and many dyed weekley, yea, almost dayley. Amongst whom were Mrs. Pinchon, [lady of the Honorable William Pinchon],* Mrs. Coddington [lady of the Honorable William Coddington], Mrs. Phillips [wife of Mr. George Phillips, first minister of Watertown], Mrs. Alcock, sister of Mr. Hookers [wife of Deacon John Alcock]. Insomuch that the shippes beeing now vppon their returne, some for England, some for Ireland, there was, I take it, not much less than an hundred (some think many more), partly out of dislike of our government, which restrained and punished their excesses, and partly through feare of famine, (not seeing other means than by their labour to feed themselves), which returned back [to England] again. And glad were wee so to bee ridd of them. Others, also, afterwards hearing of men of their owne disposition, which were planted at Piscataway, went from vs to them, whereby, though our numbers were lessened, yet wee accounted ourselues nothing weakened by their remouall.

"Before the departure of the shipps, we contracted with Mr. Peirce, master of the Lyon, of Bristow, to returne to vs with all speed, with fresh supplies of victualls, and gaue him directions accordingly. With this shipp returned Mr. Revil, one of the fiue vndertakers here for the joint stock of the Company; and Mr. Vassall, one of the Assistants, and his family; and also Mr. Bright, a minister sent hether the yeare before.†

* Though the name of this important and worthy gentleman is very often found written *Pinchon*, his own signature in my possession is Pynchon, as the fac-simile here inserted shows.



This is copied from an original paper of the date 1650. Farmer has given a pedigree of his family in his *N. E. Genealog. Reg.* He was one of the fathers of Roxbury, and afterwards of Springfield. — See Ellis' *Hist. Roxbury*, and Bliss' *Hist. Disc. at Springfield.* He was very highly respected in the colony, and is uniformly mentioned in the Springfield records, as the "Worshipful Mr. William Pynchon," &c. In these pages his name often occurs, and always in honorable connection. His family was one of distinction in England. The father of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, married Agnes, daughter of William Pynchon, Gent. The father, Thomas Chichele, of Higham Ferrers, in Northamptonshire, died 25 February, 1400. — See Wood's *Hist. and Antiquities of the Colleges*, &c., *of Oxford*, i. 259. *Ed.* Gutch, 1786. I know not, however, that this *William Pynchon* was even remotely connected with our William Pynchon. The original deed of Springfield from the Indians to Mr. Pynchon is preserved in the Court House in that town. It was dated 15 July, 1636. His son, the Hon. John Pynchon, became an eminent man in New England. In 1675 he owned the ship *John's Adventure*, which sailed out of Boston, and of which Captain John Walley was master. — See *Old Indian Chronicle*, 34.

† Hubbard, in his characteristic manner, thus remarks upon the return of Mr. Bright, whom he denominates a "godly minister": — "He began to hew stones in the mountains wherewith to build; but when he saw all sorts of stones would not suit in the building, as he supposed, he, not unlike Jonah, fled from the presence of the Lord, and went down to Tarshish." — *Hist. New England*, 113. This, however, is only an improvement upon a passage of Johnson. — See *Wonder-working Prov.*, p. 20. Edward Johnson may be regarded as a contemporary historian, being one of those who came over in 1630, and was at Charlestown with Winthrop the same year, and was one of the first settlers of Woburn, which town he represented in the General Court about twenty-eight years, from 1643. He used to be called one of the "men of Kent," and a "Kentish Captain;" having come from a place called Herne-Hill in that county. His History of New England, usually cited as the *Wonder-working Providence*, was printed in London in 1655. Captain Johnson died 23 April, 1672, aged 72, as by MS. deposition in my possession.

"The shipps beeinge gone, victualls wastinge, and mortallity increasinge, wee held diuerse fasts in our severall congregations, but the Lord would not yet be depricated; for, about the beginning of September, dyed Mr. Gager, a right godly man, a skillfull chirurgeon, and one of the deacons of our congregation; and Mr. Higginson, one of the ministers of Salem, a zealous and profitable preacher, this of a consumption, that of a feaver. And on the thirtieth of September dyed Mr. Johnson, another of the fiue Vndertakers (the Lady Arbella, his wife, being dead a month before).* This gentleman was a prime man amongst vs, haueing the best estate of any; zealous for religion, and the greatest furtherer of this plantation. He made a most godly end, dying willingly, professing his life better spent in promoting this plantacon, than it would have beene in any other way. Within a month after, dyed Mr. Rositer, another of our Assistants, a godly man, and of a good estate, which still weakened vs more, so that there now were left of the fiue Vndertakers, but the Gouernour, Sir Richard Saltonstall, and myself, and seuen other of the Assistants. And of the people who came ouer with vs, from the time of their setting saile from England, in April, 1630, vntill December followinge, there dyed by estimacon, about two hundred, at the least. So lowe hath the Lord brought vs."†

* She died about the thirtieth of August, according to Winthrop, who agrees with Dudley that she died "about a month" before her husband. Mr. Hubbard notices the sad event in his usual happy manner. "Amongst others," he says, "that were at that time visited with mortal sickness, the Lady Arbella, the wife of Mr. Isaac Johnson, was one, who, possibly, had not taken the counsel of our Saviour, to sit down and consider what the cost would be before she began to build; for, coming from a paradise of plenty and pleasure, which she enjoyed in the family of a noble Earldom, into a wilderness of wants, it proved too strong a temptation for her; so as the virtues of her mind were not able to stem the tide of those many adversities of her outward condition, which she, soon after her arrival, saw herself surrounded withal; for, within a short time after, she ended her days at Salem, where she first landed, and was soon after solemnly interred, as the condition of those times would bear." — *Hist. N. England*, 132–3. Why has there not been a monument to designate the place where she lies? The spot is, or was recently, well known. The late Dr. Holyoke, of Salem, when he was *ninety-nine* years of age, namely, in 1828, the year before he died, told Dr. Abiel Holmes that she was buried about half a mile from "the body of the town," near Bridge street, which leads to Beverley, about ten feet from the street. — See *Amer. Annals*, i. 206.

† Though in this long extract many facts are brought in a little out of place, yet I should not be pardoned by any intelligent reader, I think, were I not to allow a man of Governor Dudley's importance to tell things as *he* saw and knew them; being one of those who wrote "with his hands to the plow," and tells us things nowhere else to be found. He wrote within the year of settlement, and his letter, which accompanied his Narrative, is dated "Boston in New England, March 12th, 1630," which was 1631, N. S. It was directed "To the righte honourable, my very good Lady, the Lady Bryget, Countesse of Lincoln." It was sent over to her in the care of Mr. Wilson, pastor of the First Church, who sailed from Salem, April 1st, 1631. That all which can be known of its origin may be before the reader, said letter follows entire:

"Madam, — Your l'res (which are not common or cheape), following mee hether into New England, and bringeing with them renewed testimonies of the accustomed favours you honoured mee with in the Old, haue drawne from mee this Narrative retribucon, (which in respect of your proper interest in some persons of great note amongst vs), was the thankfullest present I had to send ouer the seas. Therefore I humblie intreat your Honour, this bee accepted as payment from him, who neither hath nor is any more than your honour's old thankful servant,

Thomas Dudley."

What I have above denominated as a Narrative, is always cited as "Dudley's Letter to the Countess," &c. The short epistle here extracted may be considered a Dedication to the Narrative or Letter, the best edition of which is that printed by Mr. Force, of Washington, from a MS. The commencement of the Narrative, or the first paragraph of it, sets forth, in a most striking manner, the wants of

CHAPTER XI.

Removal of Winthrop and his Company to Charlestown. — Sickness and Distress of the People. — Fast in Consequence. — First Church formed. — Rev. John Wilson. — First Election. — Winthrop chosen Governor. — First Court of Assistants. — William Blackstone. — Account of him. — His Point, House and Spring. — He removes to Rehoboth. — Blackstone River named for him. — Shawmut settled, and named Boston. — First Ordination. — Trimountain, why so named. — Death of Isaac Johnson. — Account of him.

Having determined on a removal from Salem, and having fixed upon the point of land since called Charlestown * (in honor of Charles I.), for a town, Governor Winthrop, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Isaac Johnson, Mr. Thomas Dudley, Mr. Roger Ludlow, Mr. Increase Nowell, Mr. William Pynchon, Mr. Simon Bradstreet, Mr. John Wilson, Mr. George Phillips, with their followers, took up their present abode there accordingly ;‡ not all at the same time, but as fast as accommodations for them could be made ; which removal very probably occupied a considerable part of the present month, and a large part of the following August.

July 12.†

The governor and several of the patentees dwelt in the "Great House," which was built the year before by Mr. Thomas Graves, while the multitude set up cottages, booths and tents, about the Town Hill. From the length of their passage over the Atlantic, many arrived sick of the scurvy, which much increased after their arrival, for want of houses, and by reason of wet lodgings ; other distempers also prevailed. And, although the people were generally very loving and pitiful to one another, yet the sickness did so prevail, that the well were not able to

a new country, and his own ability to encounter its privations. It here ensues :

"For the satisfacon of your honour and some freinds, and for vse of such as shall hereafter intend to increase our plantacon in New England, I have in the throng of domestic, and not altogether free from publique businesse, thought fitt to comit to memory our present condition, and what hath befallen us since our arrivall here ; which I will doe shortly, after my usual manner, and must doe rudely, haveing yet no table, nor other room to write in than by the fireside, upon my knee, in this sharp winter ; to which my family must have leave to resorte, though they break good manners, and make mee many times forget what I would say, and say what I would not."

There was published, in 1848, a volume containing a Genealogy of the Dudley Family, by Mr. Dean Dudley.

* "This towne of Charles," says Johnson, about 1650, "is situated one the north side of Charles River, from whence it tooke its name ; the river being about five or six fathom deepe. Over against the town, many small islands lieing to the seaward of it, and hills one either side. By which meanes it proves a very good harbor for ships, which hath caused many seamen and merchants to sit down there. The forme of this towne in the frontice piece thereof, is like the head, neck and shoulders of a man, onely the pleasant and navigable river of Mistick runs through the right shoulder thereof. It hath a large Market Place near the water side, built round with houses, comely and faire, forth of which there issues two streetes orderly built with some very faire houses, beautified with pleasant gardens and orchards. The whole towne consists in its extent of about 150 dwelling houses." — *Wonder-working Prov.*, 40, 41.

† "But to goe on with the story, the 12 of July or thereabout, 1630, these souldiers of Christ first set foote one this western end of the world ; where arriveing in safety, both men, women and children. On the north side of Charles River they landed," &c. — Johnson, *Wond.-work. Prov.*, 37. Prince, *Chronology*, 240, *old edition*, seems a little in doubt whether Johnson meant this date for the time of the removal to Charlestown, or the arrival at Salem just a month before. I am clearly of the opinion that he means just what he says, and for several reasons, not necessary to be stated.

‡ Frothingham, from *Charlestown Town Records*.

take care of the sick as their cases required; and thus many "perished and died," and were buried about the Town Hill. *

Fewer dismal and darker days did the first settlers of Boston witness than those which they passed at Charlestown, and which soon determined them to remove to this since famous peninsula. "In almost every family, lamentation, mourning and woe were heard, and no fresh food to be had, to cherish them. It would assuredly have moved the most lockt up affections to tears, had they past from one hut to another, and beheld the piteous case these people were in; and that which added to their present distresse was the want of fresh water. For, although the place did afford plenty, yet for present they could finde but one spring, and that not to be come at, but when the tide was down." † This want of water, as will presently be seen, was a principal cause of a removal to Shawmut.

July 30. In consequence of the great sickness and mortality at their new place of abode, a fast had been recommended by Mr. Winthrop to be kept there on the thirtieth of July; and Mr. Isaac Johnson came up from Salem to join in the solemnity. The same day a church was formed, a covenant‡ entered into; and this was the foundation of the First Church of Boston. The first members were, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Johnson, and Mr. Wilson, afterwards their minister. §

August 1. Two days after, five others joined the same church, namely: Mr. Nowell, Mr. Thomas Sharp, Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. William Gager, and Mr. William Colborn, "who, with others, quickly added, chose Mr. Wilson for their pastor." The settlement of Charlestown was now progressing, and Mr. Winthrop was diligently preparing timber for a house for himself and family.

August 23. Meanwhile, it was resolved to have an election of officers at the new settlement of Charlestown, notwithstanding Mr. Win-

* Frothingham, from *Charlestown Town Records*.

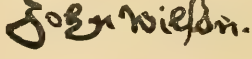
† Johnson, *Wonder-working Providence*, 38, 39.

‡ The first Church Covenant of Charlestown and Boston may very properly be looked for in this history. It therefore follows. I have taken it as it stands in Mr. Foxcroft's *Century Sermon*, preached to the First Church "Aug. 23, 1730. Being the last Sabbath of the FIRST CENTURY since its settlement."

"We whose names are here under written, being by his most wise and good Providence brought together into this part of America, in the Bay of Massachusetts, and desirous to unite ourselves into one Congregation or Church under the Lord Jesus Christ our Head, in such sort as becometh all those whom he hath redeemed and sanctified to himself, DO hereby solemnly and religiously (as in his most holy Presence) promise and bind ourselves to walk in all our ways according to the Rule of the Gospel, and in all sincere Conformity to his holy Ordinances, and in mutual Love and Respect, each to other, so near as God shall give us grace."

§ The biographical dictionaries of Eliot and Allen are sufficiently full on this eminent man, and Farmer has some account of his pedigree. His father, William Wilson, D. D., was prebend of Rochester, and his mother was niece to Edmund Grindal, the famous Archbishop of Canterbury. He was born at Windsor, County of Berks, in the year of the Spanish Armada, 1588. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Mansfield. John Mansfield, who settled in Charlestown, was her brother, and Ann, wife of Capt. Robert Keayne, of Boston, was her sister. Mr. Wilson died in Boston, 7 August, 1667. The Rev. John Wilson, of Medfield, was his son; he died 23 August, 1691, æt. 70. — See *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vi. 156.

The following fac-simile of the autograph of Mr. Wilson is from that published by Mr. Frothingham.



throp and his associates had before been elected to office by the Company in England.* But now everything wore a new aspect; many of the people here, as well as the immediate emigrants, probably, desired the formality of an election, as a matter which they could much readier realize than they could the action of a Corporation in England, about which they may not have had any very satisfactory urderstanding, or whose authority they may have thought would be questionably exercised in this distant land. However this may be, an election was held "aboard the Arrabella, the twenty-third of August, when the much honoured John Winthrope, Esq., was chosen Governour for the remainder of the year, 1630; also the worthy Thomas Dudly, Esq., was chosen Deputy Governour, and Mr. Simon Brodestreet, Secretary."†

This being over, a court was organized, which proceeded to consider how the ministers were to be maintained; when it was ordered that houses should be built for them at the public charge. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Phillips only were provided for at this time. The former was to have twenty pounds a year until his wife should come over, and the latter to receive thirty pounds a year. It was further ordered by the same court that Thomas Morton, of Mount Wollaston, be sent for presently; and that carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, sawyers and thatchers, take no

* I can see no possible grounds for explaining away this election, so circumstantially recorded by Johnson, in his *Wonder-working Providence*. Mr. Winthrop undoubtedly considered it of no legal importance, and hence only wrote in his journal, "Monday we kept a court." He may have been somewhat displeased on finding it necessary to submit to such an election. This may account for his neglect to make entries in his journal; for neglect it he did, an entire week, with the exception of the single entry above extracted. It is not altogether improbable, perhaps, that a removal to Boston may have had some special influence in bringing about the election. In a letter which Winthrop wrote at Charlestown, and which Mr. Johnson received at Salem on July 25th, he speaks of the people being in "three distinct bodies," (by which Prince thinks he means Charlestown, Dorchester and Salem,) "not then intending rashly to proceed to the choice of officers," &c. I apprehend that this refers to the election stated by Johnson; but it is not very clear what is meant, nor is the letter in other respects at all intelligible; — very different from Winthrop's writings generally. There is another consideration: before this election, very little business appears to have been ordered or executed under the special direction of Winthrop. We hear of no reading of commissions, assuming the government, &c. The real state of the case doubtless is, that Winthrop modestly declined all interference with the affairs under Endicott; there being no cause of dissatisfaction with him among those under his government. This was the plain course of a magnanimous mind, and well accords with the unassuming character of Winthrop. But, on removing to Charlestown, it became necessary that the people should know who were their leaders, and whom they were to obey. Hence the necessity of an election. Had Mr. Winthrop assumed the government on his arrival at Salem, he would, in all probability, have recorded so important an event in his journal; nor would his induction into office have been overlooked, in days when formalities were considered of great importance. Besides, even the charter may have been referred to, as authority for this election of officers. See *ante*, p. 63. And then it must be considered that, only the preceding April [1629], the Company thus instructed Mr. Endicott: — "Wee haue, in prosecution of that good opinion wee haue alway had of you, confirmed you Gouernour of our plantacon;" and on the 28th of the next May, writing him again, this language is held: — "Wee haue sithence our last, and according as wee then advised, at a full and ample Court assembled, ellected and established you, Captaine John Endicott, to the place of present Gouernour in our Plantacon there." And, after the election of Mr. Winthrop as governor of the Company, and a removal of the government had been settled, it does not appear, from the Company's records, that Mr. Endicott's government was to be interfered with. See *ante*, p. 70. The records expressly say, "It is conceeved fitt that Captain Endicott continue the Gouernment there [in N. England] vnless iust cause to the contrarie" appear.

† Johnson, *Won.-work. Prov.*, 38–9.

more than two shillings a day, wages. By non-observance of this order, the parties each subjected themselves to a fine of ten shillings.

Notwithstanding the resolution of the principal men to build their chief town at Charlestown, the discouragements attendant on sickness and death caused many to be restless, and to think of other localities.* And, in the mean time, Mr. William Blackstone, who lived on Shawmut, became acquainted with their distresses, and, going over to their relief, advised them to remove to his peninsula. His advice was kindly received, and began to be followed soon after; so that, before the end of August, many of those at Charlestown had passed over to Shawmut, and began to make improvements and preparations for the rest to follow.†

This Mr. Blackstone, of whom mention has before several times been made, appears to have lived here alone, having come over, probably, with Captain Robert Gorges, or about 1623, and may have possessed Shawmut by lease or purchase from Gorges.‡ It is not, however, very important when he came, or how he came to be possessed of lands here, so long as it is certain that he had a good title to what he had, which was acknowledged by the settlers under Winthrop, who, in due time, bought his lands of him, and he removed out of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

Blackstone had a house or cottage, in which he lived; and the nature of his improvements was such as to authorize a belief that he had resided here seven or eight years. He was one of those people who preferred solitude to society, and his theological notions corresponded with those habits of life. When he invited Winthrop to come over to his side of the river, he probably had no thought of a removal himself; for he did not remove until about four years later. His selling out and leaving Boston were no doubt occasioned by his desire to live more retired, as well as to a dislike of his Puritan neighbors,§ whom, it is

* "This caused several to go abroad upon discovery; some went without the Neck of this town, who travelled up into the main till they came to a place well watered, whither Sir Richard Saltonstall, Knt., and Mr. Phillips, minister, went with several others, and settled a plantation, and called it Watertowne. Others went on the other side of Charles River, and there travelled up into the country, and likewise finding good waters, settled there with Mr. Ludlow, and called the plantation Dorchester."—*Charlestown Records.*

† "The Peninsula," says Shaw, "was, in all respects, the most eligible site for a fortified town in the country; and it is strange that Dudley, who was a soldier by profession, and had served as a Captain at the siege of Amiens, under Henry IV., did not prefer it" at first.—*Descript. of Boston*, 40.

‡ This is extremely probable; and why he was not driven off, as Walford afterwards was, was doubtless owing to the kind offices which he extended to those in authority, and not making himself in any way obnoxious to them. And, as will be shown by the records hereafter, he had lands set off to him, which would not have been the case had his ownership of the peninsula been fully acknowledged. His case was precisely that of Oldham, Sir William Brereton, and others, with this difference: Blackstone was *on* his ground in person. He doubtless made the best terms he could with a power he could not resist successfully. His grant of territory here was superior to others, or to the most of those who came with Winthrop. It consisted of fifty acres, which was about *one fifteenth* of the whole of Shawmut. It will be remembered that Sir William Brereton was offered a "share with the rest," if he came over; but as to any right, derived from others, of territory in Massachusetts, none was acknowledged.

§ Lechford, in his *Plain Dealing*, says that Blackstone removed from Boston "because he would not join with the Church. He lives near Mr. Williams, but is far from his opinion." Lechford was a churchman.

said, he told that "he left England because of his dislike of the Lord-Bishops, but now he did not like the Lord-Brethren."* He is supposed to have been a graduate of Emanuel College, Cambridge, A. B. 1617, A. M. 1621,† and some have denominated him a clergyman of the Church of England.‡ In 1634 he removed to Rehoboth, where he lived till the twenty-sixth of May, 1675, the date of his death; and he was also the first settler within the original limits of Rehoboth, since Attleborough Gore, on the banks of Blackstone River, so named for him. A hill to which he used to resort, at certain seasons, for study and contemplation, still bears the name of Study Hill; a few rods from the base of which were lately to be seen the remains of his well, its stoning nearly entire; and, a few rods from the well, the grave of this singular man.

The place of Blackstone's retreat, on the banks of the noble river which bears his name, was as secluded as at Shawmut, before the arrival of Winthrop. And here, as at Shawmut, he had fine gardens, orchards and meadows; and here, as at that place, his were the first apples ever produced in these respective places. In 1765, several of his apple-trees remained, and bore fruit; and, in 1836, three trees were standing, in appearance very old, and "probably grew from the sprouts of those planted by Blackstone."§

William Blackstone was not only the first known white settler of Boston, but to him is due the credit of the settlement under Winthrop. This was acknowledged in the lifetime of the former, as shown in the records of Charlestown, in these words:‖ "Mr. Blackstone, dwelling on the other side of Charles River, alone, to a place by the Indeans called Shawmutt, where he only had a cottage at, or not far off the place called Blackstone's Point,¶ he came and acquainted the Governor

* Mather, *Magnalia*, B. iii., p. 7, who thus introduces Blackstone: — "There were also some godly Episcopalians; among whom has been reckoned Mr. Blackstone; who, by happening to sleep first in an old hovel upon a point of land there, laid claim to all the ground whereupon there now stands the Metropolis of the whole English America, until the inhabitants gave him satisfaction."

† He married Mary Stevenson, 4 July, 1659. She was the widow of John Stevenson, of Boston, and they were married by Gov. Endicott. Mrs. Blackstone died two years before her husband, namely, June, 1673. Mr. Blackstone left one son, whose posterity, I am informed by gentlemen of credibility in Rhode Island, are somewhat numerous in that state at the present day. It is said that the late President Kirkland was in some way related to the family of Blackstone, and that, a few years before his death, he made a journey to Cumberland, for the purpose of finding his grave, and placing upon it a suitable monument; but that the residents of whom he sought information being entirely ignorant of any such person, or his grave, he gave up his search, concluding that nothing satisfactory could be found.

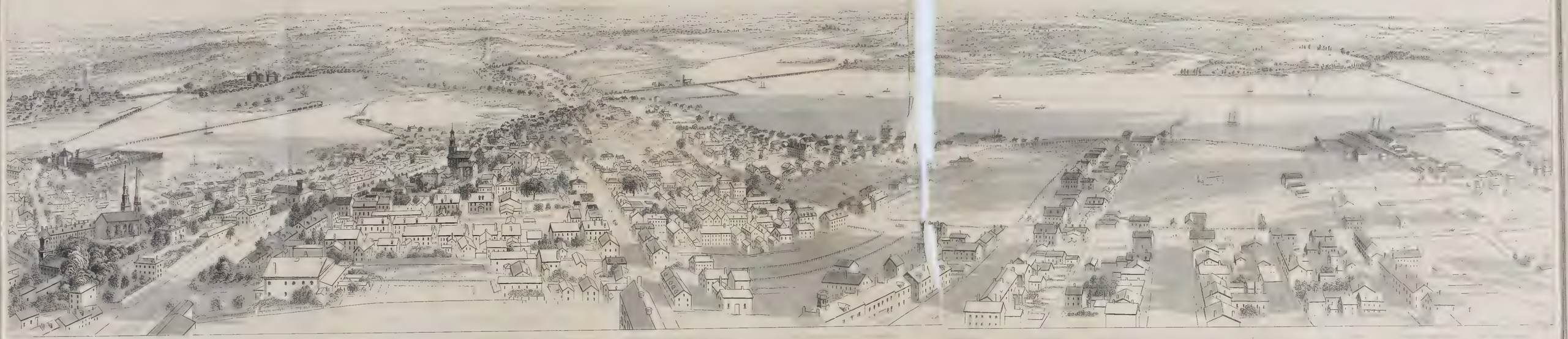
‡ This would rather appear from Edward Johnson's notice of him, who, speaking of Mr. Bright and Blackstone in connection, says, derisively, "The one betooke him to the seas again, and the other, Mr. Blaxton, to till the land, retaining no simbole of his former profession, but a canonical cote." — *Wonder-work. Prov.*, 20. — With this before him, Mr. Hubbard makes considerable improvement. He calls him a clergyman, and says "he betook himself to till the ground, wherein probably he was more skilled, or at least had a better faculty, than in the things pertaining to the house of God," &c. — *Hist. N. Eng.*, 113.

§ For many of the above facts I am indebted to Mr. Bliss' excellent *History of Rehoboth*, and to Mr. Daggett's valuable *History of Attleborough*.

‖ I use Mr. Frothingham's transcript of those invaluable records, in all cases, with the most perfect confidence.

¶ As to the precise locality of Blackstone's house, and his spring, not far from it, opinions of people differ. But I am pretty well

V. CITY OF BOSTON, FROM BUNKER HILL MONUMENT 1843.



of an excellent spring there, withal inviting him and soliciting him thither. Whereupon, after the death of Mr. Johnson, and divers others, the Governor, with Mr. Wilson and the greatest part of the church, removed thither. Whither also, the frame of the Governor's house was carried, when people began to build their houses against winter, and this place was called Boston."*



MR. BLACKSTONE'S RESIDENCE.

To this "memorable man," as to others before his time as well as since, justice will eventually be done. And though the noble City, whose foundation he laid, be the last to honor his name, it will one day, it is not to be doubted, pay the debt which it owes his memory with interest. Should not the principal street in the City bear his name?

Mr. Blackstone having died a month before the breaking out of Philip's War, he was spared the witnessing of the horrors of that distressing period; but the Indians ravaged his plantation, burnt up his buildings, and, what will ever be deeply deplored, his library, also. This was large and valuable for those days, and its loss to the history of Boston and to New England can never be known.†

August 27. Four days after the first court was held at Charlestown, the first ordination took place.‡ Mr. Wilson was ordained Pastor, or teaching Elder, over the church there, and also over that part of the the same church which had removed to Mr. Blackstone's side of the river.

convinced that Blackstone's Point was that afterwards called Barton's Point, now near the northern termination of Leveret Street, and the Depot of the Lowell Rail Road. His point is easier located than his house or his spring. That there were many springs on this part of Shawmut, has always been demonstrable. House No. 19, Poplar Street, covers a large spring, which, in 1838, afforded abundance of water a considerable part of the year. This writer then occupied that house; and this spring, it is not unlikely, was the identical spring near which Blackstone lived. What Shaw says in his *Description of Boston*, 103, agrees very well with this. "Blackstone's Spring," he observes, "is yet to be seen [about 1800] on the westerly part of the town, near the bay which divides Boston from Cambridge."

* These records also say, that Mr. Winthrop's removal to Shawmut was "to the discontent of some;" of those probably who had begun to build, and to whom a removal would have been a serious loss. A further proof that this place was not thought of for a town until Blackstone urged it, appears in the fact, that Winthrop had engaged to settle at Newtown, and had a house in process of building there at this time, which he also removed to Boston afterwards.

† From the inventory of his effects, taken immediately after his decease, 28 May, 1675, a copy of which may be seen in Mr. Bliss' *History of Rehoboth*, p. 8, the inference in the text is drawn. The "ten paper books" enumerated in the schedule, are conjectured to have been MSS. of great value, and that they might have thrown light on his whole history, as well as that of the country for the fifty years in which he resided in it. — See Dr. Usher Parsons, in *Holmes' Annals*, i. 377.

‡ "We of the congregation kept a fast, and chose Mr. Wilson our teacher, and Mr. Nowell an elder, and Mr. Gager and Mr. Aspinwall deacons. We used imposition of hands, but with this protestation by all, that it was only as a sign of election and confirmation; not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England." — Winthrop's *Journal*, i. 31—3.

Sept. 7. Many people having, by the seventh of September, taken up their residence on Shawmut,* a court was held on that day, which is called the Court of Assistants; and this was the second court held at the new settlement of Charlestown. There were present the principal men from Salem, Dorchester, and Watertown, though at the opening of this court the two last mentioned places were not so named. Among the orders passed, were the following: — "Thomas Morton, of Mount Wollaston, shall presently be set in the bilbows, and after sent prisoner to England, by the ship called the Gift, now returning thither; † that all his goods shall be seized to defray the charge of his transportation, payment of his debts, and to give satisfaction to the Indians for a canoe he took unjustly from them; and that his house be burnt down to the ground in sight of the Indians, for their satisfaction for many wrongs he has done them. Ordered, that no person shall plant in any place within the limits of this Patent, without leave from the Governor and Assistants, or major part of them; ‡ that a warrant shall presently be sent to Agawam to command those who are planted there, forthwith to come away; And, that Trimountain § be called Boston; ‖ Mattapan,



JOHN WILSON.

* The circumstance of the first party who landed in Boston from Charlestown, in 1630, is thus related by Mr. Loring in his *Hundred Boston Orators*, p. 365: "The ancestor of the Pollard family, of Boston, was William Pollard, whose wife, Anne, died 6th Dec., 1725, aged one hundred and five years, leaving of her offspring one hundred and thirty. She used to relate, that she went over in the first boat that crossed Charles river, to what has since been called Boston, and that she was the first that jumped ashore. She described the place as being at that time very uneven, abounding in small hollows and swamps, covered with blueberry and other bushes." Mrs. Pollard's portrait, taken in 1723, when she was one hundred and three years old, has for some years past hung in a room over the Savings Bank in Tremont-street, in the occupation of the Mass. Hist. Society, and was there deposited by Isaac Winslow, Esq. — *Ibid.*

† But he did not go in the Gift. The captain of that ship, says Hubbard, not being "*gifted* that way, nor his ship neither." — *Hist. N. England*, 137.

‡ This order was especially to prevent people from settling in so scattered a manner as to render themselves weak and unserviceable as a whole, in the event of invasion.

§ "So called, I suppose," says Prince, "on the account of the three contiguous hills appearing in a range to those at Charlestown." — Another author, Shaw, says, "These were not, however, Beacon, Copp's and Fort Hills, as generally supposed, but three little rising hills on the top of a high mountain, at the north-west side of the town." — *Description of Boston*, 50. "The high mountain," he observes, "as Wood calls it, is the high ground extending from the head of Hanover-street, south-westerly to the water, beyond the new State House, the summit of which was since called Beacon Hill, now [1800] almost levelled to its base."

‖ "Being now become a distinct town of themselves, and retaining Mr. Wilson for their minister, afterwards called their plantation Boston, with respect to Mr. Cotton, who came from a town in Lincolnshire so called, when he came in to New England." Dudley, as has been seen, assigns the same reason for naming Shawmut Boston. "And from the late Judge Sewall, in comparison with the Charlestown records, I learn that this town was settled under the conduct of Mr. Johnson." — *Prince*, 316.

Dorchester; and the town upon Charles river, Watertown."* This last was called Pigsgusset, by the Indians.†



TRIMOUNTAIN.

Although the seventh of September, Old Style, is justly regarded as the date of the first settlement of Boston,‡ yet it was not till a month or more that the government was removed from Charlestown, where, on the twenty-eighth of September, the third Court of Assistants was held. In the mean time, among other things, probably fortifications had been considered necessary to be at once erected; for at this court an order passed for raising fifty pounds for the use of Mr. Patrick and Mr. Underhill, who were military men.§ The Indians may have shown signs of dissatisfaction. In fact, if they did not manifest any jealousy at seeing their country overrun by such a singular race of people as the emigrants must have appeared to them to be, they must have been void of such feelings as were exhibited five-and-twenty years later by their neighbors bordering on the south of them. But merely common prudence may have caused the same court to order, that if any person permit an Indian to use a gun, on any occasion, he should pay a fine of ten pounds; and that no person be allowed to give or sell any corn to an Indian, without license from the court.

Sept. 28.

Sept. 30. Amidst the numerous trials which now beset this devoted people, no single blow had ever been witnessed which had cast such a gloom over them, as did the death of Mr. Isaac Johnson. He died at Boston, about two of the clock on the morning of this day. He was able to attend the court on the seventh of the month, but that was his last earthly court. It was Mr. Johnson who first favored Blackstone's proposal for a removal to this side of the river; and his improvements in the settlement, at the time of his death, were doubtless superior to any other's on the place. His lot had been selected, and was that comprehended by School, Washington, Court and Tremont streets, at this time; of course comprehending the Chapel burying-place. In the upper end of this lot, when on his death-bed, he desired to be buried; and he was accordingly buried there. This was the first place of interment of the English at Boston, and it continues to be used as a

* Prince's *Chronology*, 315.

† Wood's *New England's Prospect*, 88.

‡ Hence the second centennial anniversary of the settlement of Boston was celebrated on Friday, the 17th of September, 1830.

§ The fifty pounds were thus apportioned to be raised in the settlements:

1. Charlestown,	£7	3. Dorchester,	£7
2. Boston,	11	4. Roxbury,	5
5. Watertown,	11	8. Wessagascus,	2
6. Medford,	3	9. Nantasket,	1
7. Salem,	3		

From which the relative importance of these places may be seen. But it can hardly be supposed that the above rate was based on the property of the respective places; for, assuming that to have been the basis, Salem could scarcely have stood so low, or Boston so high.

place of sepulture to this day.* "He may be said to have been the idol of the people, for they ordered their bodies, as they died, to be buried round him; and this was the reason of appropriating for a place of burial, what is now [1760] the Old Burying-place, adjoining to King's Chapel."†

By Mr. Johnson's will, a copy of which was "on the Massachusetts files" when Hutchinson wrote his history, executed on the twenty-eighth of April, in the fifth of Charles I. [1629] it is shown that he was of Clipsham, in the county of Rutland, son of Abraham Johnson, Esq., and grandson of Robert Johnson. Dr. Chaderton was his mother's father. His estate was much the largest of any of the undertakers. It lay in the counties of Rutland, Northampton and Lincoln. His New England adventure he valued at six hundred pounds. Having no children, he gave legacies to a great number of his friends, and to pious and charitable uses. His lands he gave to his father and brothers. To Mr. Cotton he gave thirty pounds and a gown-cloth. The advowson and right of patronage of the parish church of Clipsham, he gave to Mr. Dudley and Mr. Cotton. His funeral charges he limited at two hundred and fifty pounds; but a small part of which, however, was required. His heart was set on the New England settlement, and he ordered his executors to carry on his share in it. In another will, made before his death, he appointed John Hampden, Esq., with Winthrop and Dudley, executors.‡

Sept. 20. In the midst of the removal from Charlestown to Boston, death continued his work. Mr. William Gager died on the twentieth of September. He was the chief physician of the infant settlement, and consequently a great loss to it. He was also a high officer in the church at its first organization in Charlestown, being its deacon. A house was ordered to be built for him at the public charge, and he was to be paid twenty pounds for the first year, and be furnished with a cow; and after that he was to receive thirty pounds per annum. He left a family. John Gager, his son probably, resided in Boston until 1645, about which time he settled in New London, and finally in Norwich, where he died in 1703. §

Soon after the death of Mr. Gager, Mr. William Colburn was chosen deacon of the same church. He was "invested by imposition of hands of the minister and elder."

One who lived amidst these scenes writes, as he had just cause to do: "The first beginning of this worke seemed very dolorous; first, for the death of that worthy personage, Izaac Johnson, Esq., whom the Lord had indued with many pretious gifts, insomuch that he was held in high esteeme among all the people of God, and as a chiefe pillar to

*This is the substance of what Chief-Justice Samuel Sewall told the Rev. Thomas Prince. So that few things in our history can be better substantiated than the circumstances of the death and the place of burial of Mr. Isaac Johnson.

†Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.* I., 16.

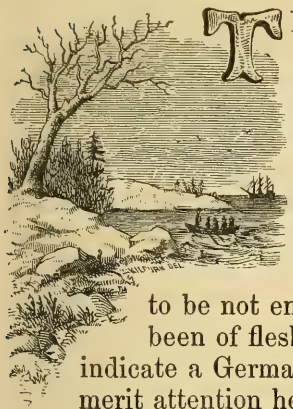
‡*Ibid.*

§See Hinman's *Genealogy of the Puritans*, p. 134, and Caulklin's *Hist. of New London*, 159. — William Gager grad. at Yale 1721, and Charles A. 1835.

support this new erected building. He very much rejoiced, at his death, that the Lord had been pleased to keepe his eyes open so long, as to see one Church of Christ gathered before his death; at whose departure there was not onely many weeping eyes, but some fainting hearts, fearing the fall of the present worke."*

CHAPTER XII.

Origin of the name Boston. — Traditions and Superstitions of St. Botolph. — Boston in England. — St. Botolph's Church. — Mr. John Cotton. — Splendor and Magnificence of St. Botolph's. — The First Church in Boston. — Extravagance in Buildings and Dress discountenanced. — Profligacy of the English Clergy. — Legislation upon Fashions. — Drinking of Healths discontinued.



THE original name of Boston is supposed to be derived from an old British saint, of the name of Botolph, who lived along the middle of the seventh century of the Christian era.† As of other saints of early times, there is doubtless much of fiction hanging about St. Botolph's history. It was a common thing to ascribe the performance of miracles to saints while living, and, when dead, even their bones were believed to be not entirely divested of that power, although they had been of flesh. The termination of this saint's name seems to indicate a German origin; but that is a matter too remote to merit attention here. However, it is said that the remains of the "holy man" were entombed in St. Edmund's Monastery, at Bury, concerning whom it was superstitiously told that the monks of that place, when they wanted rain, carried about a coffin in procession, containing the bones of St. Botolph. How soon this practice fell into disuse is not mentioned; but it probably did after a few failures of certain well-known signs of rain, in the observance of which the first movers were, or might have been, better skilled than their immediate successors.

From the earliest accounts that can be found of the English Boston, it is supposed to have been founded by St. Botolph, whom Bede, who was nearly cotemporary with him, denominates a pious Saxon, about A. D. 650.‡ For a long series of ages little is known about it. For

* Johnson, *Wonder-working Providence*, 38.

† The name of *Botolph*, with variation of spellings, is met with in many old writers, and, according to Camden, it is derived from the Saxon noun *boat*, and *ulph*, help, because Botolph was the tutelar saint of mariners. — See *Thompson's Collections*, p. 223. Rishanger, who wrote about 1312, speaks, in his Chronicle, of "Thomas filius Jordani de Botolestone." — See *Pub. Camd. Soc.* xv., p. 72. Lambarde, who wrote about or before 1577, a little earlier than Camden, says it was *then* called *Bostonstow*, though "commonly and corruptly called *Boston*." — *Alphabetical Descript.*, &c., p. 38, 4to, 1730.

‡ He also founded a priory at Colchester, in Essex, the ruins of which are still [1810] to be seen, though its "principal demolition" occurred in 1648, during the siege of Colchester by Sir Thomas Fairfax. — *Brayley and Brit-*

near a thousand years succeeding its foundation, few of the vicissitudes attending it through that dark period have been recorded. Indeed, its history had hardly been attempted until its daughter on this side of the Atlantic had, in most respects, far outgrown her mother city.*

One hundred years before the period now referred to, namely, in 1719, a writer said it was, and long had been, a famous and flourishing town, built on both sides of the river Witham, which is here enclosed on both sides with artificial banks, over which was a high wooden bridge.† At a far more remote period it had become a great mart for wool, "which very much enriched and invited thither the merchants of the Hanse towns, who fixed their Guild there." The inhabitants in 1719 were chiefly "merchants and graziers."‡ At the same date it had a commodious and well-frequented haven, admitting ships of two hundred and fifty tons up to the town, while, only thirty years later, even a small sloop of but forty or fifty tons, drawing but six feet of water, could get up only at spring tides.§ This was caused by the river being choked up with silt. Not long after, however, its usual navigation was restored by cutting a new channel from the town to Dogdike, an extent of twelve miles.‖

To an inhabitant of Boston in New England it may appear scarcely credible for places elsewhere to remain nearly the same for a hundred years together; yet such was the case with the mother of Boston,¶

ton's Essex, 315. St. Botolph's church, in Aldersgate, London, was dedicated to this saint; but how early founded does not appear. Its first benefactor, recorded by Maitland, bears the name of *John Thornton*, and date, 1393. Judging from the prevalence of the name of Botolph, the saint who bore it must have had in his day, and even long after, an extraordinary reputation. In those days, as now, a name of renown was tacked upon everything that would bear it. But it has, in some instances, been so varied or corrupted as not to be recognized; thus, Bottle Bridge, in Huntingdonshire, was once *Botolph-bridge*, or so says Camden. But whether our *Buttolphs* are descendants of the same family as the Saint we are ignorant, while it is very probable that the ancestors of persons bearing the name of *Boston* took that name from their having resided in ancient Boston.

* Boston is 34 miles S. E. of Lincoln, 117 N. from London, and about five miles from the sea. In 1820 there was published in London, rather a handsome large octavo, of between four and five hundred pages, entitled "*Collections for a Topographical and Historical Account of* Boston, *and the Hundred of Skirbeck, in the County of Lincoln. With Engravings.* By Pishey Thompson." This work has for some time been scarce, even in its place of publication; and, as I am informed by my friend, Col. T. B. Lawrence, he found it difficult to procure a copy in Old Boston itself. It is not unlikely that inquiries for the work by our Boston people have had some influence on Mr. Thompson, as he is now engaged on a new edition of his work. In a Lincolnshire newspaper, called the "*Boston, Stamford and Lincolnshire Herald*," of 16 Nov., 1852, containing the proceedings of the government of the borough of Boston on the 9th of the same month, Mr. Noble, one of the aldermen, after giving notice of Mr. Thompson's design, requested that that gentleman might have liberty to inspect the deeds and other documents in their keeping for that object, which was granted. For the use of a copy of Mr. Thompson's book I am indebted to Mr. Charles Deane, whose excellent library is no unintelligible monument of a taste and judgment worthy the imitation of all young men.

† One of iron has since been substituted, constructed upon a single arch, 86 feet in span, 39 feet wide, at an expense of about £22,000.

‡ *Magna Britannia, Antiqua et Nova*, ii. 1407–8.

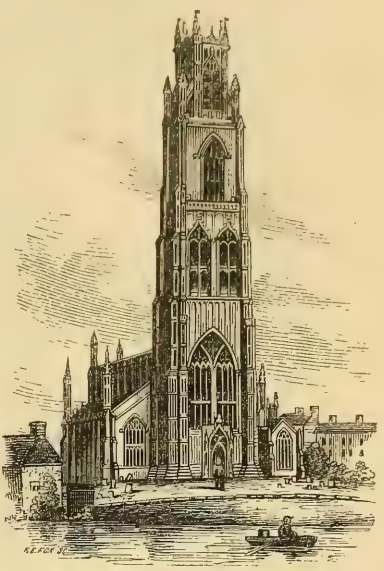
§ Thompson's *Collections*, 122.

‖ Dugdale, iii. 602.

¶ In 1698, Dr. Cotton Mather, writing of Boston, very aptly observed: — "The Town hath indeed three elder Sisters in this Colony, but it hath wonderfully outgrown them all; and her mother, Old Boston, in England, also." By the "three elder Sisters" he probably meant Salem, Charlestown and Dorchester; or, possibly, Charlestown, Dorchester and Roxbury. — See *Magnalia*, B. i. 31.

judging from the following facts: The parish register of Old Boston shows that in 1614 there were thirty marriages, eighty-four baptisms, and eighty-three burials; while in 1714, just one hundred years later, there were thirty-one marriages, ninety-nine baptisms, and one hundred and thirty-one deaths.*

One of the most famous and interesting objects of ancient Boston is St. Botolph's church, rendered doubly famous to the people here for its having been the church of which Mr. John Cotton was vicar twenty-one years;† and from which he was obliged to fly to New England. This church was described one hundred and thirty-four years ago‡ as "beautiful and large, the tower of which is so very high as to be the wonder of travellers, and the guide for mariners at a great distance. It is looked upon as the finest in England, and is 280 foot high, or better, and was begun to be built at midsummer, 1309, dame Margaret Tilney laying the first stone. The length of the church is equal to the height of the steeple, ninety-four yards. There are 365 steps, fifty-two windows, and twelve pillars, which are designed to parallel the days, weeks and months, of the year." Its handsome tower was built after the model of that of the great church at Antwerp. At the summit of this tower is a beautiful lantern, for a guide to seamen, which can be seen forty miles. It was a figurative saying of some of the pilgrims who settled this Boston, that the lamp in the lantern of St. Botolph's ceased to burn when Cotton left that church, to become a shining light in the wilderness of New England.‖



ST. BOTOLPH'S CHURCH, BOSTON, ENGLAND.§

St. Botolph's has no galleries, and yet it will contain five thousand persons, as estimated at the obsequies of the late Princess Charlotte. The nave is lofty and grand; the ceiling, representing a stone vaulting, is said to be of Irish oak. It consists of fourteen groined arches, with light spandrils, which, by their elegant curves, intersections and embowments, produce a beautiful effect. The upper part of the nave is lighted by twenty-eight clerstory windows, between the springs of

* There was a return of the population in 1768, 3470; in 1801, 5926; in 1811, 8113; in 1831, 11,240; in 1841, 34,680. — Dugdale, *ut supra*, *City Doc.* No. 63. *Note by* Hon. J. P. Bigelow, and Gorton's *Topog. Dict.*

† From 1612 to 1633. — Thompson's *Collections*, p. 86.

‡ In the *Magna Britannia, Antiqua et Nova*, ut supra.

§ From a splendidly engraved view in Thompson's work.

‖ "Both Bostons have reason to honor his memory; and New England-Boston most of all, which oweth its name and being to him, more than to any one person in the world." — Dr. *Increase Mather*.

the arches. The chancel, which is spacious and lofty, has on each side ranges of stalls, the seats of which are ornamented with grotesque carvings; over these formerly were canopies, highly embellished with foliage and fret-work. The altar is of oak, in the Corinthian order.

Such was the splendid and magnificent church of St. Botolph's, in which many of the fathers of "New England-Boston" had been wont to worship, and which they had looked upon with pious reverence, and which they justly remembered as one of the chief glories of their native land. But at the period of their emigration a great change had commenced; they began to consider extravagance in architecture and dress as very wicked, and disapproved of by the God they intended to honor by such extravagance. In order to appreciate, in some degree, the change spoken of, people of these times can contrast St. Botolph's, not with the rude church prepared for Mr. Wilson, but with most New England churches before the American Revolution. The Friends of modern times are not more opposed to show and ostentation than were the early Pilgrims of New England. These, indeed, very nearly approached the Quakers in all matters of dress, buildings, furniture and equipages. Soon after the Puritans became detached from the established church, their dress designated them; as much so as did the dress of the Friends distinguish them afterwards from the Puritans.



A CATHOLIC GENTLEMAN.*



A PROTESTANT GENTLEMAN.



WILSON'S CHURCH.†

Many regard some of the fashions in dress of this century as highly ridiculous and absurd; but extremes in these matters are nothing

* This and the opposite engraving are accurate copies from prints in the exceedingly rare work of Bishop Carleton, "A THANKFULL REMEMBRANCE OF GOD'S MERCIES," 4to, London, 1626.

† This view of the first church erected in Boston is, of course, from such descriptions and intimations as can be gathered from the early writers. It is said to have had mud walls and a thatched roof, which is about the extent of all that has been said about it. As to its length, breadth and height, there is not a syllable which I remember to have seen. Its location will be described hereafter.



now compared with what they were in those days, when shoes were twice the length of the foot, or so long as to prevent "kneeling at devotions in God's house," as one of those times is reported to have said.

Fashions in all times probably began among the rich, and with those in high official stations. The practice was, of course, imitated by the common people; and, though very natural, it was, on the whole, a very detrimental imitation. Even the clergy rendered themselves obnoxious by their foppery in dress, which was one object of complaint among the Puritans; and many of their other practices were in keeping with minds influenced by such frivolity. To notice but a single instance, —the investigations at Belvoir Castle, by a committee of Parliament, in 1650–1;—that committee reported upon the incumbents of the church to this effect: "Weak and negligent;"—"no preacher;"—"negligent and scandalous;"—"negligent, and suspected of popery;"—"corrupt in doctrine;"—"a bare reader, and no minister;"—"weak pluralitan, non-resident, altogether negligent and scandalous." This is probably a specimen of the reports for the whole commonwealth of England. But Episcopalians, even of this age, pronounce the judgment of the parliamentary committee more unjust than the practices they condemned. But it must not be denied that there was much to be complained of, and which even the profligacy of Charles the Second could not overlook.*

All experience has shown that to legislate upon apparel is idle and futile; yet there may be other matters quite as futile which now occupy the time of legislators, and which will, in a few years, be viewed as wild and extravagant as it was for the early legislators of Boston to prescribe, by solemn enactments, the length which ladies might wear their hair, and how much of their necks and arms should be exposed to the gaze of the other sex. Good example, emanating from the good and great, will always exert a wider and a better influence, in matters of customs and habits, than all the compulsory laws that can be made. Thus Governor Winthrop says that, upon consideration of the inconveniences which had grown in England by drinking one to another, he restrained it at his own table, and wished others to do the like, so as it grew into disuse by little and little.† Winthrop had judgment, mildness and penetration; and it is hardly to be doubted that his own opinion disapproved of many acts which his station compelled him to sanction at a later period.

* "When he was at Newmarket, Nathaniel Vincent, D. D., Fellow of Clare Hall, and chaplain to his Majesty, preached before him in a long periwig, and Holland sleeves. This foppery displeased the king, who commanded the Duke of Monmouth, then Chancellor of the University, to cause the statutes concerning decency of apparel among the Clergy to be put in execution, which was accordingly done."—Strutt's *Dresses and Habits*, in *The Book of Costume*, &c., p. 126.

† *Journal*, i. 37.

CHAPTER XIII.

First General Court at Boston. — How constituted. — Privileges of Freemen. — Simon Bradstreet. — Reasons for Stringency in respect to Freemen. — Small Affairs comparatively Great. — Accidents from Fires, Wolves, &c. — A Murder and Execution at Plymouth. — Corn obtained of the Indians at Narraganset. — The People in Danger of Famine. — Their Wants and Privations. — Capt. Roger Clap. — Arrival of a Ship with Provisions. — Arrival of the Handmaid. — Her severe Passage. — Reward for killing Wolves. — Ferry to Charlestown. — Order to support Ministers. — Fines and Penalties. — Measures for a fortified Town. — Determine upon Newton. — Extreme Weather. — Disastrous Voyage of Richard Garret. — Kindness of Indians. — Thomas Morton's Return to New England. — A Prisoner at Boston. — Again sent to England.



HITHERTO, the Courts had been held at Charlestown, probably in the "Great House" before mentioned; but now "the first General Court of the Massachusetts Colony" is held at Boston. In what kind of a building no mention is made; it must have been in some very rude structure, as sufficient time had not elapsed to allow of the preparation of any shelter very commodious or complete. The persons composing this court were, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, Sir R. Saltonstall, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Endicott, Mr. Nowell, Mr. Pynchon and Mr. Bradstreet.* The denomination or title of the Court was, "The Governor, Deputy Governor, and Assistants."† It was now proposed that the Freemen should have the power of choosing Assistants, and the Assistants, from among themselves, to choose the Governor and Deputy Governor, who, together with the Assistants, were to have the power of making laws, and of choosing officers to execute them. To all of which the people agreed.‡

Oct. 19.

At this court about one hundred and eight persons applied to be admitted as Freemen;§ and the greater part of them probably were admitted to that station among their fellows in the Colony, which allowed

* Bradstreet lived to be "the Nestor of New England;" dying at Salem in 1698, aged 95. There is an excellent biography of him in Dr. Eliot's *New Eng. Biographical Dictionary*. Joshua Scottow dedicated his "Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts-Colony," &c., to him, in 1694. In this dedication he says: "The long experience of your being the only surviving antiquary of us Nov Angles, the prime Secretary and Register of our civil and sacred records, and the bifronted Janus who saw the closure of the Old, and the overture of this New Albion world." He calls him one of the "nursing fathers of this outcast Sion, whose name is embalmed to eternity; that he had, through nine hard apprenticeships of above 60 years' durance, in the service of his generation, and faithful discharge of that trust for so long a season, as hath rendered him a MOOT-MAN, to be dignified with the highest honor this people were capable to confer." Bradstreet was then 91 years of age, when Scottow dedicated his book to him; and well he might, as he did, style him "*Our* New England Nestor." Scottow spells the name *Broadstreet*, which was agreeable to the pronunciation of it.

† See *ante*, p. 63; also Prince, 320.

‡ Speaking of the acts of the first court, in which an attempt was made to regulate the rate of wages, &c., Mr. Hubbard observes, "It being commonly found, that men gotten from under the reins of government, are but like cattle without a fence, which are thereby apt to run wild and grow unruly, without good laws." — *Hist. New Eng.*, 146–7.

§ The most full and complete list of Freemen anywhere to be found is contained in the *N. Eng. H. and Gen. Regr.*, vol. iii. In the same volume will also be found the oath prescribed for those admitted, &c.

them a voice in the concerns of government. No special qualifications for the rank of Freeman had yet been adopted, or, at least, none are recorded; but before the May election of 1631, a regulation was established which required that, to be eligible for the rank of Freeman, all candidates must be joined in fellowship with one of the churches. This condition respecting Freemen was perhaps occasioned by an early apprehension that too many might be admitted to elective privileges who were opposed to Puritan principles. This appears probable, because, in the first list of proposed Freemen, the names of many of the "first planters"* appear.

In this early beginning of Boston, things and events were taken notice of, and considered of much moment, which, had they happened a few years later, no one would have thought worthy to be recorded for future attention. It is necessarily so in the beginning of all new settlements. Thus it is noted by Governor Winthrop, in his Journal, kept upon the spot, that "the wolves killed six calves at Salem," and the best retaliation the people could make was to kill one wolf. A man at "Watertown had his wigwam burnt, and all his goods." It is uncertain whether the sufferer were an emigrant or a native. At the same time, Mr. Phillips, the minister of Watertown, and others, had their hay burnt; the wolves attacked and killed some hogs at Saugus, a cow died at Plymouth, and a goat at Boston, with eating Indian corn.

Sept.

These are indeed trifling occurrences, when compared with events of 1853; but were they not as much to the people then as a railroad accident now, or the launching of a ship of two thousand tons?

At this time a circumstance happened which shocked the little communities of Boston and its neighboring settlements to a degree probably beyond any other which had befallen them. It was a premeditated murder; and although it was committed at Plymouth, and the account of it would not legitimately come within these pages, but that the execution of the criminal was the result of the "advice of Mr. Winthrop, and others, the ablest gentlemen in the Massachusetts Bay, who all concurred with us that he ought to die, and the land be purged from blood."† The authorities of Plymouth did not apply to

October.

* This is according to Johnson, *Wonder-w. Prov.* 39. By "first planters" he doubtless had reference to those persons who were found settled about Boston Bay when Winthrop came. By this it seems that their number was more considerable than it would otherwise appear. There were on the first list of proposed Freemen, Blackstone, Maverick, Jeffries, Gibbons, and several others, known to be Episcopalians.

After the text and this note, so far, were written, I met with the following confirmation of my convictions relative to the qualifications of Freemen, in Cotton's *Bloudy Tenent washed*, &c., p. 28–9. "The Magistrates and other members of the General Court, upon intelligence of some Episcopal and malignant practices against the country, made an order of Court to take trial of the fidelity of the people, not by imposing upon them, but by offering to them an Oath of Fidelity, that in case any should refuse to take it, they might not betrust them with Place of publick charge and command."

† Bradford, *in Prince*, 319–20. "The first execution in Plymouth Colony, which is a matter of great sadness to us, is of one John Billington, for waylaying and shooting John Newcomen, a young man, in the shoulder, whereof he died. This said Billington was one of the profanest among us. He came from London, and I know not by what friends shuffled into our company."—Prince, *ib.* If there were any palliating circumstances attend-

those of Massachusetts because they had any doubt of the guilt of the culprit, but because they had some fears as to jurisdiction.

About the end of this month an expedition was undertaken of much importance. It was no less than a voyage by sea to the country of the Narraganset Indians, for the purpose of procuring a supply of corn; for, among all the privations and sorrows by the scythe of death yet encountered, the settlers of Boston began to be admonished that others might be near at hand; even the monster Famine was to be guarded against.

It will not be forgotten that the colonists arrived too late to prepare ground for planting this year; that they found those already at Salem, where they hoped to find relief if they required it, almost destitute of food themselves; and Captain Peirce had not yet arrived with the supplies he was upon a voyage to England to procure.*

Thus situated, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, and the benevolent Maverick, fitted out a pinnace to obtain corn, if they could, of the Indians.† The attempt succeeded. The little vessel returned, in due time, freighted with one hundred bushels of corn. It stood them in about four shillings the bushel.‡

Johnson draws a picture of the situation and condition of Boston previous to and pending this voyage to Narraganset, without which an adequate idea cannot well be formed of the straits to which the inhabitants were reduced. At this early day the general good was much obstructed "by certain persons in their greedy desire for land;" and "let such take notice," he says, "how these were cured of this distemper; some were taken away by death; and then, to be sure, they had land enough; others, fearing poverty and famishment, supposing the present scarcity would never be turned into plenty, removed themselves away, and so never beheld the great good the Lord hath done for his people; but the valiant of the Lord waiteth with patience." §

ing this murder, they are not stated; on the other hand, much appears to prove that the perpetrator was a "hardened sinner." Governor Bradford said "he was a knave, and so would live and die." This he said in 1625. A pond about three miles from Plymouth, discovered by John Billington's son, Francis, in January, 1621, is known to this day as *Billington's Sea*. There was another son, named John; and there are respectable families at this day of the name of Billington in New England, descended from the unfortunate passenger of the Mayflower of 1620. — See *Davis' Morton*, *Colls. Ms. H. S.*, and Hubbard's *Hist. New Eng.*, for other particulars.

* See *ante*, p. 89–90.

† After doubling Cape Cod, the pinnace put into the first harbor she found, and there meeting with Indians, traded with them for corn. From the coast where they traded they saw a very large island four leagues to the east of them, which the Indians commended as a fruitful place, full of good vines, and free from sharp frosts; having only one entrance into it by a navigable river; inhabited by a few Indians, who, for a trifle, would leave the island, if the English would set them upon the main. — *Dudley's Letter*. Mr. Prince takes it for granted that this "first harbor" was really in the Narraganset country, and that the island four leagues to the eastward was "Aquetneck." Now I have no such an idea; and have very little doubt that some point not beyond the west side of Buzzard's Bay was the extent of the outward voyage.

‡ Dudley's *Letter to the Countess of Lincoln*, 11–12. Winthrop omits to mention this important event in his *Journal*. His entries all along, from his arrival to this time, are very brief, and often inaccurate as to date, occasioned, no doubt, from his continual cares and avocations, which did not allow of his putting down events as they occurred.

§ *Wonder-working Providence*, 48–9. It is not strange that many were discouraged; for not only were provisions scarce here, but it

When such liquors as they had brought with them failed, and the rich as well as the poor had nothing but water to drink, they thanked the Lord that they were not only allowed this, but that they could drink as much of it as they desired. When their bread was exhausted, they feasted themselves with fish. The women would, "once a day, as the tide gave way," gather muscles and clams on the shore, "which are a fish as big as horse-mussells." This they cheerfully did, day after day. One woman said her husband walked to Plymouth, about forty miles, "and had with great toil brought a little corn home with him. Another would say her last meale was in the oven; while many said they had nothing left. One said her husband had been far among the Indians for corn, but he could get none. In his charity and kindness, the Governor had so far parted with his own store to the people, that a day or two more would consume all he had."*

Captain Roger Clap, who arrived a little before Winthrop, speaks also of the want of provisions he and others experienced. Planting-time being past when he arrived, "provision was not to be had for money." And, though he wrote to his father in England to send him provisions, "before this supply came, and after, too, many a time," he suffered from hunger, and longed for such crusts of bread as he used to see upon his father's table; and he thought, when he occasionally could get "meal and salt and water boiled together," it was a luxury indeed.†

During these hardships, the worthy ministers encouraged their followers, who, with Christian confidence, encouraged one another; and, as they stood steadfastly in the belief that relief would come, "they lifted up their eyes and saw two ships coming in, and presently the newes came to their eares," says one among them, "that they were come from Ireland full of victualls."‡

Oct. 29. The ship Handmaid arrived at Plymouth almost a complete wreck. She lost all her masts, and had a passage of near three months. In this ship came about sixty passengers, who all arrived in good health. On board were also twenty-eight young cows when she sailed, but, in the terrible tempests which beset them on the way, ten

was also a time of great scarcity in Europe; at Boston "every bushel of wheat meal standing them in 14*s.* sterling, and every bushel of peas 10*s.*, and not easy to be procured neither." — Hubbard, *Hist. N. Eng.*

* When Boston had been settled sixty-eight years, Dr. Cotton Mather, in reviewing its progress, observed that "within a few years after the first settlement, it grew to be THE METROPOLIS OF THE WHOLE ENGLISH EMPIRE." And, he says, "little was this expected by them that first settled the Town, when for a while *Boston* was proverbially called *Lost-town*, for the mean and sad circumstances of it." — *Magnalia*, B. i. 31. It contained in 1698, "seven thousand Souls of us at this hour living on the spot." — *Ib.*

† Capt. Roger Clap's *Memoirs*, 20.

‡ *Wonder-working Providence*, 49. I suppose the "two ships" here mentioned to have been the Lyon, Capt. Pierce, who, it will be remembered, was despatched to Ireland for provisions. See *ante*, p. 90, and *Prince*, p. 313. The Lyon did not sail, probably, till towards the end of July, and her return could not reasonably be looked for until about this time, which is a little anticipated by Johnson; for, according to *Winthrop*, i. 41, she did not arrive until 5 Feb., 1631. The other ship may have been the Handmaid; but she arrived the beginning of November. Or the ship No. 17, in the table at p. 88, *ante*, without a name, may have been the other.

of them were washed overboard, or otherwise lost. Soon after, Captain Grant, master of the Handmaid, Captain Standish, and two gen-
Nov. 11. tlemen who came passengers in the Handmaid, arrived at Boston. The two gentlemen intended to settle here; but, says Winthrop, "having no testimonials, we would not receive them."*

At a Court of Assistants, at which were Winthrop, Dudley,
Nov. 9. Ludlow, Endicott, Coddington, Pynchon and Bradstreet, it was ordered that every Englishman who should kill a wolf within this Patent "shall have one penny for every beast and horse, and one farthing for every weaned swine and goat, in every plantation, to be levied by the constables of said plantations." At the same Court it was proposed that whoever would first give in his name to the Governor "that he will undertake to set up a ferry between Boston and Charlestown, and begin the same at such time as the Governor shall appoint, shall have one penny for every person, and one penny for every hundred pound weight of goods he shall so transport."†

Again, at the next Court of Assistants, present only the Gov-
Nov. 30. ernor, Deputy, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Ludlow, Nowell, Pynchon, Coddington and Bradstreet. The first business transacted was to fine one of the Assistants five pounds, for whipping two persons without another of the Assistants being present, contrary to an act of Court formerly made; in the next place a man was ordered to be whipped for shooting at a fowl on the Sabbath day; and, thirdly, that sixty pounds be collected for the maintenance of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Phillips.‡

The Governor and most of the Assistants held a meeting at
Dec. 6. Roxbury, "and there agreed to build a town fortified upon the Neck, between that and Boston." A Committee was appointed "to consider all things requisite." Eight days after, they met again at the
Dec. 14. same place, when the Committee reported that Roxbury was not suitable for a fortified town. "First, because men would be forced to keep two families. Second, there was no running water; and if there were any springs they would not suffice the town. Third, the most part of the people had built already, and would not be able to build again."

The attention of the authorities was next turned to Water-
Dec. 21. town, and they met there according to an appointment at their last meeting; and, as first at Roxbury, so now here, "all agreed it a fit place for a fortified town," but did not take any measures to begin

* It would be interesting could we know who the "two gentlemen" were that, at this time, were refused a residence in Boston. All I am able to do is to imitate the silence of Winthrop's annotator.

† Prince, 323–4, from *Mass. Col. Res.* — This, though the fourth meeting, or "Court of Assistants," was the *first* of these Courts held in Boston. — *Ibid.* The next was held on the last day of November.

‡ In this amount Boston was assessed £20, Watertown, £20, Charlestown, £10, Roxbury, £6, Medford, £3, and Winnesemet, £1. — Prince, *ib.* I have seen it somewhere stated that, at the time of the removal to Boston from Charlestown, there were but *seventeen* inhabitants left at the latter place. The above assessment would hardly warrant such conclusion.

Dec. 28. it. Finally, after many consultations at Boston, Watertown and Roxbury, it was decided to fortify a place on the north-west side of Charles river, about three miles west of Charlestown; and all except Mr. Endicot and Mr. Thomas Sharp* engaged to build houses there in the spring of 1631, and to remove their ordnance and munition thither. This place they called Newton.†

It was a time of despondency with many, but they were reminded of the constancy and firmness of their neighbors of Plymouth. Their troubles about a fortified town had put them back in their building, and other necessary labors, nearly six months. The leaders of the people were of the opinion that, by erecting fortifications, and removing into them all the warlike stores, and binding all the Assistants to remove to the fortified place, those who had settled about in different places would be obliged to concentrate themselves there also, for their own personal safety.

In the course of the third week in December, Captain Walter Neale and some other gentlemen came to Boston from Pascataqua. Their object was probably only a friendly visit. Mr. Neale arrived at Pascataqua last summer, in the bark Warwick; having been sent over by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, as Governor of his Patent.

Dec. 24. Up to this time the season had been, as it usually is at this day, mild and open, with no heavy frosts; but now it comes on intensely cold, which was heightened by a previous fall of snow. The wind blowing at the same time powerfully from the north-west endangered those who ventured abroad. During this extreme weather, a shallop, in which were three of Governor Winthrop's servants, coming down from Mistick for Boston, was driven upon Noddle's Island, and the men were forced to remain there all night, without fire or the means of making any. The next day, however, they succeeded in reaching Boston; but two of them were badly frost-bitten.

Dec. 26. The following Sunday the rivers were frozen up, and the people of Charlestown were prevented from coming to the sermon in Boston as usual, till high water in the afternoon.

Dec. 22. Two days before the cold weather came on, Mr. Richard Garret, of Boston, sailed for Plymouth in a sort of shallop or open boat. Though it is said he undertook the voyage against the advice of his friends, no reason for such advice is assigned. With Mr. Garret went his daughter, a young girl, and a Mr. Harwood,‡ and three others.§ When they arrived at or near the Garnet's Nose, the north-west

* Mr. Endicott lived at Salem, and Mr. Sharpe was to sail for England in the next ship. — *Dudley's Letter.*

† It took the name of Cambridge in 1638.

‡ Though *Winthrop*, my authority, does not Mr. these two men, I have assumed the responsibility to do so. Garret was a shoemaker, and Harwood "was a godly man of the congregation of Boston." Both Richard Garret and Henry Harwood are names in the first list of freemen of the colony. — The title of Mr. (Master) at this time in New England was far more honorable than that of *Esquire* two hundred years later. People in ordinary circumstances were called *Good-man* and *Good-wife.*

§ Gov. Dudley says there were "6 men and a girle."

wind drove them from their course, in spite of all they could do.* They expected to be driven out to sea; and their vessel began to fill with water; they at length became exhausted in their endeavors to free it. Believing themselves lost, some of the company disposed themselves to die; one of them, however, with more courage than the rest, espied land at a distance, to which it seems the wind was driving them. This animated those who had not lost the power of motion by the benumbing cold and frost, partially to spread a sail, and they were driven through dangerous rocks and shoals on to Cape Cod. Thus some got to land, but others had their legs so frozen into the ice which made in the boat, that they were forced to be cut out. Having at last all got on shore, they were not without the means of kindling a fire, but it was in a place where scarcely wood enough could be procured to make it of much service to them, and they were without even a hatchet with which to help themselves. In this extremity these poor people passed a most wretched and dismal night.† In the morning, two of them started for Plymouth, supposing it to be within seven or eight miles, whereas it proved to be near fifty; and but for the kindness of the Indians, every one must have perished. Those who started for Plymouth were discovered in their wanderings by two squaws, who immediately reported their discovery to their husbands. The Indian men pursued and soon overtook them, conducted them to their wigwam, refreshed and entertained them.‡ The next day, one of the Indians set out to guide the two men to Plymouth, and the other sought out the rest of the distressed company, which were seven miles off. Garret died the same day, and the others could scarcely be kept alive. After doing what he could for them, the Indian returned to his wigwam and got a hatchet, with which he hewed a hole in the frozen earth, and buried Garret as well as he could, piling wood upon his grave to protect his body from the wolves. He then built them a wigwam, and made them as comfortable as it was possible for him to do in such a desolate place and with the means he had. Governor Bradford, of Plymouth, learning by the faithful Indian before mentioned that others were yet left suffering on the coast, immediately sent three men to them, who brought them to Plymouth.§ Though they came comfortably, and with a fair wind, another of them died there soon after. One of the two men who went for Plymouth with the Indian, died in the

* "But the wind then coming strongly from the shore, kept them from entring and drove them to seawards, and they having no better meanes to help themselves, let down their killick, that soe they might drive the more slowly, and bee nearer land when the storm should cese. But the stone slipping out of the killick, and thereby they driveing faster than they thought all the night, found themselves out of sight of land in the morninge." — *Dudley.*

† "The stronger helped the weaker out of the boate, and takeing their saile on shore, made a shelter thereof." — Dudley, *ibid.*

‡ These Indians belonged to the tribe of Nauset. It will be remembered that it was this tribe which was so outraged by one Capt. Hunt, in 1614. — See *ante*, p. 20.

§ "The governour and counsell of Plymouth liberally rewardinge the Indian, and took care for the safety of our people, who brought them all alive in their boate thither, save one man, who, with a guide chose rather to goe over land, but quickly fell lame by the way, and getting harbor at a trucking house the Plymotheans had in those parts, there hee yet abides." — Dudley, *ibid.*

way, and the other died afterwards from the effects of the frost. The girl suffered the least of all; * and though Mr. Harwood recovered, he laid a long time under the surgeon's hands.†

This was a serious calamity to Boston in its early days. The loss of five or six active and useful citizens must then have been very heavily felt. To realize the magnitude of such a loss at that time, it is necessary to consider what one of a similar magnitude would have been at any given time since. Thus, when the population of Boston was sixty thousand, a loss of fifteen hundred men from their midst would have been nearly in the proportion to its population as the loss of five in 1630 was to the inhabitants then.

Notice of Thomas Morton's apprehension in 1628 has been before taken,‡ and of his being sent out of the country, and of his return again

* "Hannah Garret, a fatherless child, dyed (12.) 1632."—*Boston Records.* Whether this was the sufferer named in the text is not known. James Garret and wife Deborah had children born in Boston, Mary, 4: 3: 1638; Priscilla, 28: 4: 1640; James, 6: 6: 1643.—See *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, iv. 184.

Gov. Dudley is very particular respecting this disastrous voyage of early Boston men, "because," he says, "the first man that dyed was a godly man of our congregacon, one Richard Garrad a shoemaker, who, at the time of his death, more feared hee should dishonor God than cared for his own life."

† Winthrop, i. 39–40, who is also very minute and circumstantial about this melancholy affair.

‡ See *ante*, pages 49, 50, and 94. Following Morton the *Memorialist*, I there stated the capture of Morton the *Disturber* as "*after* the arrival of Gov. Endicott." But, from certain fragments of Gov. Bradford's Letter-book (referred to in note ‡, p. 50, *ante*), I am aware that a conclusion must be drawn that preparations were made to send Morton out of New England in June, 1628; consequently, before the arrival of Gov. Endicott at Naumkeag. If arrangements for sending the *Disturber* away were made before he was caught, then it may be that the statement of the *Memorialist* is true. But the accounts of the capture of Morton are destitute of dates, and Prince was no better off in his time in this respect, acknowledging (*Chron.* 244) that he was obliged to place it "by guess." Capt. Oldham was certainly in England early in the spring of 1629, and with him Morton was sent to England (*Colls. Ms. His. Soc.* iii. 62–3); but what time he sailed, or when he arrived there, nothing yet appears to show.—See *Bradford in Prince*, 252. Judge Davis supposed (in *Morton, Mem.* 141) that the *Disturber* was sent away in a ship called the *Whale*. This may have been the name of Capt. Oldham's ship, but we know that when Morton speaks about being "in the Whale's belly," he refers to his confinement in the Handmaid. He makes his case a parallel one to that of Jonah; and, therefore, in running out his parallel, he must necessarily run into a whale's belly. He does not mention the name of any ship, but the captain of the Handmaid he calls Mr. Wethercock. His real name was Grant, as stated in page 88, *ante*. Morton says this captain sailed without having "vittells but for a moneth, besides the vessell was a very slugg, and so unserviceable; so that in fine the Master and men were all at their wits end about it." That "nine moneths they made a shife to use her, and shifted for supply of vittells at all the islands they touched at." Finally, "with all those helpes," he says, "and short allowance of a bisket a day, and a few lymons taken in the Canaries," they came in view of the Land's End. Further, he says it was through the great mercy of God they had not all perished, "for when they let drop an anchor neere the Island of St. Michael's, they had not one bit of foode left." This eventful voyage he records in the last chapter of his "New Canaan," styling himself "Mine Host of Ma-re-Mount," who, he says, "after hee had bin in the whales belly, was set ashore to see if hee would now play Ionas, so metamorphosed with a longe voyage, that he looked like Lazarus in the painted cloth; but Mine Host thought it fitter for him to play Ionas in this kinde [making a book] than for the Seperatists to play Ionas in that kinde as they doe. Hee therefore bid Wethercock tell the Seperatists that they would be made in due time to repent those malitious practices, and so would hee too; for he was a Seperatist amongst the Seperatists as farre as his wit would give him leave." This Morton published in 1632. Two years later, when Charles I. was carrying on his high-handed measures about "ship-money," &c., and Bishop Laud was prosecuting his Conformity designs, Morton wrote to Mr. William Jeffery (perhaps the same mentioned *ante*, p. 50) that "the Massachusetts Patent, by order of the Council, was declared, for manifest abuses, to be void; that the king had reässumed the whole business into his

in 1629.* He had an interest at Mount Wollaston, and there again he took up his residence, and there he was when Boston was settled. Hence his Patent, if he had one, was covered by the Charter brought over by the Massachusetts people.† It was therefore the duty of Governor Winthrop, as he conceived, to put an end to a colony within the bounds of his government, particularly as that colony did not acknowledge his authority; and hence the order of Court for Morton's punishment and transportation, as stated in a previous chapter.‡

The order of Court that "Thomas Morton, of Mount Wollaston, shall presently be set in the bilbowes,"§ was dated on the seventh of September of this year (1630). He had already been taken into custody,‖ and was held a prisoner in Boston, until an opportunity should offer to send him again to England. There seems to have been some difficulty in finding any vessel the captain of which would receive him.¶ At length, "in the end of December," writes Deputy-Governor Dudley,

own hands, and given order for a general Governor to be sent over." And, in his exultation he vaunted that "he should soon see his desire upon his enemies;" and as to John Grant (Wethercock), "had he not betaken him to flight, he would have been taught to sing *clamavi* in the Fleet before that time." — Winthrop, *Journal*, ii. 191. This letter was dated on the first of May (1634), the very day on which the "Commission passed the privy seal." [I suppose the *quo warranto* of which Holmes speaks (*Annals*, i. 227) under 1635, and the "great ship which fell asunder in launching" should be under 1634. The story about the new ship "which in the very launching fell all in pieces, no man knew how," is given with superstitious satisfaction by Sir Simon D'Ewes, in his *Autobiography*, ii. 118, among the events of 1634. The *quo warranto* may be seen in Hutchinson's *Col. Papers*, 101, but not in its chronological order.] The turn of times in England, and not the accidental falling over of a ship in launching, saved New England at this time from the serious calamity with which Morton and his associates had so effectually prepared to visit it.

* Mr. Isaac Allerton was sent over to London in 1628, probably in the fall (Prince, *Chron.*, 252), as agent for Plymouth about the Kennebec Patent. He returned the next year (1629), perhaps towards August (see Prince, *ib.*, 265), and, to the surprise of everybody, Morton came with him, being employed as his scribe. To quiet the people, Mr. Allerton was obliged to discharge Morton, who repaired at once to his old quarters at Ma-re-Mount. Here he remained till August, the next year, as stated in the text.

† See Bradford, in *Colls. Ms. Hist. Soc.*, iii. 61, who says when his government was applied to by the other Plantations, "they were told that we had no authority to do anything" against Morton's colony; "but seeing it tended to the utter ruin of all the whole country, we would join with them against so public a mischief." But, on the arrival of the Massachusetts Colony, want of jurisdiction was out of the question; and, when Morton urged it, the charter was referred to with an air of confidence that admitted of no appeal: at which his resentment was unbounded, and he labored for its abrogation after he arrived in England, and not without success. At this time he exultingly wrote, "Repent you cruell Seperatists repent, there is yet but 40 dayes if Iove vouchsafe to thunder, Charter and the kingdome of the Seperatists will fall asunder. Repent you cruel Schismaticks repent," &c.— *New Canaan*, B. iii. chap. 31. Fortunately for New England, the government in Old England "falling asunder," Morton's projects fell to the ground, as already mentioned.

‡ See *ante*, pages 95 and 98.

§ "Bilboes, a sort of punishment at sea, when an offender is laid in irons, or set in a kind of stocks." — *Phillips and Kersey*. It is quite probable that a ship's stocks was made use of on this occasion, because time and hands could not be well spared to build wooden stocks.



BILBOES.

‖ See *ante*, page 94.

¶ In his *New Canaan*, Morton entitles the 29th chapter of his third book "How mine Host was put into a whale's belly," and then proceeds: "The Seperatists (after they had burned Ma-re-Mount, they could not get any shipp to undertake the carriage of mine Host from thence either by faire meanes or fowle),

who was one of those prominent in office at the time, "departed from vs the shipp Handmaide of London, by which wee sent away one Thomas Morton, a proud insolent man, who had lived here divers yeares, and had beene an Atturney in the West Countryes, while he lived in England. Multitude of complaintes wee received against him for iniuries doone by him both to the English and Indians; and amongst others, for shootinge hail shott at a troope of Indians for not bringing a cannowe vnto him to cross a river withall; whereby hee hurt one, and shott through the garments of another. For the sattisfacon of the Indians wherein, and that it might appear to them and to the English that wee meant to doe iustice impartially, wee caused his hands to bee bound behind him, and sett his feete in the bill-bowes, and burned his howse to the ground, all in the sight of the Indians, and soe kept him prisoner till wee sent him for England;* whether wee sent him, for that my Lord Cheife Justice there soe required that hee might punish him cappitally for fowler misdemeaners there perpetrated, as wee were informed."†

CHAPTER XIV.

Deaths. — A Fast turned into a Thanksgiving. — Incidents of the Voyage of the Lyon. — Arrival of Mr. Roger Williams and others. — Melancholy Fate of young Way. — Arrival of distinguished Men. — Disasters to returning Ships. — Feeling in England against New England. — Banishments. — Indians complain of Wrongs. — Flight of Birds ominous. — Fire. — Artificers' Wages regulated. — Visits of Indians. — Return of Gentlemen to England. — Other Indians visit Boston. — Roger Williams. — Precautions against the Mohawks. — Walford banished. — Chikataubut. — A General Court established. — Ferry to Charlestown. — Philip Ratcliff.



IN the third of January there died at Boston a young lady, who, by her amiable conduct, had so endeared herself to all that it was declared that Boston "had not received the like loss of any woman" since it began to be settled. She was the daughter of Mr. Thomas Sharp, one of the Assistants; but her Christian name and her age are not mentioned, or the disease of which she died; only that she had had "a long sickness."

they were inforced (contrary to their expectation) to be troubled with his company; and by that meanes had time to consider more of the man, than they had done of the matter."

* It is not unlikely that Morton may have had difficulties with some of the neighboring Indians, but many circumstances show that he was rather a favorite with them in general. In his own account it appears that when the "devellish sentance against him was passed at Boston, the harmeles salvages (his neighboures) came the while, grieved poore silly lambes, to see what they went about [when the Authoreties put him in the bilboes]; and did reproove these eliphants of witt for their inhumane deede; the Lord above did open their mouthes like Balam's Asse, and made them speake in his behalfe, sentences of unexpected divinity, besides morrallity; and tould them that God would not love them, that burned this good man's howse; and plainely sayd, that they who were new come would find the want of such a howses in the winter." — *New Canaan*, B. iii., chap. 23.

† That Morton was greatly misrepresented, there is not much room to doubt, while there may be no doubt that he was a reckless and misguided man. The "fowler misdemeaners" darkly hinted at by Dudley, are openly said to be "murther besides other miscarriages," by Morton's namesake, the Memorialist. — See *Memorial*, (1st ed.) p. 72, or Ed. Davis, 140.

One other death is recorded this month, which was that of a girl, a daughter of John Ruggels, only eleven years old.* Her demise was specially noticed on account of her having given such extraordinary evidences "concerning the things of another world."

Feb. 5. The situation of the settlers of Boston was becoming every day more trying; as the winter advanced, provisions grew scarcer; muscles, groundnuts and acorns, the chief dependence now of many, the snow and frozen state of the earth rendered hard to be procured; and Captain Peirce was looked for in agonizing despair, especially as the perils of the ocean, danger from pirates, and the hostility of known belligerent powers, were taken into view. Under these distressing circumstances, a Fast is ordered to be kept; when, to the great surprise and greater joy of the people, the very day before the Fast was to take place, Captain Peirce, in the Lyon, is announced as arrived at Nantasket, laden with provisions. Whereupon, to express their joy and gratitude, the Fast is ordered to be changed to a Thanksgiving, and to be celebrated on the twenty-second of the same month, "in all the plantations."

Not having heard anything from the Lyon, it is reasonable to suppose that the people would be wrought up to a mental excitement not easily conceived of by observers at this distance of time, but easily arrived at by those whom starvation had been approaching with slow but certain strides, and was now not only in the very presence of many, but actually staring them in the face. Nor was this state of things confined to the poor people of Boston, but even the Governor himself had seen his last grain of meal go to the oven.

New life was put into every one by this acquisition of provisions; even the sick, which were many at this time, began to improve in health; especially those suffering from the scurvy, who received great benefit from the juice of lemons, of which Captain Peirce had taken care to bring a quantity.

The Lyon sailed from Bristol on the first of December, and, as usual in a western voyage over the Atlantic in the midst of winter, she had a tempestuous passage of sixty-four days. About two hundred tons of goods, chiefly provisions, were received by her, and an accession of great importance besides, consisting of "about twenty passengers," † who all, save one, came safe. This one, a young man, son of Mr. Henry Way, of Dorchester, "fell from the spritsail yard in a tempest, and could not be recovered, though he kept in sight near a quarter of an hour." ‡ Thus the fond hopes of one family were turned into deep affliction on the arrival of the long-looked-for ship.

And, after all, he does not seem to have been in general discredit in England; so that it may pretty safely be concluded that, as bad as the "Merry-Mount rioter" was, he was not so bad as his enemies would have us believe.

* "Of whose family and kindred dyed so many, that for some reason, it was matter of observacon amongst vs." — *Dudley.*

† According to Gov. Dudley, there were about twenty-six which came at this time.

‡ "Who, in a tempest, haueing helped to take in the spritt saile, lost his hold as hee was comeinge downe, and fell into the sea, where after long swiming hee was drowned, to the great dolour of those in the shipp, who beheld soe lamentable a spectacle, without bee-

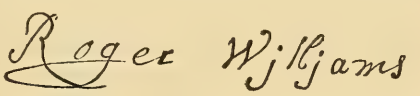
Among the passengers who came to Boston now in the Lyon were Mr. Roger Williams,* with his wife, Mr. John Throgmorton, [Mr. John ?] Perkins, and [Mr. Francis ?] Onge, with their wives and children.†

Many letters were received from friends by this arrival; and though the news contained in them must have been a great relief to the people here, it caused a sorrowful mixture of pleasure and pain to haunt their minds, until other arrivals with later accounts, in a measure, took their place. Three of the ships which returned for England in the end of the last summer were attacked by several men-of-war from Dunkirk, on the English coast, and though they were not taken, they suffered extremely in a very severe contest, losing some thirteen or fourteen men. The Charles — "a stout ship of three hundred tons" — one of the three ships, "being soe torne that shee had not much of her left whole aboue water." The Success and Whale were the other two ships. They "allso vnderstood the death of many of those who went for Old England the last year, as likewise of the mortality there, whereby graves are seen in other places as well as here."‡

"To increase the heape of our sorrows," continues Dudley, "wee received advertisement from our friends in England, and by the reports of those who came hither in this shipp to abide with vs, that those who went discontentedly from us the last year, out of their evill affections towards us, have raised many false and scandalous reports against vs,

ing able to minester help to him. The sea was soe high and the ship droue so fast before the wind, though her sailes were taken doun." — *Dudley.*

* Mary was the name of his wife, but of what family she came has as yet eluded the vigilance of genealogists; nor have they succeeded much better in ascertaining her husband's ancestry. Professor Romeo Elton has, at length, after a long and praiseworthy search, discovered, and this year (1853) published his discoveries respecting the parentage of Roger Williams. He was the son of William Williams, of Conwyl Cayo, in South Wales, and was born on an estate which had been the seat of his ancestors for many generations, called Maestroiddyn fawr, in the hamlet of Maestroiddyn. He entered the university of Oxford 30 April, 1624, at which time he was 18 years of age; hence he was born 1606, and was indeed "a young minister" on his arrival at Boston, as Winthrop observes. On his



banishment from Massachusetts, in 1635, he went to a place which he named Providence, and there became the founder of Rhode Island, in 1636. His children were, Mary; Freeborn; Providence, b. 1638 (the first white children born in that state); Mercy; Daniel and Joseph. This last-named child lived in Cranston, R. I., and died there at the age of 81, as appears by the inscription on his gravestone, as follows:

"Here lies the Body of Joseph Williams, Esq., who was the first white man that came to Providence.* He was Born 1644, he died au. 17, 1724, in the 81st year of his age.

In King Philip's war courageously went through,
And the native Indians he bravely did subdue;
And now he 's gone down to the Grave, and he will be no more,
Until it please Almighty God his body to restore,
Into some proper shape as he thinks fit to be,
Perhaps like a Grain of Wheat, as Paul sets forth you see.
Corinthians, 1st Book, 15 Chapter, 37 v."

The above autograph of the founder of Rhode Island is from a fragment without date.

† Winthrop's *Jour.* and his editor's notes; Harris' *Memorials of Dorchester;* Francis' *Hist. of Watertown.*

‡ *Dudley.* — "Of those which went back in the ships this summer [1630], for fear of death or famine, many died by the way and after they were landed, and others fell very sick and low." — *Winthrop*, i. 46.

* A slight error, occasioned by confounding him with his father.

affirming vs to be Brownists in religion, and ill affected to our state at home; and that their vile reports have wonne creditt with some who formerly wished vs well."*

Against such imputations Dudley protests in clear and strong terms, saying he hoped their friends who had known them would give no credit to any such reports; as that they had turned from the professions they had so long made in their native country; that he knew not even one person that came over the last year who was altered in his judgment and affection, "eyther in ecclesiasticall or civill respects since their comeing hither." "Let our friens therefore," he writes, "give noe creditt to such malicious aspersions, but bee more ready to answer for us, then we heare they have beene. Lett, therefore, this be sufficient for vs to say, and others to heare in this matter."

Feb. 10. Until this time, the frost had enchained the rivers and harbor, but now there was a relaxation, and the ice broke up, and did not make again as before. And it was remarked that "ever since this Bay was planted by Englishmen, namely, seven years, that at this day the frost hath broken up every year."† It would be curious to institute an inquiry extending from 1630 to this or any late period, relative to the breaking up of the harbor.

Feb. 16. Mr. Robert Welden died at Charlestown, "a hopeful young gentleman, and an experienced soldier." He died of consumption. "In the time of his sickness he was chosen to be captain of one hundred foote, but before he tooke possession of his place hee dyed."

Feb. 18. His affectionate companions gave him a soldier's funeral, burying him under arms at Boston, "with three vollies of shott."‡

Mar. 4. A Court of Assistants is held at Boston, which is the first this year. There were present, Winthrop, Dudley, Saltonstall, Ludlow, Endicott, Pynchon, Nowell, Sharp, Coddington,§ and Bradstreet.

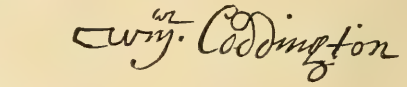
* "Capt. Levet, about this time returning for England, died at sea; by which occasion, some letters, sent from indiscreet persons, fell into the hands of them that had no good will for the Plantation; and by that means clamors were raised against them, which furnished their enemies with matters of complaint against them, which their petitions were stuffed withal." — Hubbard, *Hist. N. Eng.*, 146.

At a Court on the 6th of September of this year, "one Henry Linne [of Boston] was whipped and banished for writing letters into England full of slander against our government and orders of our churches." — *Winthrop*, i. 61. Mr. Savage, from the *Colony Records*, i. 59, says "Linn" was not banished; that before, in 1630, he had been sentenced to be whipped, which probably occasioned this second offence.

The Capt. Levet here mentioned was, it is not improbable, Capt. Christopher Levett, "His Majesty's Woodward of Somersetshire, and one of the Council of New England." He made a voyage to the northern parts of New England in 1623 and 1624, which was published in 1628, and recently reprinted by the *Mass. Hist. Soc.*, and also by the *Maine Hist. Society*. There does not appear to be anything added to these editions throwing any light on the path of the author of the voyage.

† Winthrop, *Journal*, i. 43.

‡ *Dudley* and *Winthrop;* the annotator on the latter finds Elizabeth Welden, church member, No. 91, "gone to Watertown." He thinks she may have been the widow of this Capt. Welden. His conjectures in this line average better than most men's.



§ The above fac-simile of Mr. Coddington's autograph is copied from an original letter of his, dated 1646, at which time he was resident at Newport, and Governor of Rhode Island, as it seems by this letter. — See *N. Eng. H. and Gen. Regr.*, vol. iv. Mr. Coddington built the first brick house in Boston. — Callender's *Hist. Discourse.*

The first order of this Court was, "that six persons be sent to England in the ship Lyon now returning thither, as unmeet to inhabit here; also that Sir Christopher Gardiner* and another be sent as prisoners in her; second, a man† is fined five pounds for taking upon him to cure the scurvy, by a water of no value, which he sold at a very dear rate; to be imprisoned till he pay his fine, or give security for it, or else be whipped; and shall be liable to any man's action of whom he has received money for the said water."

Mar. 8. There was a Court at Watertown: Winthrop, Dudley, Saltonstall, Ludlow, Nowell, Pynchon, Coddington, and Bradstreet, were present. The first matter to be disposed of was a complaint made by the Indians, that two of their wigwams had been burnt by some of the English. On investigation it was found that a servant of Sir Richard Saltonstall, and others, had on some occasion made use of the wigwams (the Indians not living in them at the time), and leaving a fire unquenched when they left them, the complained-of conflagration was the supposed consequence. As to one of the wigwams, there was no direct proof how it was fired; but the Court was more anxious to satisfy the Indians than to entertain legal objections, and therefore ordered that Sir Richard Saltonstall should satisfy them, which he did, with seven yards of cloth, for which his servant should pay him "at the end of his time, fifty shillings."‡

The place of the burnt wigwams is not mentioned; but the Indian who made the complaint lived at Mistick,§ and was known among the English as Sagamore John, but his Indian name was Wonohaquaham. One of his men, called Peter in the records, shared in the damages, for one of the wigwams belonged to him.‖

This peninsula on which Boston is built does not appear to have been claimed by any Indians, until a long time after it was possessed by the English; nor do any indications of a prior settlement by the former come under the notice of those who early describe the place.¶ It may

*From Court records, as well as from the Chroniclers of that time, it seems that knaves and harlots were as common as they have been since, according to the number of inhabitants. There is in Dudley's famous *Letter to the Countess*, to which I have been so much indebted, a curious account of this Sir Christopher Gardiner; from which, together with Morton's *Memorial*, and *Prince*, a pretty full account of him, and his three or four wives, may be obtained. It may be, however, that some allowance is required to be made in favor of the knight, in making use of the two former of the three authors. According to Scotto, Gardiner came over in the fleet with Winthrop; his words are, however, that "he came over in the first fleet." — *Narrative*, 17, 18.

†Prince did not think it worth while to preserve the name of this "man," but the records contain it, and *Snow*, 40, has extracted it. It was Nicholas Knopp.

‡Prince, from the *Colony Records*.

§Then comprehending a tract of country since included in Charlestown and Medford. 6 Sept. of this year Gov. Winthrop had granted to him by the Court of Assistants, six hundred acres of land "near his house at Mistick." This was Winthrop's farm, and to which he gave the name of "Ten Hills," by which the place is known at this day. It lies nearly opposite the entrance of Malden river into the Mistick. At this confluence something of a bay is formed. Over against Ten Hills, on the opposite side of the bay, Gov. Cradock had a plantation.

‖See *The Book of the Indians*, B. ii. 104—110.

¶We indeed meet with this statement in Mr. Shaw's work: "As a proof of its having been an ancient populous Indian settlement, tradition says, there was discovered a kind of *Golgotha* on the spot where Gardner Green's house stands [now Pemberton Square], on the side of the hill. Dr. Mather related that three

have been with the tribes north and south of it truly "Disputed Territory," as it lay on the boundary of both. It will be seen, in the progress of this history, that when a claim was made for Boston by a remnant of Indians on the south of it, there were none left on the north to contravene an opposing claim.

The second subject for consideration in this Court was, "in regard that the number of Assistants is but few, and some of them are going for England, ordered, that when the number of Assistants resident within this jurisdiction shall be fewer than nine, it shall be lawful for the major part of them to keep a Court; and whatever orders or acts they make shall be as legal and authentical, as if there were the full number of seven or more." *

To people who never before visited new countries, many things would appear strange and marvellous; it was so at this time with the people of Boston. Governor Dudley saw "soe many flocks of doues" on the eighth of March, that, in his astonishment, he said, "what it pordended hee knew not." From "faire daylight" on that day, "until about eight of the clock in the forenoone, there flew over all the tounes in the plantacons so many that they obscured the light, and passeth credit, if the truth should be written."

Mar. 16. "About noon, the chimney of Mr. Thomas Sharp's house in Boston took fire, the splinters being not clayed at the top, and, taking the thatch, burnt it down. The wind being north-west, drove the fire to Mr. Coulburn's house, being a [few] rods off, and burnt that down also,† which were as good, and as well furnished, as the most in the plantacon." With their houses were consumed "much of their household stuff, apparell, and other thinges, as allsoe some goods of others who soiourned with them in their houses; God so pleaseing to exercise vs with corrections of this kind, as he hath done with others; for the prevention whereof in our new toune intended this somer to bee builded, we haue ordered that noe man there shall build his chimney with wood, nor cover his house with thatch, which was readily assented vnto; for that diuers other howses haue beene burned since our arrivall (the fire alwaies beginninge in the wooden chimneyes), and some English ‡ wigwams, which haue taken fire in the roofes covered with thatch or boughs." §

Mar. 22. At the next meeting of the Court of Assistants, at Boston, there were present the same gentlemen as at the last meeting. The order regulating artificers' wages, which had been made in August preceding, was rescinded; and they were "to be left at liberty to agree for wages." In the absence of any reasons for thus rescinding the for-

hundred skull-bones had been dug up there, when he was a youth." — *Descript. of Boston*, 78.

* Prince, from the *Colony Records*.

† *Winthrop*, i. 48.

‡ I apprehend that the true reading of Dudley would give "*Indian* wigwams," for it does not appear that the designation *wigwam* is but rarely applied to dwellings of the English.

§ By this excellent description of Dudley a good notion is obtained of the style of building employed by the first inhabitants of Boston, which will answer equally well for all New England.

mer order, it may be conjectured that the principal inhabitants had now got their dwellings finished, and therefore they did not feel so particular about its continuance as they had done.

By a second order of the same Court, all persons were required to provide themselves with arms; those not able to procure them, to be provided by the towns in which they lived; magistrates and ministers were excepted in the order. By a third order, "all persons having cards, dice, or tables in their houses, to make away with them before the next Court."*

Mar. 23. Nothing is heard of any intercourse with the Indians living to the southward of Boston, by Boston people, up to this time, while daily correspondence seems to have been held with those living on the northern side. This latter intercourse may have revived an old jealousy between them and the Massachusetts, whose principal residence was now about Neponset river. At the head of these was a Chief named Chikataubut, who must have been considerably advanced in years, for he was a sachem when the English came to Plymouth, and had much to do with all the settlements between that place and Boston. He had learned, probably, that Indians who visited the new people at Shawmut fared well, and he resolved to venture among them to see what benefit they might be to him. Accordingly he mustered up a considerable number of his men, who, with their wives, made their appearance at the dwelling of the Governor; and, to satisfy him that they had not come out of idle curiosity, he presented him with a hogshead of Indian corn. The Governor could not allow himself to be outdone in generosity in so important a state affair, and therefore provided a dinner for the whole company. "After they had all dined, and had each a small cup of sack and beer, and the men tobacco," Chikataubut "sent away all his men and women, tho' the governor would have stayed them," because it was in the time of a thunder-shower. Chikataubut and one squaw and her sannap (which is their name for husband), stayed all night. At this interview the chief had on English clothes, and the Governor allowed him to dine with him at his own table, "where he behaved himself as soberly as an Englishman." The next day, after



INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE INDIANS AND GOVERNOR WINTHROP.

* Prince, from *Ms. Col. Recs.*

dinner, he returned home, "the Governor giving him cheese, and peas, and a mug, and some other small things." *

From this time the visits of Indians from all quarters became frequent at Boston; some for trade, some out of curiosity, some to make complaints of wrongs, fancied and real, from their neighbors, both Englishmen and Indians; in short, they came at all times and upon all occasions, until interrupted by rumors of wars and other troubles, as will be marked in the progress of events.

March 26. Wonohaquaham and Montowampate † came to Boston, and complained to the English Governor that a white man, named Watts, had defrauded them of twenty beaver-skins, and requested his assistance for the recovery of their value. Watts having gone for, or being in England, Mr. Winthrop could do nothing further for them than to give them a letter to Emanuel Downing, Esquire, his brother-in-law, ‡ in London, which he did.§

March 28. Important events crowded fast upon one another in the little colony of Boston; and one is now close at hand which caused many an anxious heart and weeping eye. It was to part with some of the most beloved and respected of the small number which composed it. The Lyon was riding at Salem, bound for England, where she had been some time waiting for a wind to take her to sea. In her the beloved Wilson had taken passage; and thus the people of Boston were as sheep who had lost their shepherd. They were to lose, also, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Sharp, ‖ and Mr. Coddington.

Mr. Dudley, the Deputy-Governor, had, for several months, been setting down such facts, and noting such events in the colony, as he thought would be of interest to his immediate friends in England; and now, having put them into the form of a letter, he this day seals it up, and, directing it "To the righte-honourable, my very good Lady, the Lady Brydget, Countesse of Lincoln," entrusts it to the care of Mr. Wilson, for delivery. ¶

* Winthrop, *Journal*, 48, 49.

† *Ibid.*, 49. Winthrop mentions the English names only of these Indians, namely, "John Sagamore and James his brother."

‡ See Winthrop Pedigree, *ante*, p. 72.

§ Mr. Lewis, in his delightful History of Lynn, has, with great research, given, from deeds, depositions and other court papers, all or nearly all that can be desired with respect to the Indians in and about ancient Lynn. He says a tradition exists that Montowampate did go to England. This last named chief was the "Sagamore of Lynn," and his brother was "Sagamore on Mistic river, including Winnisimet." — *Hist. Lynn*, 47, 48, 74. See also Dudley's *Letter to the Countess*. I do not know why the editor of Winthrop thought himself obliged, with Dudley's letter before him, to profess ignorance of the locality of these Sagamores. — Dudley says, "both theis brothers command not above thirty or forty men, for aught I can learne." — *Letter*, p. 6. It is not improbable that Wonohaquaham went to England in the Lyon, which sailed from Salem on the 1st of April. If so, he went in company with Mr. Wilson, Sir R. Saltonstall, and others, who sailed at that time. If he were not going to England then, why should Winthrop give him a letter to a person in London, by which he might get redress?

‖ These two returned no more to New England.

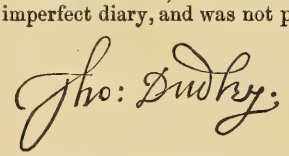
¶ "I thought to have ended before," he says, "but the stay of the shipp, and my desire to informe your honour of all I canne, hath caused this addition; and every one hauinge warninge to prepare for the shipp's departure to-morrow, I am now this 28 of March, 1631, sealinge my letters." With this paragraph ends the invaluable Letter of Dudley. No document in the annals of Boston, will compare in importance with it, and no one can success-

March 30. Those who were going for England from Boston and its vicinity, had collected in the town, and were waiting the orders of Captain Peirce, who was here to accompany them to Salem. So, at seven o'clock this morning, a part of the company, with the Captain, set off in two shallops. Soon after, Mr. Sharp sails in another shallop. At ten o'clock, Mr. Coddington, Mr. Wilson, and many others, met at the Governor's, and there Mr. Wilson took leave of his flock, which he committed to the care of Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Nowell, the Elder; "who were men of eminent piety and learning," and most fit to exercise the office of prophesying * during his absence. "Which done, they accompanied him to the boat, and so they went over to Charlestown, to go by land to the ship."

April 4. A deputation of Indians came to Boston from the Connecticut river. From what tribe or nation they came, does not appear; but they had been threatened by, or feared, the Pequots, which induced them to endeavor to secure the friendship of the English, and to induce some of them to settle in their country. At the head of this deputation, was a Chief, named Wahginnacut, as Winthrop understood it, and they were accompanied by an Indian named Jack Straw, who had lived in England, and had been in the service of Sir Walter Raleigh. They appear to have been at Salem, where they were joined by Wonohaquaham, who, also, accompanied them to Boston. Wahginnacut had probably solicited aid of Mr. Endicott, who, not being Governor at this time, gave him a letter to Mr. Winthrop. The Chief gave a glowing account of his country, and said, if some of the English would go and live there, he would supply them with corn, and give them yearly eighty skins of beaver. Seeing the Governor did not incline to the proposal, he requested that two Englishmen might be permitted to return with him to his country, to view it, and ascertain whether what he said was true or otherwise. But this did not suit the convenience of the Governor neither, and, after entertaining them to a dinner, he dismissed them. The Governor gave as a reason for not complying with the request of the Indian Chief, that he had "afterwards" learned that he was "a very treacherous man, and at war with the Pequots." †

April 12. The arrival of Roger Williams, on the fifth of February last, has been before taken notice of; and though then but twenty-

fully study this period of its history without it. Winthrop's Journal, of the same period, cannot be over-estimated, as to its value, but it is an imperfect diary, and was not probably



intended for any use but for that of its author, who may have had the intention of compiling a history from it in connection with other documents. When Dudley sealed his LETTER, he expected the Lyon would sail the next day, but it will be seen that she did not sail until four days after. She arrived at London on the 29th of April, "all safe."

* Understood then as we now understand *preaching*.

† There is nothing to show from what point on the Connecticut river this Indian deputation came. If they came from Suckiag (since Hartford), it is probable that the Pequots had not extended their conquest to that point in 1631; but by or before 1633, they had conquered the tribe at that place. — See *New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.* vi., 368–9.

five years of age, he was called a "godly minister." And this was the man to whom the world owes so large a debt for laying the foundation of religious liberty; for convincing mankind that "a most flourishing civil state may stand, and be best maintained, with a full liberty in religious concernments;" that "the people were the origin of all free power in government." These were among his fundamental principles, which, though not so well defined in his day as they were afterwards, yet, these were the principles, for the maintenance of which, he was banished from Massachusetts!*

The civil government, as the laws stood, was entirely in the hands of the Church. Nobody was eligible to office except he were a church-member. This state of things caused Mr. Williams thus to express himself in his "Bloody Tenent:" "Not only was the door of calling to magistracy shut against natural and unregenerate men, — though excellently fitted for civil offices, — but also against the best and ablest servants of God, except they be entered into the church estate." This course of legislation, the people began, ere long, to see, tended to corruption; that Freemen's oaths were no bar to hypocrisy. It did not at first occur to the framers of the laws, perhaps, that a man might refuse to take the oath from a pure conscientiousness; because he would not do wrong; and that a designing hypocrite would take any oath at any time that he might have an opportunity to do wrong; for, as soon as he had sworn falsely he was eligible to office, and there were no means within the reach of man to detect his perjury.

April 12. There was a Court now sitting at Boston; present, the Governor, Deputy-Governor, Ludlow, Nowell, Pynchon, and Bradstreet. Mr. Williams was called to the office of teacher at Salem, and had accepted it. This Court took up the matter, and wrote a letter to Mr. Endicott, in which they protested against his being entertained there, "marvelling they would choose him without advising with the Council; and withal desiring him that they would forbear to proceed;" for Mr. Williams, it was charged, "had refused to join with the congregation at Boston; because they (the Church of Boston) would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England while they lived there."

The same day on which these proceedings took place at Boston, Mr. Williams was settled in the ministry at Salem. But the civil power soon overawed the Church in which he was settled, and before the end of the following summer, he was obliged to leave. From Salem he went to Plymouth. His history is too well known to be pursued here; it belongs to the general history of the United States, but more especially to the history of religious liberty of the world.

At this Court, watchers were ordered to be set at sunset, at Dorches-

* A view of these times and circumstances does not hardly seem to warrant the following: — "Our fathers came to establish a free church. They established what they called a free church, and transmitted to us, what we call a free church." — Mr. Everett's *Second Centennial Address on the Arrival of Winthrop;* delivered 28 June, 1830.

ter and Watertown; and that if any person shoots off a piece after the watch is set, he shall forfeit forty shillings; if not able to pay the forfeit, "then to be whipt;" that every Captain shall train his company every Saturday; and that persons shall not travel singly between their plantations and Plymouth, nor without arms, though two or three together. These orders were probably occasioned by some indications of uneasiness or dissatisfaction among the neighboring Indians, who, about this time, entertained fears that the Mohawks were about to attack them, and the English also.*

Another act of this Court was, that of banishment against Mr. Thomas Waford, of Charlestown. He was fined ten pounds, and was ordered to depart with his wife out of this patent before the twentieth of October next, upon pain of confiscation of his goods. His offence is not very clearly ascertained, though in the records he is charged with "contempt of authority, confronting of officers," &c.

April 13. Chikataubut makes another visit to the Governor, and desires to trade with him for clothes for himself. The Governor desired to be excused from entering into traffic; saying it was not the custom for English Sagamores to truck; but he ordered his tailor to take his measure for a suit of clothes. This was what the Chief desired; and in return he gives the Governor two large skins of coat beaver. Which had the best bargain, it is not easy to determine at this remote day, as it depends altogether on the quality of the cloth used in making the garments for the Indian. It may be the Governor was similarly situated with the great Virginia Chief, Powhatan, who, when Captain John Smith went to him to trade, told the captain it was below the dignity of men in their standing to descend to such vulgar business as trade was, but, that they should show their magnanimity by allowing each other to take freely whatever they pleased. Smith thought that by such an arrangement, the magnanimity would be all on his side, as his commodities were of much value, and those of Powhatan next to no value at all. He therefore was obliged to decline proceeding on those terms, whereupon he incurred the resentment of the haughty Chief. This is not introduced as a parallel, but as a possibly parallel, case.

Two days after, Chikataubut returned for his clothes, and they were all ready for him, "a good new suit from head to foot." On such occasions, he did not fail to honor the Governor with his company at dinner. To-day he declined eating, however, until the Governor had "given thanks;" and when he had eaten his dinner, he desired a repetition of the same ceremony.†

* On the 14th of April, Winthrop says, "We began a Court of Guard upon the Neck, between Boston and Roxbury, whereupon should always be resident an officer and six men." — *Journal*, i. 54. On the 16th, he notes that "there was an alarm given to all our towns in the night," occasioned by the discharge of a gun, but none knew the place where the discharge was made. This was thought much more of because the Indians had "sent word the day before, that the Mohawks were coming down against them and us." — *Journal*, 55.

† At a Court on the 18th of May following, Chikataubut and Sagamore John agreed to make satisfaction, if any of their men committed any offence against the English. About a month after, viz., June 14th, "One of their

May 18. At the general election now held, Mr. Winthrop was reëlected Governor, and Mr. Dudley Deputy-Governor. In explanation of an order of Court of the nineteenth of October of last year, it was ordered, "with full consent of all the company present, that, once every year at least, a General Court be holden, at which it shall be lawful for the Commons to propound any person or persons whom they shall desire to be chosen Assistants;" the Commons also to have the power of removal of Assistants for misbehavior; that "the Commons may be preserved of good and honest men," ordered, "that for the time to come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same."

Thomas Williams having "set up" a ferry between Winnesemet* and Charlestown, the Court allows him to take three pence a person for his service, and four pence from those ferried between Boston and Winnesemet.

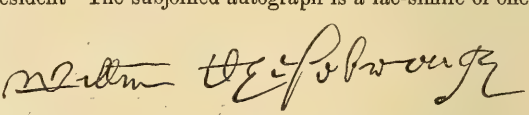
The same day, at noon, the house of Mr. William Chesebrough† was burnt down, "all the people being present."

June 14. An order of Court was made that none should travel out of this Patent, by sea or land, without leave from the Governor, Deputy-Governor, or some Assistant; another, that no person should buy corn, or other provisions, or any merchantable commodity, of any vessel which might put in to Boston, without leave of the Governor or some Assistant;‡ and that Edward Converse, who had undertaken to

men was complained of for shooting a pig, &c., for which Chikataubut was ordered to pay a skin of beaver, which he presently did." — *Winthrop.*

* Few Indian names are spelled with more variations than this. I have usually taken it as I find it in the authority consulted at the time. *Winnisimet* appears to be the spelling in general use. It is now Chelsea.

† Although a man of wealth and consideration in Boston, William Chesebrough is not dignified by the writers of that period with the title of Mr. He probably was too liberal for the time and place, and soon removed to Mount Wollaston; thence to Rehoboth; thence into the Narraganset country. He was a resident of Braintree in 1640; from which town he was a representative to the General Court. In 1644 he was an inhabitant of Seaconk, where he set up his business, which was that of a smith. He probably accompanied John Winthrop, Jr., to Pequot (N. London) in 1645; but what time he settled at Pawcatucke does not clearly appear. The following copy of an original paper not only throws light on the history of an early resident of Boston, but it shows that Boston (that is, Massachusetts) exercised jurisdiction over what is now Stonington, in Connecticut: — "Agreeable to a Petition, dated 22 Oct., 1658, the Magistrates grant y^t^ y^e^ English Plantation between Misticke and Pawcatucke be named Southertowne, belonging to y^e^ County of Suffolk; and y^t^ all y^e^ prudential affairs thereof be managed by Capt. George Denison, Mr. Parks, William Chesebroke, Thomas Stanton, Walter Palmer, and John Minot, Sen^r^. 28: 5: 1658." From another original paper the following interesting items are derived, relative to the residences of some of the chief men of Southertowne: — "From Wekapauge to Mr. Stanton's is 3 miles, 300 rods; from Mr. Stanton's to Goodman Chesebrough's, is 2 miles, 123 rods; from Goodman Chesebrough's to Misticke river, by Capt. Denison's house, is 4 miles." Chesebrough had sons Samuel and Nathaniel. There had graduated at Yale one Cheseborough and three Chesebroughs, before 1836. The subjoined autograph is a fac-simile of one



to an original paper of 1660. Besides these facts, many others may be gathered from Mr. Bliss' *Hist. Rehoboth*, Miss Caulkin's *Hist. N. London*, Trumbull's *Records of Connecticut*, and *Suffolk Deeds*, i. 26, 38.

‡ Morton the Disturber, in one of his letters written in England to a friend in New England, calls the Governor *King Winthrop.* Taking these orders of court into account, the libel was certainly not very severe; and, as we proceed, the *libel* will appear even less severe, possibly.

set up a ferry between Boston and Charlestown, be allowed two pence for a single person, and one penny if there were two or more persons.

At this Court, an agent of Governor Cradock was very severely sentenced. His name was Philip Ratcliff. He came here to manage certain affairs for Mr. Cradock,* and, not fully realizing his liability to render himself obnoxious by intemperate speeches, he incurred the displeasure of the Authorities so seriously that they would not be satisfied without some of his blood, which they ordered to be taken by cutting off his ears. Nor was this all; he was whipped, and then banished the colony.† His offence, as it stands charged,‡ was for uttering "most foul, scandalous invectives against the Churches and Government." Maiming was then a custom in the mother country for various offences, and there is nothing singular that it should be practised here, as it was for a long period after it commenced with Philip Ratcliff.

* It is not unlikely that his residence may have been at Medford; for there, by his agents, Mr. Cradock had planned for a large establishment. Mr. Wood speaks of it in 1633 as follows:—"It is seated by the water side very pleasantly; there be not many houses as yet [it was then called Mistick]. On the west side of Mistick river the Governor [Winthrop] hath a farme, where he keeps most of his cattle. On the east side is Master Craddocke's Plantation, where he hath impaled a Parke, where he keepes cattle till hee can store it with deere. Here, likewise, he is at charges of building ships. The last yeare one was upon the stockes of a hundred tunne; that being finished, they are to build one twice her burden."—*N. Eng. Prospect*, 34. June 5th, 1635, Ralph Mason of Boston, for £17, mortgages his "new dwelling-house" to Mr. Cradock. May 29th, 1639, Thomas Mayhew of Watertown, mortgages to Mr. Cradock "half of the mill, and six shares of the weare at W. for £240. On 2: 5: 1639, M. buys of C. (Davison, agt.), the moiety of the water-mill, and the 6 shares in the weare. June 29th, 1640, Thomas Dexter of Lynn, mortgaged his farm to Mr. C. for £150. April 26th, 1641, Josiah Dawstin 'of Mistick als. Meadford,' has secured to him by Mr. C., Dix's house, 60 acres of planting, and 7 of meadow, called Rock-meadow."—*Suffolk Deeds.*

† Nor was this all, neither, if any credit be due to the author of *New Canaan*. Not feeling very confident of the correctness of his statements, and yet feeling bound to let him be heard, I give the following extract from his work:—Master Ratcliff, according to this author, stirred up vengeance against himself, by calling Mr Cradock's servants to an account; these servants, being church members, were of course in the favor of the ruling powers. They therefore delayed payment under such excuses as caused Mr. Ratcliff to think himself, as well as his master, grossly outraged, and this occasioned his intemperate speeches, which Morton fully acknowledges, and a specimen of which he gives to this effect: "That if the church members here were all like the men with whom he had to deal, he believed the Devil was the author of their Church." Morton acknowledges further, that Ratcliff "disdained the tenents of the Seperatists, and they" finding he was not one of themselves, "disdained to be employed by a carnall man." Therefore they would not acknowledge his authority, meantime sending word to Mr. Cradock, "that his man was a member of the Church of England, and therefore an enemy to the Churches here." Part of his crime was "for blasphemy against the Church of Salem, the mother Church of all this Holy Land." And now, continues Morton, "hee convented was before their Synagoge, where no defence would serve his turne, yet was there none to be seene to accuse him, saue the Court alone; the time of his sickness, nor the urgent cause were allowed to be urged for him, but whatsoever could be thought upon against him was urged, seeing hee was a carnall man, of them that are without. So the matter was adjudged before he came. He only brought to hear his sentence; which was, to haue his tongue bored through; his nose slit; his face branded; his ears cut; his body to be whipped in every severall plantation of their iurisdiction; and a fine of 40 pounds imposed, with perpetuall banishment." The barbarous whipping, he says, was performed by "the Deacon of Charles Towne," in which employment Shackles (which is the name he gives the Deacon) "takes a greate felicity, and glories in the practice of it." But Morton relieves his reader in some measure by adding, "This cruell sentence was stopped, in part, by Sir Christopher Gardener, then present at the execution, by expostulating with Mr. Temperwell [Winthrop], who was content with the whipping and the cutting off parte of his ears," the fine, sequestration of all his goods, and banishment. The above is the substance of Chap. xxv., B. iii., entitled, "*Of the manner how the Seperatists doe pay their debts to them that are without.*"

‡ In Winthrop's Journal, i. 56.; who says Ratcliff was "convict, *ore tenus.*"

CHAPTER XV.

Proceedings relative to Sir Christopher Gardiner. — Sir Ferdinando Gorges' Claim. — Ship-building. — Arrival of the ship Plough. — Indians visit Boston. — Arrival of the Friendship, — the White Angel. — Contest about an "Opinion." — Massacre of the Agawams by the Tarratines. — Liberality towards the Indians. — Colonists punished for wronging them. — Controversy with Plymouth about runaway Servants. — Winthrop refuses to settle at Newton. — Dudley censures him for it. — Statement of the Grounds of Complaint. — Dudley's Magnanimity. — Arrival of the Lyon with Mrs. Winthrop, Mr. John Eliot, &c. — Persons leave the Colony.



LETTERS are received at Boston, which came by way of Pascataqua, from England. They were, or some of them were, directed to Sir Christopher Gardiner. As Sir Christopher had been made a prisoner by the Authorities of Boston, these Authorities took the liberty to break open his letters. They were doubtless somewhat surprised when they came to peruse them, learning thereby that Gardiner was not without friends in England, and that some of those friends, at least, had full confidence in him as a man of integrity. A letter from no less a personage than Sir Ferdinando Gorges to him confirmed this fact, and the Boston Magistrates were probably under some fears that they had overstepped the bounds of discretion in having thus violated the sacred rights of correspondence. But the peculiar embarrassments of the Government in England, and the great distance of New England from that country, probably prevented any difficulty or trouble to the Authorities here, which might, under other circumstances, have followed. Besides finding that Sir Christopher was not so contemptible as he had been supposed to be, Governor Winthrop found that Sir Ferdinando Gorges placed reliance on him, to see what could be done, whereby he might recover his territories in New England, of which he had been deprived by the very charter which he had been active in procuring for the Massachusetts Company. Here, however, the matter seems to have rested; and Sir Ferdinando is branded as an enemy to New England, because he endeavored to ascertain the situation of things in this country affecting his rights as an original patentee.

June 25.

July 4. Ship-building had already been begun, before Boston was one year old. Governor Winthrop caused to be built at Mistick a "bark" of thirty tons, which he named the "Blessing of the Bay;" and on this fourth day of July it was launched. By the end of August it was ready for service, and sailed upon a trading voyage to Long Island and New York.*

July 6.† A small ship of sixty tons came into Boston harbor, with ten passengers. They came from London, and had a patent of

* Among the curious things noticed by the sailors on their voyage, were Indian canoes at Long Island, capable of carrying eighty men. —*Winthrop*, i. 112.

† Some idea of the relative importance of Boston, at this stage of its history, is to be had from an assessment of £30, ordered to be laid by the Court of Assistants, held on the

lands at Sagadehock; but, on visiting that region, they were dissatisfied with it, and concluded to settle in the neighborhood of Boston. This small company consisted of husbandmen, and they gave themselves the name of the Company of Husbandmen. Their ship was named the Plough, and hence the origin of the "Plough Patent." The master's name was Graves.* They intended to go up to Watertown; but the ship, drawing ten feet of water, ran aground in the attempt; and, as Mr. Hubbard says, "laid her bones there." † Most of this company "proved Famalists, and vanished away." ‡

July 13. The following week, the greatest Indian Chief in the country made his appearance at Boston. This was Miantunnomoh, son of Canonicus, Sachem of Narraganset. Wonohaqueham came along with him, to introduce him to the Governor. Being invited to dine, after dinner he presented the Governor with "a skin," and "the Governor requited him with a fair pewter pot." Whether he stayed all night at the Governor's request or not, is not mentioned; but that he did stay all night is stated.

July 14. A ship of Barnstable, which had been at sea eleven weeks, now makes her appearance in the harbor. This was the Friendship. An account of her sailing had been received, but she was forced to put back again by adverse winds, and fears began to be entertained for her safety. She brought eight heifers, one calf, and five sheep. A few days after, another ship, the White Angel, brought in and landed twenty-one heifers. §

July 21. There are to be found very few things upon record which probably set the Fathers of Boston in a more ludicrous light than the following. The Pastor, Mr. Phillips, and the Elder, Mr. Richard Brown, of the Church at Watertown, had expressed "an opinion" which the Church of Boston thought required looking into. Accordingly, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Nowell, the Elder, repaired to Watertown, and there "debated the matter before many of both congregations." It appeared that the Watertown Pastor and Elder had said "that the Churches of Rome were true Churches," and this was the "opinion" which was to be disposed of, according as it might be heretical or otherwise. After it was sufficiently debated, it was determined, by vote, probably, that that "opinion" was "an error." The vote was not unanimous, however, for there were three that dissented.

July 26. By an order of Court "a watch of six and an officer" is to be kept every night at Boston; that every first Thursday in

day previous, namely, July 5. The amount ordered to be raised was to discharge a contract made by the Colony "for making the Creek from Charles river to Newton."

1. Winesemet,	£0	15s.	6. Boston,	£5	0s.
2. Wesagascus,	2	0	7. Dorchester,	4	10
3. Saugus,	1	0	8. Roxbury,	3	0
4. Nantasket,	0	10	9. Salem,	3	0
5. Watertown,	5	0	10. Charlestown,	4	10

* Prince, 357, has "(T.) Graves:" it was probably Thomas Graves.

† She may have "laid her bones there," but Winthrop says she sailed for the island of Christopher's, and returned in about three weeks to Charlestown, "so broke she could not return home." — *Journal*, i. 58, 60. ‡ *Ibid.*

§ A milch cow at this time was valued at from £25 to £30, sterling. — *Hutchinson.*

each month a general training of Captain Underhill's company is to be held here and at Roxbury. At the same Court, Captain Southcot has liberty granted him to go for England, under a promise "to return with all convenient speed." He did not, however, return any more to New England; but why he did not is not known. Perhaps, like many other adventurous men of that day, he took part in the civil war that ensued.

Aug. 8. A good deal of apprehension and alarm was occasioned in Boston, about this period, by an inroad of the Tarratines among the Indians on this side of Merrimack river, in which they perpetrated a bloody massacre upon the Agawams, a small tribe in friendship with the English.* Seven of these were killed, several wounded, and others carried into captivity. Among the wounded were Wonohaqueham and Montowampate, who belonged in the vicinity of Boston, but who were upon a visit to Masconomo, the Sachem of the Agawams, at that time.† They also rifled a camp or wigwam at which some of Mr. Cradock's men were stationed, employed in catching sturgeon. With those carried away prisoners was the wife of Montowampate, from whom they heard about a month afterwards. The war-party of Tarratines carried her to Pemaquid, and Mr. Abraham Shurte,‡ who lived there, learning the circumstances, ransomed her and sent her home.§

Sept. 27. In all or nearly all of the Government's transactions with the Indians, not only justice appears to have been done them, but a commendable liberality is also observable towards them. At a Court

* Some who had read Winthrop's Journal before the late Editor, namely, Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Prince and Mr. Noah Webster,* all agree that the reading. "The Tarratines came in 30 canoes" upon this expedition, is the true reading; but the late Editor, though he is not sure his predecessors read wrong, substitutes 3 for 30, because he found that the Indians of New York had great canoes, capable of carrying 80 persons. This may have been a conclusive argument with him, while it is extremely doubtful whether it will be so with his successors. We hear of no such great canoes among the Tarratines, while the number of them that fell upon the Agawams must have been large. Quartermaster John Perkins, living at Agawam (Ipswich), at that time, told Mr. Cobbet, a few years after the affair happened, that he himself saw 40 birch canoes full of Indians in one fleet, which came on an apparently hostile design, but being discovered, made off without effecting their object. — See BOOK OF THE INDIANS, B. ii., 110.

† "This Sagamore of Agawam (as was usually said), had treacherously killed some of those Tarratines' families, and therefore was the less pitied of the English." — Hubbard, *Hist. N. Eng.*, 145. He had been, by order of Court, 5 July previous, forbid "coming into any Englishman's house."

‡ Often written *Shurd*, while his own signature was *Shurte*. He was living in the end of the year 1662, aged "fourscore years, or thereabouts." He was the ROGER CONANT of those parts; and I will take the liberty to advise the gentlemen of the *Maine Historical Society*, that every day they neglect his history, the greater will be the *charge* against them, and the more difficult it will be for them to meet it. The Shurte family probably came from Bideford, Co. of Devon. — See Watkins' *History of Bideford*. See, also, *Commissioners' Report, &c. of the Difficulties in Lincoln County, Me.* He came to N. England in 1626. — See his deposition, *Ibid.*, p. 40.

§ "About this time the Indians that were most conversant among them [the English] came quaking and complaining of a barbarous and cruell people called the Tarratines, who, they said, would eat such people as they caught, alive; tying them to a tree, and gnawing their flesh by peece-meales off their bones; as also that they were a strong and numerous people, and now coming, which made them flee to the English." — Johnson, *Wonder-w. Prov.*, p. 50.

* The edition of Winthrop's Journal, published in Hartford, in 1790, noticed in a previous page (57), was published under the supervision of Mr. Webster. Of this I am assured, on the authority of Dr. Belknap, whose own copy of that edition I possess, with notes and corrections in his own hand, "here and there inserted." No name of Editor or Transcriber was printed in that impression.

of Assistants now convened at Boston, on complaint of Chikataubut and his men, that Mr. Josias Plaistowe had stolen four baskets of corn from them, he was ordered to return them eight baskets, pay a fine of five pounds, and hereafter to be called Josias, and not Mr. Josias, as formerly, and thus "be degraded from the title of a gentleman." Two of his servants, being accessary, were ordered to be whipped. Their names were William Buckland and Thomas Andrew.

But a short time previous, the Court entertained a complaint made by an Indian and his squaw, that a young white man had attempted to disturb their family relation by some overtures to the latter of an unjustifiable character. He was sentenced to be whipped, and was whipped accordingly, in the presence of the injured party, who "were very well satisfied."

Governor Dudley writes* that, soon after the arrival of the colonists which came over in 1630, with Winthrop, himself, and other chief men of that company, for want of provisions to support their servants, many of them were allowed to go free, and maintain themselves as well as they could. Now, the want of those servants had become of serious inconvenience to those who had advanced some twenty pounds apiece to enable them to come to New England, and their masters were becoming every day better able to employ and support them. The Government at Boston had, or thought they had, reason to believe that many of those servants had gone to Plymouth, and were harbored by the people there; therefore Mr. Winthrop, by virtue of his office, wrote to Mr. Bradford, the Governor of Plymouth, complaining that the people of Plymouth had entertained and were harboring the servants which belonged to the people of Boston.†

Out of this letter of Winthrop and his Council may have originated the ill-feeling and jealousy which existed at this period at Plymouth, and caused its Governor to deny the people of Massachusetts the privilege of trading for corn with the Indians at Cape Cod,‡ as they had done the previous year. However this may be, Governor Bradford wrote in answer to that letter of Winthrop, after considerable delay,§ for which he apologizes, and says that they of Plymouth are willing to correspond with the authorities of Boston upon "this or any other naborly course, so farr as may no way be prejudiciall to any, or swarue from y^e^ rules of equitie." The Boston gentlemen intimated in the letter of complaint that an agreement or understanding had been made with Mr. Winslow; but Mr. Winslow had gone to England,‖ and could not then be consulted; therefore Bradford says they of Plymouth know nothing about any agreement with Mr. Winslow; that their meaning and former practice

* See *ante*, p. 89.

† See Winthrop's *Journal*, i. 60.

‡ Inferences drawn from Gov. Bradford's reply to Winthrop. The letter of the latter which occasioned the reply I know not to be in existence. Winthrop's letter was dated July 26th, 1630.

§ Date of Bradford's letter is "Feb. 6, 1631." [1632, N. S.]

‖ He sailed about the middle of July, 1631. —See *Prince*, 357.

"was and hath been, only such as come to dwell and inhabit, whether as seruants or free men, and not of sojournours, which come but for a seasone, with a purpose to returne." Yet, he says, "if any abuse should grow hereby, we shall agree to any good order for the preuenting or redressing of the same; prouided the way be left open for pore men to releue their wants, and for mutuall help to both plantations. We have therefore giuen warning in open courte to all our people, not to receiue any as seruants or dwellers with them, but to acqvainte vs first therewith, that we may inquire of their certificates or dismisseons; but we haue sett no penealtie vpon it as yett, because we hope ther shall be noe need, if ther be, we haue libertie to punish such things at our discretions. If that will not serue, when we vnderstand what penealtie you appointe in the case, we shall doe y^e^ like, or y^t^ which shall be equivelente vnto it. As for the instances you giue, we find that John Philips, when he came, was sicke, and if he had not been by some received to house, he had been in danger to haue perished. He aledged he was sent by his maister to seeke a seruise; yet as a seruente he was not entertained by any, till his maister came and sould his time; not to him y^t^ gave him house roame, but to him that would giue most. So he had no cause to complaine. [As] for John Pickworth, he came but as a sojournour, to worke for a few weeks, in which time he goate a wife; and so is longe since returned duble, and hath no cause to complaine, except he hath goot a bad wife. Richard Church* came likewise, ass a sojournour, to worke for y^e^ present; though he is still hear residente, longer then he purpossed; and what he will doe, neither we, nor, I think him selfe, knowes; but if he resolue here to setle, we shall require of him to procure a dismission; but he did affirme to vs at y^e^ first, that he was one of Mr. Webb's† men, and freed to goe for England, or whither he would;‡ y^e^ which we y^e^ rather beleued, because he came to vs frome Wessagusscusett upon y^e^ faling out with his parttner.§ [As] for others intimated, we know none, though we haue inquired, but they had a dismission, either to come hither, or goe for England. Now ther are diuerce goone from hence, to dwell and inhabite with you; as Clement Brigges, John Hill, John Eedy, Daniel Ray, &c.; the which, if either you, or they desire thir dismission, we shall be redy to giue them, hopeing you will doe the like, in the like cases, though we haue heard something otherwise."‖

This letter was signed by *William Bradford Gouer.*

* This was the father of Col. Benjamin Church, one of the most noted captains in the Indian wars. For a very satisfactory note upon the father, see the *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, ii. 243.

† Mr. Francis Webb? As is observed in the *Gen. Regr.*, ut supra, this name in the original stands "Welbs," but I think it was intended for "Webb's;" and who but Francis?

‡ That is, he came over at the charge of Mr. Webb, and was one of those of whom Dudley speaks, as set at liberty because their masters could not provide for them. — See *ante*, p. 89.

§ Thomas Morton? Church probably went to Plymouth while Morton was in power at Mount Wollaston. Winthrop wrote in July about the runaway servants, and in August (1630) Morton was carried a prisoner to Boston.

‖ Taken from the original letter, all in Bradford's own hand.

Myles Standish, Thomas Prence, Samuel Fuller, and John Alden. The four last were Assistants, and answered to the Governor and Council of later times. Mr. Winslow was another of the Assistants, whose name would no doubt have followed that of the Governor, had he been at home.

As no more is heard about harboring runaway servants, the matter probably ended with Mr. Bradford's letter.

It had been agreed, in December last, after a good deal of anxious deliberation among the officers of the government, to build a fortified town at Newton, as in its proper place has been mentioned. Accordingly, several of the gentlemen built houses there this spring.* Mr. Winthrop probably saw that a fortified town in that place would be no advantage to the Colony whatever, and that Boston was daily increasing in importance. Therefore, about the beginning of November, the Governor caused his house at Newton to be taken down, conveyed to Boston, and set up there. It appears not to have been finished, which is evidence that he did not intend to live in it at the former place, while Dudley had his finished, and his family actually in it. This proceeding of Mr. Winthrop caused Mr. Dudley to censure him for a want of good faith, and the other gentlemen were likewise dissatisfied with the reasons which Mr. Winthrop gave for not taking up his residence at Newton; and it must be confessed, that those reasons do, even now, look a little obnoxious to the charge of insincerity. He said he had performed his promise, inasmuch as he had a house up, and servants occupying it by the time appointed; and hence, if he did remove it elsewhere, immediately, it did not affect his agreement; and, besides, he had been reminded by the people of Boston, that he had promised them, when they settled with him here, that he should not leave them, and even Mr. Dudley himself had discouraged the people of Boston from settling at Newton. †

Thus matters stood for a time; the Governor and Deputy having suspended friendly intercourse. ‡ At length, their mutual friends got

* "On this spot a town was laid out in squares, the streets intersecting each other at right angles. All the streets were named, and a square reserved for a Market Place, though not used for that purpose, remains open to this day." — Rev. Dr. Holmes, *Annals*, i. 210.

Mr. William Wood, who came to New England probably in 1629, and left it in 1633, thus speaks of "New-Towne, which is three miles by land from Charles-Towne, and a league and a halfe by water. This place was first intended for a City, but upon more serious considerations it was not thought so fit, being too farre from the Sea, being the greatest inconvenience it hath. This is one of the neatest and best compacted Towns in New England, having many faire structures, with many handsome contrived streets. The inhabitants most of them are very rich, and well stored with cattell of all sorts; having many hundred acres of ground paled in with one generall fence, which is about a mile and a halfe long." — *New England's Prospect*, 33–4.

† See Hubbard, *Gen. Hist. of New England*, 136.

‡ The curious reader may desire to find, in this history, an account of some of the steps taken in this singular case, by which he may discern more clearly the real actions of the actors in it. I therefore extract as follows from Winthrop, giving him thereby the advantage of *ex parte* testimony. He says, "At a Court at Boston, 3 April, 1632 [held, I believe, in the Governor's own house], the Deputy, Mr. Dudley, went away before the Court was ended, and then the Secretary deliv-

them to submit the matter to Arbiters;* these — though they determined that the Governor's conduct was, in some measure excusable, especially as he was ready to acknowledge his error — the Arbiters, therefore, decided that Mr. Winthrop should pay Mr. Dudley twenty pounds towards his expenses in building, or provide a minister for Newton, and contribute towards his maintenance. The Governor chose the former, and soon after forwarded the twenty pounds to Mr. Dudley.

The Deputy-Governor, although proverbial for driving good bargains, in this affair gave a proof of his magnanimity, which will worthily accompany his name through the wilderness of ages. He refused to take Mr. Winthrop's money; saying that he was satisfied that the Governor's intentions were good, and that if the award had been five times as much, he would have returned it in the same manner. Whereupon a sort of business-understanding was restored.

Before dismissing this case, it may be well to notice an occurrence or two in the progress of it. Mr. Dudley looked upon the conduct of the Governor in so unfavorable a light, that he determined not to serve any longer in the government with him, and much of crimination ensued between them. Dudley labors under a disadvantage in the recital, because he can be heard only through his adversary. Winthrop accused him of extortion and usury, because "he had sold seven bushels and an half of corn, to receive ten for it after harvest." In answer, Dudley pointed to a law made by themselves against usury, to which was this proviso added: "That nothing in that law was to prohibit the letting of cattle, or other usages of a like nature, in practice amongst farmers." But this vindication did not satisfy the Governor, or he pretended that the clause in favor of farmers' affairs did not extend to this case. Dudley seems now to have lost his temper in some degree, and with warmth affirmed that he had done nothing illegal; and that he never knew any man of understanding of other opinion; and that if the Governor thought otherwise, it was his weakness; and, among other "hot words about it," he said to the Governor, "that if he had thought he had sent for him to his house to give him such usage, he would not have come there." Winthrop, no doubt, feeling that his own was the hard side of the case, says, "He took no notice of these speeches, and bore them with more patience than he had done upon a like occasion at another time." But he did not let the Deputy-Governor go at this stage of the controversy, though he did not succeed any better, if so well, in his next accusation against him. Mr. Winthrop complained that Mr. Dudley was extravagant in building his house at Newton; that he had set a bad example for people to follow, who

ered the Governor a letter from him, directed to the Governor and Assistants, wherein he declared a resignation of his Deputyship and place of Assistant; but it was not allowed." — *Jour.*, i. 72.

* The gentlemen were Mr. Nowell, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Weld, Mr. Maverick, and Mr. Warham, who met at Charlestown on the 3 August, 1632. By continuing the narrative of this affair under this year (1631), the time in which much of it took place, is, of course, anticipated, and some events which transpired during its progress, fall in after it.

could not afford to do so; particularizing "wainscoting and adorning his house." This charge, without Mr. Dudley's reply, would indeed seem of some validity. But when he says that the extravagance complained of, was only "for the warmth of his house, and the cost small; and that the wainscoting consisted only of clapboards nailed to the wall in the form of wainscoting," this charge has a little the appearance of being made for the want of a better one; and whether it were prompted by jealousy, because the Deputy-Governor was better able to build a handsomer house than the Governor could afford to, it is not undertaken to decide.

It was objected by Mr. Dudley, that the Governor had exercised too much authority, and demanded of him how he had derived such an assumption of power, — whether from the Patent or otherwise? The Governor smartly replied, that he had not transcended his authority; "and speaking somewhat apprehensively," as he himself says, "the Deputy began to be in a passion, and told the Governor, that if he were so round, he would be round too." What this being "round" meant, is easier to be understood, perhaps, than "speaking somewhat apprehensively." Notwithstanding the Governor's usual mildness, he did, by his own candid confession, suffer himself to get a little "round" on this occasion; and in that spirit he told Mr. Dudley he might get *round* too, for aught he cared. "So the Deputy rose up in great fury and passion, and the Governor grew very hot also, so as they both fell into bitterness."

All this appears to have taken place in the presence of the reverend arbitrators, who, interfering, stayed the further progress of the wordy warfare; and both, when they had time to reflect, were no doubt satisfied that, by the storm they had raised, the "ship of state," though not in any great danger, had not advanced any during the continuance of the tempest.

Proceeding with his allegations, Mr. Dudley inquired by what right Mr. Winthrop had removed certain cannon, which were public property; and by what authority he had caused a fort to be erected in Boston? The Governor replied, that the cannon laid rusting on the beach; that he had often called the attention of the Court to their spoiling condition, and nothing had been done; that now they were mounted, and placed where they might be of service, and all without any charge to the public. The Deputy next desired to know on what authority he had licensed Captain Edward Johnson "to sit down at Merrimack"? The Governor said he had only licensed him to trade with the Indians, "as he had done divers others," which was within his authority. It was then demanded why he had given the people of Watertown leave to erect a wear in Charles river; and why he had "disposed of lands to divers"? Why he had allowed Ratcliff and Gray, who had been banished, to remain within the jurisdiction?

It is pretty clear, judging from the Governor's answers to the latter inquiries, that if he had slightly overstepped the bounds of his author-

ity, he gave very plausible reasons for doing so. The key to much of the difficulty unquestionably was a jealousy on the part of the Deputy-Governor. If he refused, or was otherwise prevented coöperating with Winthrop, the latter was, as a matter of course, obliged to assume responsibilities. Being a more popular man than Mr. Dudley, the people clustered around him, and were at all times ready to sustain him; and thus similar cases will always have a similar issue. They are easily discerned through all periods of history.

There had been several orders of Court passed of an extremely arbitrary character,* to which Mr. Dudley, as one of the Court, made no objection at the time, and perhaps would not have objected to them, or the exercise of them, had he been consulted afterwards; but the cause, whatever it was, that interrupted his intercourse with Winthrop, left the latter in a sort of dilemma. He must either carry out those orders on his own responsibility, as Governor, or let them remain a dead letter. He very properly might have thought it was not his duty to go out of Boston to consult the Deputy-Governor, when cases came up requiring immediate action.

Notwithstanding the difficulties between the two highest officers of the government, neither of them appears to have suffered much in his popularity. Of the two, Winthrop was, no doubt, the more liberal; and, if he did deviate a little sometimes, the people took little or no notice of it; while Dudley, precise and exact, doing always as he agreed to do, demanded the same of others. Sometimes, perhaps, he may have been a little too rigid in his exactions, allowing not hardly enough for human frailties and uncontrollable circumstances; hence he was not likely to be quite so popular as one of a somewhat differently constituted mind.

Nov. 2. Governor Winthrop's popularity was strikingly manifest during the progress of the difficulty with Mr. Dudley, though the extraordinary demonstrations about to be detailed must not be entirely claimed for the former. Captain William Peirce, their former deliverer from famine, now sailed into Boston harbor. His arrival at any time was a sufficient cause for feasts and rejoicings; but he brought with him at this time about sixty passengers, whom he landed safe, after a voyage of two months and a half. Among these passengers came Mrs. Winthrop, the Governor's lady, his oldest son, John Winthrop, Jr., and his wife, and others of his children; and Mr. John Eliot, afterwards so famous for his labors to christianize the Indians. Two children had died during the voyage, one of which was the Governor's daughter, aged about one year and a half.

Nov. 4. The state of the weather was such that the Lyon could not get up to the town for two days; then, coming to anchor before Boston, the passengers went on shore. Captain Peirce accompanied the Governor and his lady in his own boat, at whose departure the ship

* See under 14 June, 1631, *ante*.

gave them seven guns, and the captains at the head of their train-bands on shore stood ready to escort them from the boat to the dwellings provided for them. "Divers vollies and three drakes" saluted them on their landing, "and divers of the Assistants, and most of the people of the near plantations came to welcome them," who brought and sent, for many days, all sorts of provisions, as "fat hogs, kids, venison, poultry, geese, partridges, &c.; so as the like joy and manifestation of love had never been seen in New England; and it was a great marvel that so many people, and such store of provisions could be gathered together at so few hours' warning."*

Nov. 11. This rejoicing and festivity was followed in a few days by a Thanksgiving.

Nov. 17. Governor Bradford, of Plymouth, came on a visit to Boston, and, what is rather remarkable, he lodged at night on board the Lyon, with Captain Peirce. It may be that accommodations were better there than in the town, owing to the arrival of so many emigrants of late.

Mr. Eliot, immediately after his arrival, began to preach in Mr. Wilson's place, who was yet absent. He left his wife in England, at his first coming over, as did also many others.

Nov. 23. Captain Peirce did not make a very long stay at this time, and sailed for England by way of Virginia, and many went home with him; among others, Sir Richard Saltonstall's eldest son. They were six weeks in reaching Virginia.

CHAPTER XVI.

Explorations of the adjacent Country. — Spot Pond. — Indian Alarms. — Great Arrival of Corn. — Organization of the General Court. — House of Representatives. — Fort built. — Return of Mr. Wilson. — Importation of Cows. — Arrival of Ministers. — Troublesome Questions. — Visit of Narraganset Indians. — Some punished. — Windmill set up. — The first Meeting-house. — Fears from the Indians. — Complaints and Grievances. — Punishment for Profaneness. — Mr. Stephen Bachelor. — A House of Correction ordered. — Distinguished Strangers. — The Governor entertains them. — Accompanies them to Plymouth. — Account of their Journey. — Trouble about Mr. Eliot. — He leaves Boston.

SOME of the gentlemen of Boston improved a portion
Jan. 27. of their time during the second winter of their settlement in making excursions into the surrounding wilderness. The Governor, Mr. John Masters, Mr. Robert Feake, and Adam Winthrop, a son of the Governor, were among a party who went up Charles river, "about eight miles above Watertown," as they judged. On coming to "a fair brook on the north side of the river, they named it Beaver brook, because the beavers had shorn down divers great trees there, and made divers dams

* *Winthrop, Prince.*

across the brook. This brook came from a pond a mile from the river." A little further onward they came "to a great rock, upon which stood a high stone, cleft in sunder, that four men might" pass through the fissure; this they called Adam's chair, in compliment to the youngest person in the company. Further up the river, they came to another brook, larger than the former, which they named Masters' brook, because Mr. Masters was the oldest in the company. A high, pointed rock, not far off, they named Mount Feake, Mr. Feake having married the daughter-in-law of the Governor. On the west of Mount Feake, from a very high rock, they could "see all over Neipnett;"* and also Wachuset mountain, which they supposed to be about forty miles distant, and other mountains about sixty miles off, in the north-west.

Feb. 7. In another excursion, in which there went with the Governor Mr. Nowell and Mr. Eliot, they discovered the since interesting body of water called Spot Pond. It "having in the midst an island of about one acre, and very thick with trees of pine and beech; and having divers small rocks standing up here and there in it, they therefore called it Spot Pond;" and, says Winthrop, "they went all about it upon the ice." Not far off they named a certain rock Cheese rock, because "when they went to eat somewhat," they found they had nothing but cheese to eat; "the Governor's man, for haste, forgot" to put in the bread.

Feb. 14. Seven days after, the Governor and some others explored the country as far as Neponset river; but no mention is made of

March 6. anything remarkable having been discovered. At a Court of Assistants it was ordered that Courts, which had been held every three weeks, should, in future, be held on the first Tuesday in every month. During the winter no mention is made of any trouble from the

April 12. Indians; but early in April startling intelligence is brought to Boston of a war between the Narragansets and Pokanokets, and that the Narragansets had sent for the Indians about Boston to go and fight for them, and that Sagamore John had gone with thirty men, and Chikataubut with many of his. The messenger who brought this news came from Plymouth with letters detailing the circumstances, and requesting a quantity of ammunition. The Governor put him up twenty-

* As to what was formerly meant by the *Nipmuck* or "*Neipnett*" country there is much of uncertainty. This is not at all strange, inasmuch as there never was a time, probably, when anybody, Indian or Englishman, could truly define its boundaries. — See BOOK OF THE INDIANS, Book ii., p. 82 (eleventh edition). The Nipmuck or Nipnet Indians consisted of such as preferred living in the interior to living on the sea-coast, and such as withdrew from the tribes about the coast from some disaffection on their part or that of the tribes to which they belonged. The Nipnets were, therefore, the friends and relatives of the Wampanoags, Narragansets, and other tribes about the arms and inlets of this part of the coast. The name *Netop* signified *friend* among these tribes, and hence the origin of the name of those inland Indians; the different tribes slightly differing in their pronunciation of it. Not taking these facts into account, writers, both early and late, have puzzled themselves and perplexed their readers in attempts to locate the "Nipmuck Country." When the king's commissioners, in 1741, settled the boundary between Plymouth and Rhode Island, they satisfied themselves that "this Nipmug territory could not be ascertained." — See *Douglass*, i. 398. The commissioners were led to investigate the matter because, by the Grant to Plymouth Colony in 1629, the Nipmuck country was a boundary.

seven pounds of powder; that being "as much as he could carry."

April 16. However, a few days after, intelligence came, that the Narragansets, who were reported to have attacked the Pokanokets, at Sowams, had gone in pursuit of the Pequots, and thus the excitement was allayed.

At this time, a Dutch ship arrived from Virginia, with two thousand bushels of corn, which brought four shillings and sixpence the bushel. Thus it is seen that provisions of this sort were now at a fair price.

May 9. At a General Court, it was agreed that the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Assistants, should be chosen by the whole Court; that the Governor shall always be chosen out of the Assistants chosen for the year ensuing. At this Court Winthrop and Dudley were re-chosen. Ludlow, Nowell, Pynchon, Bradstreet, Endicott, Humfrey, Coddington, and John Winthrop, junior, were chosen Assistants. Mr. Humfrey and Mr. Coddington were chosen, though out of the country, being daily expected. The Court passed an order that there should be two persons elected in every plantation, to confer with the Court about raising a public stock.

Thus, in matters of revenue at least, it was found necessary that the people should have a voice, and hence this provision for a sort of House of Representatives.* Hitherto some of the measures of the government had been complained of as arbitrary and oppressive, which may have been the occasion of this new branch in the government.

The idea of fortifying Newtown having been laid aside, it was thought that fortifications should not be dispensed with altogether, and, according

May 24. to some previous arrangements, it was agreed to build a fort in that part of Boston called Corn Hill. Boston people commenced it on this day. Charlestown men came and worked on it the following

May 25. day, Roxbury men the next day, and Dorchester next. The name of the hill on which it was built was changed to Fort Hill, which it still retains.†

May 24. All was now bustle and stir in Boston, and many a heart leaped for joy. The ship Whale, Captain Graves, being announced as in the harbor, and on board of her was the beloved Wilson, who went for England the last year for his wife; also Mr. Richard Dummer, and about thirty passengers, all in health. Of seventy cows sent in the same ship, two only were lost on the passage.

June 5. For these blessings, and especially for the signal victories gained by Gustavus Adolphus, in Germany, by which he rescued

* The towns accordingly chose the following gentlemen pursuant to the order:

1. Mr. Oldham and Mr. Masters, for Watertown.
2. Robert Coles and John Johnson, for Roxbury.
3. Mr. William Colborn and William Cesbrough, for Boston.
4. Richard Wright and ———, for Saugus.
5. Mr. Lockwood and Mr. Spencer, for Newton.
6. Mr. Gibbons and Mr. Palmer, for Charlestown.
7. Mr. Conant and Peter Palfrey, for Salem.
8. William Felps and John Gallard, for Dorchester,

Again we meet with several names before duly honored in the preceding pages. But, not to wait for another opportunity, we here insert a fac-simile of the autograph



of Roger Conant, the father of Salem.

† There can be no mistake in locating this first fort in Boston. Mr. Wood says, "This

that country from the Popish yoke, a thanksgiving was ordered to be celebrated throughout all the Plantations.

Some inconvenience had begun to be experienced by the colonists from an over-familiarity of the natives, who, under pretence of trade, would intrude at all times and seasons into private houses. Therefore, at this Court, it was agreed that every plantation should set up a trucking house. This, it was thought, would abate the difficulty.

On the same day this Court was held, there arrived the ship William and Francis, Captain Thomas, with about sixty passengers; among whom came Mr. Thomas Weld, and "old Mr. Stephen Bachelor, being aged seventy-one, with their families, and many other honest men."

The same day, also came in the Charles of Barnstaple, and in her was Mr. Timothy Hatherly, who afterwards laid the foundation of Scituate. There were about twenty passengers. She also brought an important accession of "near eighty cows, and six mares, all safe and in health." The former ship sailed from London on the ninth of March, and the Charles, from Barnstaple, on the tenth of April, and they met near Cape Ann. Mr. Edward Winslow, of Plymouth, was a passenger in the William and Francis.

June 12. Few thanksgivings have happened in Boston, probably, more heartily celebrated than that appointed to take place on the morrow. To make it still more joyous, however, another ship is added to the large number of late arrivals, — the James, near eight weeks from London, Captain Grant, with twelve passengers. She sailed with sixty-one heifers, but by what fatality she lost forty of them on the voyage, is not mentioned.

The "Congregation at Boston" were in considerable trouble, about this time, respecting the following matters, namely: whether one person might be a civil magistrate and a ruling elder at the same time? If not, then which should he lay down? Whether there might be divers pastors in the same Church? These questions weighed so heavily on the Church of Boston, that the members wrote to the neighboring Churches for advice in what appeared to be an alarming difficulty. The Churches addressed returned an unanimous answer to the first question, in the negative; but on the second and third, they did not presume to adventure an opinion; and how the Boston Church finally extricated itself, does not appear.

Aug. 3. Less is heard of annoyance from the many Indians which must have visited Boston, probably every day, than could reasonably be expected, when it is considered that they could not have had any adequate idea of the white people's laws, and their rules of propriety in intercourse. At this time, Mecumeh, afterwards known as Miantunnomoh, or Miantonomo,* with his wife and twelve attendants, or

Necke of land," on which Boston is situated, "is not above foure miles in compasse, in forme almost square, having on the South-side at one corner, a great broad hill, whereon is planted a Fort, which can command any ship as she sayles into any Harbour within the hill Bay." — *New England's Prospect*, 52.

* This orthography of the great Chief's

sannaps, as these were called by Chiefs, visited Boston. Two days after, it being Sunday, Miantonomo, being at meeting with the English, three of his sannaps went in the mean time, and broke into a house. After the meeting, complaint being made to the Governor, he complains to the Chief. It was required by the Governor that the offenders should be punished, and that the Chief should make one of the sannaps beat the others. Indians do not believe in corporeal punishment, and hence it was with some difficulty that the beating operation was brought about. However, it was at length performed; after which the offenders were sent out of town; but the Governor took Miantonomo and the rest of his company to his house, "and made much of them." They, however, left for home the same evening. It might have been difficult for the Chief to understand which of the two was the greater offence, prying into an empty house, or whipping Indians on a Sunday. At a Court not long before, some of Chikataubut's men had been "convented and convicted" for assaulting some English at Dorchester. They were set in the bilboes, and Chikataubut made to beat them himself.

Some time in the month of August, a windmill, which had been erected near Newton, was taken down and brought to Boston. It was set up on the hill in the north part of the town,* which hill afterwards received the name of Copp's Hill, from an inhabitant named William Copp. The windmill was removed from the country, "because it would not grind but with a westerly wind."

August. Although there had been regular meetings on Sundays, in Boston, for about two years, no Meeting-house† had been built. Private houses had been the places for public worship as soon as they were built, and before they were provided, the branches of the neighboring trees had been the only shelter for minister as well as people.‡ But Mr. Wilson had now returned; the place was becoming prosperous, and funds had been raised to the amount of one hundred and twenty pounds, which were to be applied to the erection of a Meeting-house, and a house for the minister.

The sort of building first erected for divine service in Boston, has been mentioned in a former chapter, § and such representation there given as the known facts about it seemed to justify. This first

name gives pretty truly its pronunciation, probably. In Danforth's Almanack, for 1649, there is this distich or epigram: —

"And by thy fall comes in the English wo,
If it may be, by Miantonomo."
See BOOK OF THE INDIANS, v. 697.

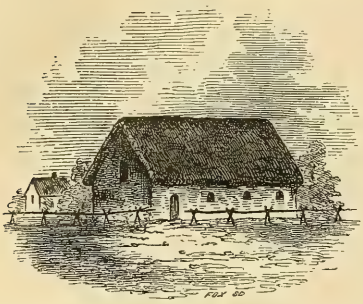
* "Equall in bignesse," to Fort Hill, "whereon stands a Winde-mill. To the North west [of Fort Hill] is an high Mountain, with three little rising hills on the top of it, wherefore it is called the *Tra-mount*. From the top of this Mountain [since Beacon Hill] a man may overlooke all the Islands which lie before the Bay, and discry such ships as are upon the Sea-coast." — Wood, *New England's Prospect*, 33.

† Many of the Puritan fathers carefully avoided the term *Church*, when speaking of their *place* of worship. The Catholics had Churches; the Protestants had Meeting-houses. Quakers have no Churches to this day, though they have Meeting-houses.

‡ "Before they could build at Boston, they lived many of them in tents and wigwams at Charlestown; their *Meeting-Place* being abroad under a tree; where I have heard Mr. Wilson and Mr. Phillips preach many a good Sermon." — Clap, *Memoirs*, 42.

§ See page 104, *ante*.

rude structure, according to the best information Mr. Wadsworth* could collect, stood "about nine or ten years." In 1640, it was replaced by a superior edifice, in which the first sermon was preached on the twenty-third of August, of that year. The "Old Meeting-house" stood, according to Mr. Wadsworth, "near where the Town House now [1713] is, at a small distance from the south-east corner of it. This indicates the precise spot to be that on which now, 1853, Brazer's Block stands, on the south side of State Street.



The house erected in 1640, was of wood, and stood on the site now occupied by Joy's Building, in Washington Street, a little to the south of, and opposite to the head of State Street. When it had stood seventy-one years, it was destroyed by fire. The last sermon preached in it before it was burned, was preached by Mr. Wadsworth, on the thirtieth of September, 1711, and two days after, namely, October the second, it was consumed. Mr. Wadsworth says, "Considering the place where it was, and how many wooden buildings were near it, 'twas a wonder of Providence it stood so long. 'T was by many tho't not convenient to build another Meeting-House with wood, in that place, where other buildings would probably be near and thick about it, for fear of fire; and the winter [of 1711—12] coming on, brick-work could not be engag'd in till the following spring; and when the season did allow, the work was diligently set about. The stone foundation was begun April the fourteenth, 1712. They begun their brick-work, May twenty-ninth, and finished it fit for the roof, September the eighteenth, the same year. So that the brick-work was begun and finished in less than four months. They began to raise the roof, October second, 1712, just that day twelve month after the former house was burnt. 'T was about a year and seven months from the burning of the former, to our meeting in the present Meeting-House."

Mr. Wadsworth supposed the cost of the house would be "not far short of four thousand pounds;" and "that there had been no essay to raise one penny" towards the cost of it "by rate or tax. All that had been done was done voluntarily and without restraint. Of all that were chosen of any committees," he continues, "referring to this whole affair, I don't remember that any to this day [November, 1713] has been removed by death, except one worthy gentleman, Mr. Thomas Brattle† (who had a principal hand in modelling this house), yet he

* The Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth. He was son of Capt. Samuel Wadsworth, of Milton, who, with his company, was cut off by the Indians, at Sudbury, 21st April, 1676. Mr. Wadsworth begun to preach in the "First Church" in 1696 — fifteen years before it was burned. He was chosen President of Harvard College, in 1725, and died in 1737, aged 67. He was the author of many sermons.

† He died 18 May, 1713. He was the principal founder of Brattle-street Church. From his family the Church and Street take their name. The Rev. William Brattle, of Cambridge, was his brother. He wrote an account

lived till we met here for public worship ; and once, if not oftener, he was here for that purpose."

Speaking of the progress of the building, Mr. Wadsworth says, — "There has been much hard work, heavy work, and some work high and lofty ; and so the more dangerous, yet in the whole managing this work hitherto not one person has by any hurtful accident lost his life ; not one has lost any one limb, nor has one bone been broken."

August 7. Among other acts of a Court at Boston, Mr. William Pynchon was chosen Treasurer for the year ensuing, or till another shall be chosen.

August 14. This summer had been wet and cold, and crops were very poor, which was discouraging to many. Corn, on which they depended much, having no other grain, came in so light, that "great want threatened them." Besides, there were fires, and alarms by the Indians. Mr. John Oldham had a small house burnt down at Watertown, "made all of clapboards."

August 30. An express came to Governor Winthrop, that "ten Sagamores and many Indians were assembled at Muddy River," but what design they had, nobody knew. The Governor thought it best to ascertain whether their assembling at that point portended evil, and therefore ordered Captain Underhill to proceed to that neighborhood, with twenty musketeers, to reconnoitre. When the Captain arrived at Roxbury, he learned that the Indians had dispersed, and this was the only news that could be obtained about them.

Sept. 4. There had been complaints from Indians of injuries to their crops from the domestic animals belonging to the English. This could not be avoided, because the Indians were the very last people in the world that would think of making fences ; besides, it was very difficult for them to see why such labor should be required of them, because the animals which intruded upon them belonged, not to them, but to the English. However, the Court made Sagamore John (Wonohaquaham) promise that, "the next year, and forever after, he would fence his corn against all kinds of cattle." At the same Court, a man was ordered "to be severely whipped, for cursing, swearing, then justifying the same, and glorying in it." Another man, who had sold a gun, pistol, and powder and shot, to Sagamore James, (Montowampate) was sentenced to be whipped, and branded in the face with a hot iron.

The late strange assembling of Indians at Muddy-river, and several other circumstances, caused the people to apprehend that the natives were plotting to cut them off. They were led to this apprehension, because, by some of them, "divers insolent speeches were used, and they did not frequent the houses of the English as they were wont ; and one of their Powaws told them that there was a conspiracy among the

of the Witchcraft in the County of Essex, which is printed in the 5th volume of the *Mass. Hist. Colls.* Several of his communications were inserted in the *Transactions of the Royal Society*, of which he was a member. We might reasonably expect to see a minute account of this gentleman and his family, in a history of the Church of which he was a principal founder.

Indians." Upon receipt of this intelligence, "a camp was pitched at Boston, in the night, to exercise the soldiers, apprehending need might be." To try the valor of his soldiers, Captain Underhill caused an alarm to be given upon their quarters. The result was anything but creditable to their courage. Most of them were paralyzed with fear, and their conduct was disgraceful to soldiers. Hence the people thought, if such men must be depended upon to defend their wives and children, their chance of safety was poor indeed.

Sept. 14. Fears from the Indians still increased; and the Governor sent for "the three next Sagamores" to come immediately to Boston; but whether they obeyed the summons or not, is not mentioned. Meantime the arrival of the favorite old ship, the Lyon, Cap-

Sept. 16. tain Peirce, had a tendency to divert the public mind from fancied rumors of hostile Indians; especially as he brought one hundred and twenty-three passengers with him, most of whom were, doubtless, near friends or relatives to many in Boston, and its immediate vicinity. The Lyon was eight weeks from the Land's End.

Sept. 27. The alarms from the Indians could not have sunk very deep into the minds of the Authorities, at least, for they had ordered a Thanksgiving for the safe arrival of the Lyon, which is now kept. In the same proclamation, however, "the prosperous success of the King of Sweden" was comprehended.

Oct. 2. Among several stringent orders of a Court now held, were the following:—"Mr. Bachelor, of Lynn, was required to forbear exercising his gifts until some sandals be removed." A man is sentenced "for theft on the Indians, at Damaril's Cove, for drunkenness and fornication," to pay a fine of five pounds to the Court, ten pounds to Henry Way and John Holman, to be "severely whipt, branded on the hand with a hot iron, and banished; with penalty to be put to death if he ever return." That no persons should take any tobacco publicly; if they did, for every time they took it, they should be fined one penny.

At this Court, it was by general consent determined, that Boston was the fittest place for public meetings of any in the Bay; and it was therefore ordered, that a House of Correction, and a House for the Beadle, should be built here "with speed."

Oct. 18. It is worthy of note, that, notwithstanding settlements had been forming upon the Pascataqua, about ten years, yet they brought their corn to be ground at Boston, this year. Captain Thomas Camock and Mr. Edward Godfrey, a merchant, afterwards Governor of Maine, brought up in Mr. Neal's pinnace at one time, sixteen hogsheads of corn, which was ground at the windmill. Whether it took from this time "to November" to grind that quantity of corn, is not known, though it is recorded that Captain Camock and Mr. Godfrey did not return till November. This, however, is not a very important question to be settled, especially as the two gentlemen, doubtless, enjoyed the fine autumnal weather as guests of the Governor, Captain Peirce, of

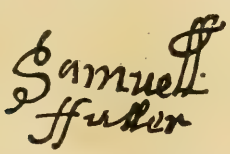


VIEW OF BUNKER HILL MONUMENT.

Oct. 25. the Lyon, Mr. Wilson, and others. Having been waited upon by Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Wilson, on board the Lyon, the Captain of her took them all into his shallop, and proceeded to Wessaguscus. Thence Captain Peirce returned to his ship, being about to sail for Virginia, while the rest of the company "proceed on foot to Plymouth," to pay Governor Bradford a visit. They did not arrive there till "within the evening." By some means, not mentioned, their approach to Plymouth was known to the authorities there, "and the Governor, Mr. Bradford, a very discreet and grave man, with Mr. Brewster, and some others, went forth and met them without the town," conducted them to the Governor's house, where they were "together entertained." They were likewise "feasted every day at several houses." On Sunday they partook of the sacrament with the church, "and in the afternoon, Mr. Roger Williams, according to their custom, proposed a question, to which the pastor, Mr. Smith, spoke briefly. Then Mr. Williams prophesied. After that, the Governor of Plymouth, who had studied the Hebrew language, and antiquities, spoke to the question. After him, the elder [Mr. Brewster], a man of learning; then two or three more of the congregation; then the elder, agreeable to Acts xiii. 14, 15, desired Governor Winthrop and Mr. Wilson to speak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the deacon, Mr. Fuller,* put the congregation in mind of their duty of contribution; whereupon, the Governor and all the rest went down† to the deacon's seat, and put it in the bag, and then returned." ‡

Oct. 31. About five of the clock, on Wednesday morning, Governor Winthrop and his company left Plymouth; Mr. Bradford, Mr. Smith and others accompanying them "near half a mile out of town in the dark. Lieutenant Holmes § and others went with them to the Great Swamp, about ten miles; when they came to the Great river,‖ they were carried over by one Ludham,¶ as they had been when they went; so they came that evening to Wessaguscus, where they were

* Dr. Samuel Fuller, who came in the Mayflower. He died the next year. His autograph is so rare, that I was assured not long since it was not known at Plymouth. The subjoined fac-simile of it is copied from



the letter extracted *ante*, p. 132. For an account of this early physician, see *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* ii. 240. His will is contained in the same work, vol. iv. 33.—See, also, Morton's *Memorial*, Eliot, Allen, Thacher (*Med. Biog.*), and Russell's *Guide to Plymouth*.

† By this phraseology, the manner in which the floor of the house was constructed is easily conjectured. To those acquainted with the interior of old school-houses, no explanation is necessary.

‡ There is nothing to be found, certainly nothing is known to the author, which gives so true, simple, and beautiful a picture of the manner in which the Pilgrims performed their devotions, as this. If a little foreign to the History of Boston, no one, I think, will wish it had been omitted.

§ John Holmes was taxed in Plymouth, in 1633 and 1634. The name has always been common in Duxbury. Lieut. William Holmes was admitted a resident of Plymouth, 1634. He was an officer in the Pequot war.—See Mr. Winsor's *Hist. Duxbury*, 267–8; *N. E. H. and Gen. Reg.* iv. 253–4.

‖ Mr. Prince, *Chronology*, 407, supposes this was what was afterwards called North river, between Pembroke and Hanover.

¶ The name of *Ludden* occurs on the Weymouth records, 1680.

comfortably entertained, as before, with store of turkies, geese, ducks, &c., and next day came safe to Boston."



WINTHROP CROSSING THE RIVER.

To go from Boston to Plymouth in the middle of the nineteenth century is too small a matter to be mentioned, though if one were obliged to walk over the ground, even now, on a good road, it would be talked about some, probably; especially if performed by a citizen of the Metropolis; and it is more than probable that the circumstance would be "talked about" in the newspapers. But to go through forty miles of wilderness in 1632, be obliged to tarry over night on the way, and be carried over a river on a man's back,* is a different affair altogether. A voyage to Iceland or Cape Horn would not excite half the curiosity to the people of Boston now, as the journey to Plymouth did then to the inhabitants of that day.

In this "progress" of the great Boston chief, he observes, in the excellent account of it which he has left for posterity, that, after he and his company had passed the Great river, and he had named the passage "Luddam's Ford," thence, he says, "they came to a place called Hue's Cross." That the Governor, "being displeased at the name," changed it to "Hue's Folly;" because, he said, if it were suffered to go by that name, it might give the Papists grounds to claim for their religion that it had been planted in these parts before that of the Protestants. Readers hereafter may smile at this, but they should remember that the fathers of New England were far from smiling at anything that reminded them of the Church of Rome. They had lived too near the times of the fires of Smithfield to think lightly of anything that brought that dreadful period of their country's history to their minds.

Nov. 2. Many of the good people of Boston were disturbed, about this period, because the reverend Mr. John Eliot had made up his mind to leave them and settle at Roxbury. They had intended to "call" him to be their teacher, but Roxbury had also called him;

Nov. 5. "and though Boston labored all they could" to prevent it, "yet he could not be diverted, so they of Boston dismissed him."

* Those who have heard of the anecdote, how some young men from the City, a few years since, meeting with the late Mr. Webster about his grounds in Marshfield, and not knowing him (being dressed in his country garb, with high fishing-boots on), were, at their urgent request, *ferried* over a creek on the great statesman's back, — those, of course, who have heard that anecdote, can fancy how the Governor of Massachusetts looked on the neck of *John* Ludham, fording the Great river, "the water being up to the crotch." Winthrop's annotator gives the name of the *ferryman*, Luddam, but I follow Prince, who followed or used Winthrop *in the original*. For the *poetical* part of the name I am responsible.

Nov. 7. By an order of court, it was declared "that the captains shall train their companies but once a month; that Sir Richard Saltonstall shall give Sagamore John a hogshead of corn, for the hurt his cattle did his corn; that the neck of land between Powder Hill and Pullen Point* shall belong to Boston forever."

Nov. 21. Among the afflictions of the people of Boston, that of piracy now finds a place. Governor Winthrop received a letter from Captain Walter Neal of Pascataqua, informing him that Dixy Bull (who, it seems, was a man of note upon the coast) had turned pirate, and had induced fifteen others to join him, and with them he had rifled Pemaquid, and taken several boats in that region. On receipt of this intelligence, the Governor and Council decided to send an armed vessel with twenty men, who were to join others at Pascataqua, and then to proceed in quest of the piratical crew. "But snow, frost, and contrary winds" prevented the sailing of the vessel. The following May, however, a "pinnace" was despatched to the eastern coast, which returned after a cruise of several weeks, or two months, whose commander, Lieut. Mason,† reported that the pirates were not to be found, though it was conjectured they had "gone to the French." This is the first account of pirates on the coast of New England, and the mischief done by them does not appear to have been of much amount, or not so much as was at first apprehended.‡ The check they met with about the time, or soon after they commenced their career, at Pemaquid, no doubt had the effect to dishearten them, and put a stop to their ravages; for as they were about to depart from the last-named place, Mr. Abraham Shurt's men attacked them, killing one of the ringleaders on the spot. They took one Anthony Dix or Dicks, master of a vessel, and endeavored to persuade him to pilot them to Virginia, which he refused to do, and they fled to the eastward. These facts Mr. Dix told to Captain Roger Clap; and the latter adds, "Bull got into England, but God destroyed this wretched man." By this it may be inferred that he was executed there for piracy.§

* "The chiefe ilands which keepe out the winde and the sea from disturbing the harbours, are, first, Deare Iland, which lies within a flight shot of Pullin-point. This iland is so called because of the deare which often swimme thither from the Maine, when they are chased by the woolves: Some have killed sixteene deare in a day upon this iland. The opposite shore is called Pullin-point, because that is the usuall channell boats vse to passe thorow into the bay; and the tyde being very strong, they are constrained to goe a-shore and hale their boates by the seasing, or roades; whereupon, it was called Pullin-point." — *Wood, N. Eng. Prospect*, 34–5.

† I am not in possession of sufficient evidence to admit of my unqualifiedly stating that this *Lieut. Mason* was the same who afterwards went to Connecticut, and led its forces in the destruction of the Pequots. It may be doubted whether Capt. John Mason were now in New England. Is it at all likely that *this* "brave soldier who had served in the Low Country wars under Sir Thomas Fairfax," so as specially to attract the attention of that general, should not be honored with a commission above that of a lieutenant in New England? Is it not more than probable, that so prominent a character as Capt. John Mason would have been found among the freemen before 1635? In that year his name is found entered "Captain John Mason."

‡ See *Prince*, 409, 431. — *Winthrop*, i. 96, 104.

§ In the Treasurer's accounts there are these items which relate to the expedition for the suppression of piracy. "Paid Mr. Alcock for a fat hog to victual the pinnace for the taking [attempt to take] Dixie Bull, £3 10*s*. Paid Goodman Lyman for a fat hog for the same use, £3 10*s*. Paid Mr. Shurd, of Pemaquid, for provisions for the pinnace, 26¼ lb.

Nov. 22. A fast is kept at Boston, but the particular occasion of its appointment is not mentioned, though it was probably held on account of choosing a pastor and ruling elder in the church; as Mr. Wilson, formerly their teacher, was chosen pastor, and Mr. Thomas Oliver ruling elder. They were both ordained "by imposition of hands; first by the teacher and the two deacons, in the name of the congregation, upon the elder, and then, by the elder and the deacons, upon the pastor." *

Johnson calls this year "a yeare of sad distresses," which, he says, "was ended with a terrible cold winter, with weekly snowes, and fierce frosts betweene while, congealing Charles river, as well from the town to seaward as above, insomuch that men might frequently passe from one island to another upon the ice." †

Of the three ministers that arrived this year, mention has been made of one of them, Mr. Stephen Bachelor, who was the first. The second was Mr. Thomas Welde, and the third, Mr. Thomas James. Mr. Welde settled in Roxbury; the "diligent people thereof early preventing their brethren of other churches by calling him to be their pastor." The same writer says he was "valiant in faith, both in the pulpit and by his pen; and wading through the cares and toils of this wilderness for seven years, returns to his native country." He came from Terling Place ‡ in Essex, England, and arrived in Boston on the fifth of June, and about a month after was settled over the first church in Roxbury. Mr. John Eliot was afterwards his colleague. "In 1639, he assisted Mr. Mather and Mr. Eliot in making the tuneful New England version of the Psalms. In 1641 he was sent with Mr. Hugh Peters to England as an agent for the province, and never returned. He was settled at Gateshead, but was ejected in 1660, and died the same year." §

Mr. Welde was interested in the Antinomian controversy which agitated not only Boston, but the whole country, and no doubt was as far from sympathizing with Mrs. Hutchinson and her friends in that unhappy affair, as were Mr. Wilson and Mr. Winthrop; while at the same time much injustice has been done him by attributing to him the authorship of that book of "malignity," entitled "A Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruin of the Antinomians, Familists, and Libertines, that infected the Churches of New England," &c.; it now fully appearing, from its own internal evidence, that Winthrop had a principal hand in it. ‖ That Mr. Welde introduced it with a preface, is true, and it is

beaver, £13 2*s.* 6*d.* Lieut. Mason for his service in the pinnace, £10. Paid by a bill from Mr. Samuel Maverick, being husband and merchant of the pinnace, for a month's wages, to Elias Maverick, £2. Paid for victuals upon his account, £2 5*s.* — *Pinchon Papers*, 3 Cols. Ms. H. S. viii. 232–3.

* Prince, *Chron.*, 409.

† *Wond. Work. Prov.* 55.

‡ Dr. Eliot says he came from "Tirling in the Co. of Essex;" but as there is no such place as *Tirling*, I conclude *Terling* should be substituted, which I have accordingly done.

§ Allen, *Amer. Biog. Dict.*, 763.

‖ Since the text above was written, a gentleman has put into my hands a portion of an unpublished work, from which the following extract is taken: — "The Rev. Thomas Welde, who reluctantly wrote the preface to 'Rise, Reign and Ruine,' says, in apology, 'I should have been loath to have revived them [the troubles] on earth; but considering that their names are already in print, without any act of

equally true that the spirit of the preface accords very well with that exhibited in the body of the work; excepting that it falls somewhat short of it in malignity of expression.

Mr. Thomas James, who came to Boston at the same time with Mr. Welde, continued here till November, when, with a part of the members of the church of Boston, namely, eighteen men and fifteen women, he was dismissed to form a church in Charlestown. Mr. James continued there till 1636; by which time, according to Gov. Winthrop, "Satan had stirred up such a spirit of discord between the minister and people," that the former asked and received a dismission. He finally returned to England, and died at Needham, in Suffolk, about 1687, at the age of eighty-six.* At the time of this separation from the Boston church, there remained here belonging to it but about seventy or eighty male members. These probably constituted the body of the inhabitants.†

mine, and that the necessity of the times calls for it,' 'and being earnestly pressed,' 'I, therefore, in a strait of time, not having had many hours, have drawn up the following preface.'" —To charge this book upon Mr. Welde, against his solemn testimony to the contrary, is as absurd as it is unjust. It is, indeed, criminal so to do, unless, first of all, Mr. Welde's character be impeached, which, to the writer's knowledge, has not been even attempted.

* A good and somewhat extended account of Mr. James is given by Dr. Allen, who might very happily have added much value to his article from Prince, 413–14, without occupying any space beyond that which he has employed in combatting the learned Dr. Savage's peculiar notions regarding the agency of the Devil. —Mr. Prince says, "When I lived at Combs in Suffolk, from 1711 to 1716, Mr. Thomas Denny [See N. Eng. H. G. Reg. v. 382], a pious and ancient gentlemen there, informed me, that he knew the Rev. Mr. Thomas James, minister of Needham, about four miles off, who came from New England; that though he was much beloved and esteemed, yet when he died, the clergyman who came in his place would not allow him to be buried in any other part of the church-yard but the unconsecrated corner, left for rogues and excommunicates, though the clergyman owed his benefice to the noble uprightness of Mr. James' heart." —*N. Eng. Chron.*

† Foxcroft's *Century Sermon*, p. 12.

CHAPTER XVII.

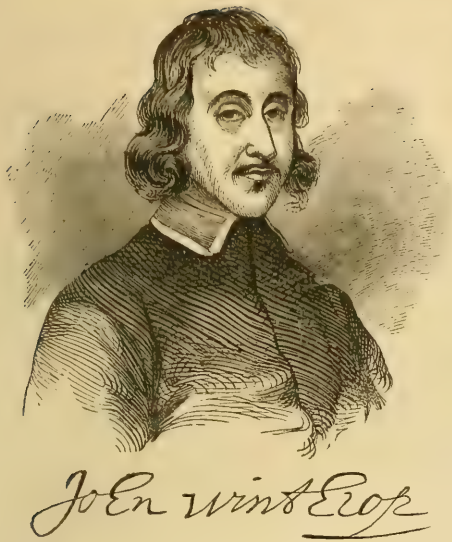
Few Inhabitants arrive in 1631. — French come to Maine. — Distressing Rumors. — Fort ordered at Nantasket. — Its Erection abandoned. — Mr. Bachelor freed from a former Order of Court. — Scarcity of Provisions. — Corn from Virginia. — Shipwreck of Captain Peirce. — Ship arrives with Passengers. — General Election. — Appearance of Locust. — Captain Stone. — His Difficulty at Connecticut. — His Trouble at Boston. — Banished. — Murdered by the Indians. — Arrival of the Elizabeth Bonadventure. — A Thanksgiving. — Orders of Court. — Proceedings relative to trading at Connecticut. — Censured by Plymouth. — Remarkable Providences. — Failure of Crops. — Ship built at Medford. — Her Voyages.



THE accession of inhabitants the year following the settlement of Boston was very small, owing mainly to the bad reports carried to England by many that returned in the fall of 1630, and in the ensuing spring. The country was not altogether untruly represented by those who described it as "a hideous wilderness, possessed with barbarous Indians; very cold, sickly, rocky, barren, unfit for culture, and like to keep the people miserable." So that, in 1631, but about ninety are said to have come over, and about two hundred and fifty in 1632.

1633. The French, in pursuance of the treaty of St. Germain, now took possession of Acadia; in doing which, they seized some of the effects of the Plymouth people at Penobscot. The news of these transactions coming to Boston, much alarm was felt, and serious troubles anticipated. The fears of the people here were not a little heightened by the additional news, that the Cardinal of France had sent over several Priests and Jesuits; characters more dreaded by the Fathers of Boston, probably, than any others, unless he, whom they considered the father of them, might be an exception.* Governor Winthrop, therefore, "called the Jan. 17. Assistants to Boston, and the Ministers and Captains, and some other chief men, to advise what was fit to be done." It was agreed that a fort should be forthwith constructed at Nantasket, and that begun in Boston should immediately be finished; that a plantation should be commenced at Agawam, it being considered "the best place in the land for tillage and cattle, least an enemy, finding it void, should take it." John Winthrop, the younger, son of the Governor, was appointed to conduct the occupation of Agawam; but he could

* This terror, or hatred, or both, of everything relating to the Church of Rome, is prominent throughout the entire history of the Fathers of New England; nor is this at all to be wondered at, when we reflect upon their and their fathers' sufferings, as remarked in a previous page (146); and it may here be further added, that the spiritual leaders of the Puritans, men to whom all looked up for counsel and direction, inculcated, with their great abilities and the whole weight of their character, the most illiberal as well as contemptuous feelings for all adherents to that Church. To instance a single example from one of them, see John Rogers' *Tabernacle for the Sun*, or *Church Discipline*, p. 61. 4to. London, 1653.



be allowed only "twelve men out of the Bay." Others were to be supplied "at the coming of the next ships." *

Feb. 21. Meanwhile preparations had been made to fortify Nantasket, agreeably to the decision of the authorities above mentioned; and, judging from the company which now set out to make preliminary arrangements, it was a matter of great moment with the people of Boston. The Governor, four Assistants, three Ministers, and eighteen others, set off in three boats for the point to be fortified.

Feb. 24. They returned the third day after, and reported that they had abandoned the design, because of the "too great charge," and the "little use it would be." The hard fare of the company during the three days probably had some influence upon the decision they came to; for doubtless every man of them knew the situation of Nantasket as well before they went as after. When they set out from Boston the wind was from the west, and the weather fine, but there soon came on one of those sudden changes so common here. The wind hauled into the north-west, and blew a heavy gale, and the cold became extreme. The party were not prepared for this, but they were compelled to continue there two nights, "forced to lodge upon the ground in an open cottage [hovel], upon a little old straw which they pulled from the thatch." Besides, their provisions failed them, and they were obliged to eat a poor sort of muscle, which was the best the place afforded at that time.

French soldiers and priests were indeed to be dreaded, but this com-

* The names of ten only are found recorded. These were probably all that could then be found ready to go, or that could be spared. Their names were

John Winthrop, Jr.,	John Gage,
Mr. [William] Clerke,	Thomas Hardy,
Robert Coles,	William Perkins,
Thomas Howlet,	Mr. [John] Thorndike,
John Biggs,	William Sargeant.

At a Court held April 1st, these are entered as "already gone" to plant at Agawam; and it was ordered that none else should go without leave of the Court. — *Prince.* Clerke and Coles were among the first freemen, 19 Oct., 1630. Howlet, Biggs and Gage, were later; and the others do not appear to have taken the oath, at least early. Thorndike returned to England in 1668, and died there about 1670, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He was of the family of Thorndike of Great Carlton, in Lincolnshire, and was son of Herbert Thorndike; and Herbert, who had a prebend in Westminster, and of whom remain ample materials for a biography, was his brother, which may account for John's being buried in that Abbey. This Herbert, in his will, proved 15 July, 1672, directed his body to be buried near his brother John's, whose children he mentioned, and wished to divert from the thoughts of returning to New England. From Paul, son of John Thorndike, by Mary, daughter of James Patch, are descended those bearing the name in New England, so far as known. Paul, son of Paul, was the father of Andrew, who was the father of Israel, the well-known merchant of our age. — *From a MS. pedigree in the hands of J. W. Thornton, Esq.*

pany no doubt concluded that they could meet them better at Boston than they could at Nantasket, under such forlorn circumstances as they had witnessed. They, however, soon learned that the French were upon no hostile design; they came to trade and fish upon their newly-acquired territory.

March 4. At the Court now held at Boston, the order prohibiting Mr. Bachelor from "exercising his gifts" was reversed, and he was left free to gather a church. It may, therefore, be very safely concluded, that the "scandals" causing the former order were truly *scandals*,* and that actually there was no cause of complaint against this ancestor of one of the most numerous posterities in the United States. The members of this Court were the Governor, Deputy, Ludlow, Endicot, Pynchon, Nowell, Winthrop, Jr., and Bradstreet.

Owing partly to the previous cold and wet summer, and partly to the long and severe winter just passed, provisions were again scarce in Boston, and the usual supply had not been received from England. But, unexpectedly, there arrived from Virginia, in the beginning of March, a Mr. Stretton, with a vessel loaded with corn; for which he found a ready market at ten shillings sterling the bushel.

April 10. This was an age of disasters; but when they had their beginning it would be as difficult to determine as it would be to say when they will end. But this tenth of April was a day of great sadness and sorrow to many, if not to all the inhabitants of Boston. It will be remembered, that after Captain Peirce had entertained the Governor and several others on board his ship in October last, he sailed for England by way of Virginia. He had a fair run along the coast; but, on the second of November, about five in the morning, in or near latitude 37½°, owing to the negligence of one of his mates, whose watch it was, his ship struck on a shoal, and was cast away near Feak's Island,† about ten leagues from the Capes of Virginia. There were on board thirty-eight seamen and passengers, of whom seven of the former and five of the latter were lost. The ship went to pieces the next day, and nothing could be saved except a hogshead of beaver, and a few articles which drifted ashore, of trifling value.

The intelligence of this shipwreck was brought to Boston by Mr. Hodges, a mate of Captain Peirce, and a letter was received from the Captain himself at Plymouth, where a considerable part of his cargo was owned, giving an account of his misfortune; more in the style of an "improvement" to an ancient sermon, however, than like the plain epistle of a hardy mariner. By this letter his friends learned that he

* Though the MS. was perfectly plain, the printer made this word read *sandals* on page 144, *ante*.

† Some of our ancestors seem to have had a disposition to perpetuate their names, or others had for them, by conferring them upon hills, islands, &c. With regard to the name of Feake, there has been rather a failure; for Feake's island has disappeared, at least from modern maps, and Mount Feake is known only to the reader of Governor Winthrop's Journal. How and when an island on the coast of Virginia received the name, I have not thought worth the pains of inquiry. In Cromwell's time, there was a "Mr. Feaks" who had the honor to preach before the Lord Mayor of London on some occasions.


Plan
of
BOSTON
in
1722
Hudsons Point
Harbor Point
Fort Hill
Beacon Hill
Long Wharf
Gibbs W
Hubbards W
Whitehorns W
Parkers W
Armorys W & Still H
Dorchester Point
1. Town House.
2. Governor's "
3. South Grammar School.
4. North " "
5. Writing School.
6. Writing "
7. Alms House.
8. Bridewell.
BOSTON planted A.D. 1630
A First Church Fou.d 1630
B Old North ... 1650
C Old South ... 1669
D Anabaptist ... 1680
E King's Chapel ... 1688
F Brattle St ... 1699
G Quaker ... 1710
H New North ... 1714
I New South ... 1716
K French ... 1716
L New Brick ... 1721

P. 8.

A. Bowen Sc.

had lost "his whole estate for the most part," and that they had lost what they had ventured, even their books of accounts; but nothing is said about the people and passengers that were drowned, about which all contemporary accounts are also entirely silent, further than these pages witness.* It was nine days after the ship was cast away before the survivors could find any English on the coast, during which time their sufferings were exceedingly great.

In the course of the month of May, two ships arrived with important freights at Boston, the William and Jane,† Captain Burdock. He had thirty passengers, "and ten cows or more." His voyage was accomplished from London hence in six weeks. The name of the other ship was the Mary and Jane, Captain Rose; she was one week longer than the other on her passage. In her came one hundred and ninety-six passengers. Two children had died by the way. In this ship came Mr. William Coddington and his lady, whom he had lately married.

May 29. The time for the meeting of the General Court having arrived, there were present the Governor, Deputy, Treasurer (Pynchon), Nowell, Coddington, Winthrop, Jr., Bradstreet. The Court proceeded, by erection of hands, to a choice of officers, and Mr. Winthrop was elected Governor, Mr. Dudley Deputy Governor, Mr. Roger Ludlow, Mr. Endicott, Mr. Pynchon, Mr. Coddington, Mr. Nowell, Mr. Winthrop, Jr., Mr. Bradstreet, Sir Richard Saltonstall, and Mr. Humfrey, Assistants, for the ensuing year.

Notice is taken by the early writers of the appearance this spring, "especially all the month of May," of innumerable "great sort of flies, like for bigness to wasps or humble-bees, which come out of holes in the ground, eat the green things, and make such a constant yelling noise as all the woods ring of them, and deafens the hearers." These "flies" were a species of locust, and this was their first appearance to the English settlers, concerning which they were ready to adopt the superstitious belief of the Indians, "that their appearance portended a great time of sickness;" not thinking that any other occurrence might as well bear the same interpretation, and that what always had happened through all time reached by history, would, in all likelihood, occur again.

June 2. Considerable disturbance was occasioned upon the arrival of Captain John Stone from Connecticut river. He had put in there on his way to Boston from Virginia. While he lay there, at the Dutch plantation, a pinnace came in from Plymouth. It is well known to the readers of New England history, that about this time a difficulty existed between the Dutch of New Netherlands and Plymouth Colony, about the right to territory on that river, though a more trifling affair appears to have occasioned the present difficulty. Stone and the Dutch governor had been free with liquor, and in that state the former

* Captain Peirce's letter may be seen entire in *Prince*, 428, *new edition*, or vol. ii. 87, 88, *old edition*. It was dated 25 Dec., 1632, and was received at Plymouth 7 April, following.

† So Winthrop, i. 102; but Prince, out of Bradford, read "William and John."

complained of an insult from the Plymouth people against his countrymen of Virginia; whereupon, with the approbation of the Dutch Governor of the place, Stone seized the Plymouth vessel, but did not keep it long. The next day, having become sober, Stone and the Governor, upon reflection, concluding they had committed an act which might cause them trouble, made up the matter with the Plymouth captain; and here the affair they expected would end. But Stone had not been at Boston long, before Captain Standish appeared in town, and proceeded to prosecute him for piracy. He was bound over to appear in the Court of Admiralty in England. The Governor and Council at Boston, understanding the extent of Stone's offence, wisely persuaded the complainants, that as no piracy could be made out of the case, and that to carry it to England "would turn to their reproach," to take no further steps in the matter; which, with some reluctance, they consented to do.

Captain Stone was a useful man in the line of his profession, but withal of rather a reckless temperament. But, so far as his character can be decided upon at this day, his improprieties were principally occasioned by intemperate habits. He was an early trader along the coast, and at this time brought "cows and some salt in his small ship" to Boston. He met a melancholy fate the following year, as will be seen in its order of time.*

June 15. The ship Elizabeth Bonadventure, from Yarmouth, Captain Graves, arrives with ninety-five passengers, after a passage of six weeks. She brought, also, thirty-four "Dutch sheep and two mares." Of the sheep "above forty" were lost on the voyage; but

June 19. every passenger came safe. A thanksgiving was appointed by the Authorities on the eleventh of the month, which is observed "in all the congregations," for their delivery from their enemies, and for the safe arrival of their friends.

July 2. Among other orders of a Court now in session, one was, "that the ground lying betwixt the North river, on the north side of Mr. Maverick's, and so vp into the country, shall belong to the inhabitants of Charlestowne." Another was, that Governor Winthrop "should have, towards his charges this year, one hundred and fifty

* Under date of 12 Sept., 1633, Winthrop records that Stone "carried himself very dissolutely in drawing company to drink, &c.;" and that for certain alleged conduct "with the wife of one Barcroft" [since Bancroft], he was proceeded against, and "his pinnace stayed, which was ready to sail;" whereupon he went to Mr. Ludlow, who had issued the warrant, and gave him abusive language. At this Ludlow "raised some company," took him into custody, and carried him before the Governor, who ordered him to be put in irons, and to await the decision of the Court. His irons, however, were taken off the same day. At the Court, the "great jury," being doubtless satisfied that the impropriety complained of was committed when "he was in drink," rendered a verdict "*ignoramus;*" a very righteous judgment, no one can deny, namely, that a drunken man is a fool. However, "for his other misdemeanors he was fined £100;" but, instead of exacting the fine, the Court ordered him to leave the jurisdiction, and, "upon pain of death, to come no more here," &c. If the curious reader desires to know other particulars of Stone's offence, he may consult Hubbard's *Hist. of New Eng.* 156. According to Morton, 175, "Capt. Stone had sometimes lived at [St.] Christopher's, in the West Indies;" of whom, he says, "I have nothing to speak in the way of commendation, but rather the contrary."

pounds." A man, for being drunk "on the Sabbath day" at Marblehead,* is fined thirty shillings. No person to be allowed to sell strong water to an Indian, without leave of the Governor. "Any man allowed to kill any swine that comes into his corn, but the owner may have the swine, if he pay the damage."

The Authorities of Plymouth having fixed upon making a trading establishment on Connecticut river, the people of Boston proposed to them to take a part in it. They entertained the proposition favorably, and a
July 12. meeting of those interested was held here to organize a company to carry out the measure. Governor Winslow and Mr. Bradford attended on the part of Plymouth; but, after six days' stay at Boston, they returned without effecting the object. The Boston gentlemen had somehow or other previously ascertained that the object was in no wise a practicable one, as there were, they argued, three or four thousand hostile Indians in the vicinity, and insuperable obstacles in the river itself, as shoals, bars, and ice. At first view these objections seem plausible enough, taking the want of a thorough knowledge of the country into account, under which they may reasonably be supposed to have labored. But when it is known that, not long after, they took possession of the same territory themselves, there may be a suspicion, very honestly entertained, that the decision against uniting with Plymouth was dictated by a disposition to overreach their neighbors; or, as would be said in modern times, their decision was "based upon political considerations." †

July 24. A ship came in from Weymouth. She had about eighty passengers on board. Having sprung a leak, she was forced to put into the Western Islands, where she lay three weeks. Owing to the "continual rain and extremity of the heat," sickness broke out among the passengers, which resulted in the death of several. Who they were, or what their condition, no record remains; thus it is in almost all such cases recorded in the early annals. Had there been any "of rank" among them, *their* names would doubtless have found a place in history; but they were probably the poor and destitute of the company, — the "forlorn hope" of a great empire, — whose names, like their bodies, lie hid beneath the waves of the Atlantic Ocean!

"Remarkable Providences" are everywhere to be met with in the age of the infancy of Boston; accidents and events, whether calamitous or fortunate, were regarded as special manifestations of the Deity

* Hitherto called Marbleharbor in the records. — *Prince.*

† We may suppose that Mr. Morton speaks the sentiment of the Plymouth people with regard to this transaction in what follows, from his *Memorial*, p. 172, ed. Davis. After stating that the Massachusetts men "cast in the way many fears of danger and loss, and did not proceed therein," concludes: "Whereupon those of Plymouth went alone, and prepared a frame of an house, and stowed it into a bark, ready to rear at their landing, and went up the said river and reared their said house, and fenced about with a palisado, which was done with great difficulty, not only of the Dutch but also of the Indians; notwithstanding, the place they possessed themselves of was such as the Dutch had nothing to do with, and likewise was bought of the Indians which they carried with them. And this was Plymouth's entrance there, who deserved to have held it, and not by friends [Massachusetts] have been thrust out, as in a sort they afterwards were."

to those whom such providence immediately affected. At this period two men were drowned in the harbor, under circumstances which caused particular notice to be taken of it by Governor Winthrop in his Journal.* Their names are not mentioned, but they were the "servants," or men in the employ, of John Moody of Roxbury. They went "in a boat to the Oyster bank" on the previous evening; but this "morning early, when the tide was out, leaving their boat unfastened on the verge of the channel, the tide quickly carried it beyond their reach, and they are both drowned, although they might have waded out on either side; but it was an evident judgement of God upon them." † This was unquestionably the sincere belief of Winthrop, because one of the men, he says, "a little before, being reproved for his" conduct, and reminded that he was in danger of hell-fire, answered, "that if Hell were ten times hotter, he had rather be there" than in his present service. For this foolish expression, and perhaps a reckless disrespect for himself, it was honestly believed by his religious and virtuous cotemporaries, that he had been thus cut off and sent to everlasting misery.

August 6.

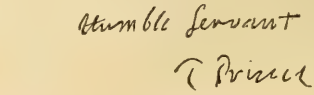
A "great scarcity of corn" is noticed this autumn, "by reason," says Winthrop, "of the spoil our hogs had made at harvest; there being no acorns; yet people lived well with fish and the fruit of their gardens." This scarcity caused the Court to order that "no man should give his hogs any corn, but such as, being viewed by two or three neighbors, shall be judged unfit for man's meat; that every plantation shall agree how many swine every person may keep, winter and summer." These orders were to take effect ten days after they were made. Such minute and fatherly legislation can scarcely be conceived of in this age, and, were it not well attested by the legislators themselves, it might be viewed as a fiction.

Nov. 5.

A small ship, of about sixty tons, was built this year at Medford, and named the Rebecca. She is often mentioned in the business of the Bay for several succeeding years, and was probably principally owned in Boston. Her first voyage mentioned is to Narraganset Bay, to receive a thousand bushels of corn of the Indians, which they had promised to

* By what rule or ordeal the Annotator of Winthrop charges a particular *belief* of our fathers as a *vice*, it might be difficult for him to explain. Some, we apprehend, will more justly charge, that he has fallen into precisely the same *vice* when he asserts that certain "judgments" favored one party or sect more than another.

† Thus far in this history I have had the aid and light of the Sun of New England history; nor will the attentive reader need be told that I refer to the Rev. Thomas Prince, who truly is, to all that went before him, as the sun to the stars. His *New England Chronology, in the Form of Annals*, is a model work, which nothing ever can supply the place of. It is unnecessary here to say anything further relative to the author or his work, as an account of both has recently been published in the *New Eng. Historical and Gen. Register.* — See vol. v. p. 375, &c. This note is made simply to bear testimony to the merits of a most ingenious author, and to apprize the reader that this Sun of history no longer shines upon us. He will be further noticed when we come down to the period in which he lived. The following facsimile is copied from an autograph letter, and was his usual closing salutation.



give Mr. John Oldham ; but she returned with five hundred bushels only, that being all the Indians could spare, as "their store was less than they expected." The same year she was sent on a voyage to England. The next year, 1635, she was employed coastwise ; and, in 1636, she brought "30,000 weight of potatoes from Bermuda," besides "store of oranges and limes."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Arrival of Mr. John Cotton. — Mr. Hooker. — Mr. Stone. — Mr. Peirce. — Mr. Haynes. — Family of Cotton. — Neglect of Family Pedigrees. — Cotton's Career. — His Cotemporaries in England. — — Dr. Sibbs. — Dr. Preston. — Mr. Perkins. — Cotton's Marriage. — A Second Marriage. — Mr. Thomas Leverett. — Cotton is informed against, and flies from Boston to London in disguise. — Here converts Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, Mr. Davenport. — Determines to come to New England. — His Voyage. — Son Sea-born. — Invitations to Settle. — His Ordination. — Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone. — Ordained at Newtown. — The Ship Bird arrives. — Oldham's Journey to Connecticut. — Workmen's Wages regulated. — Association of Ministers. — Trouble about the Fort in Boston. — Small-pox mortal among the Indians.

THE arrival of Mr. John Cotton at Boston marks an important era in its history. But it was not his arrival alone ; there came with him, at the same time, some of the best and ablest men that had hitherto set feet on these shores. Their arrival is thus recorded by Governor Winthrop, the man who was then on the spot to receive and welcome them.

"The Griffin, a ship of three hundred tons, arrived, Sept. 4. having been eight weeks from the Downs. This ship was brought [piloted] in by John Gallop, a new way, by Lovell's Island, at low water, now called Griffin's Gap. She brought about two hundred passengers, having lost some four ; whereof one was drowned two days before, as he was casting forth a line to take mackerel. In this ship came Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Stone, ministers, and Mr. Peirce, Mr. Haynes (a gentleman of great estate), Mr. Hoffe, and many other men of good estates. They got out of England with much difficulty, all places being belaid to have taken Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, who had been long sought for to have been brought into the high commission ; but the Master being bound to touch at the [Isle of] Wight, the Pursuivants attended there, and, in the mean time, the said ministers were taken in at the Downs. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone went presently to Newtown, where they were to be entertained, and Mr. Cotton stayed at Boston."

The family to which Mr. Cotton belonged may be easily traced to a high antiquity,* and it was long ago widely spread over England. He

* "About the latter end of Edward III." (1371), says Guillim, in his *Banner Displayed*, William Cotton, having married Agnes, daughter and heir of Walter de Ridware of Hampstall-Ridware in the County of Stafford, had a son John, who laid off the ancient arms of Cotton

was born in the town of Derby, and in the county of the same name. His father's name was Rowland Cotton,* a lawyer of some note,† and the Christian name, Rowland, was long, if not to the present time, perpetuated both in Old and New England. It is often difficult to trace the ancestry of even very distinguished men, because, being younger sons of younger sons, their hope of ever becoming heirs to a remote progenitor is not strong enough to cause them to preserve their pedigree; while their older relatives neglect the younger branches of the family tree from another and more apparent motive.

Mr. John Cotton was born in 1585, entered Trinity College, Cambridge, 1598, being then but twelve years of age. He soon became noted for his acquirements, and was admitted to the degree of Master of Arts in 1606. Soon after, he received the appointment of head lecturer, dean, and catechist, of Emmanuel College. Such was the brilliancy with which he discharged his duties, and such were the mildness and gentleness of his temper, that he was greatly beloved by the students. In 1608 he gained great applause by a sermon which he delivered in the Church of the University, and, among others, attracted the attention of Dr. Richard Sibbs and Dr. John Preston, men whose works soon after moved the whole age of the Puritans.‡

and adopted that of Ridware. That of Cotton was, Argent, a bend sable between three pellets; while that adopted was Azure, an eagle displayed argent. When Weever wrote his *Antient Funeral Monuments* (in 1631), he saw a pedigree of the Cottons in possession of Edmund Cotton, Esq., of Necton Hall in Bramble Barton, alias Barton magna juxta Bury St. Edmunds, about which he says, "The antient seat of the Cottons in Cambridgeshire is Lanwade-hall; many descents were higher, and before the father to the elder Sir John Cotton, Knt., who died near the beginning of Queen Elizabeth. This Sir John being the elder, had three brothers, whereof Edmund was the third from Sir John aforesaid, and sisters they had, &c. This elder Sir John had one son called by his father's name, Sir John Cotton, Knt., who, dying in the time of King James, left to inherit his estate, the only son," by Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Hoghton of Hoghton tower in the County of Lancaster, living in 1631, also named John. Edmund Cotton, the third brother above mentioned, married Ela, daughter and heiress of John Coniers, the only son of Robert Coniers, Knt., nearly allied to Lord Coniers of Hornby Castle, County of Richmond. This Edmund Cotton "had divers children" by his wife, Ela. George was his eldest son, "who had issue many children," of whom Edmund was the eldest, who, "in like manner, had issue, divers sons and daughters," whose oldest son and heir was Edmund of Necton Hall, above mentioned, who furnished Weever with the family pedigree. It is to a branch of this family of Cotton, that JOHN COTTON of Boston is believed to belong. But the means of showing to which branch is not known to be in this country.

* There was a Sir Rowland Cotton, Sheriff of Shropshire, 1616. Admiral Rowland Cotton died at Plymouth, Eng., 1794.

† "Our John Cotton," says his grandson, Dr. Cotton Mather, "besides the advantage of his Christian profession, had a descent from honorable progenitors, to render him doubly honorable. His immediate progenitors being by some injustice deprived of great revenues, his father, Mr. Rowland Cotton, had the education of a lawyer, bestowed by his friends upon him, in hopes of his being the better capacitated thereby to recover the estate whereof his family had been wronged." — *Magnalia*, B. iii. 14.

‡ Dr. Sibbs was a friend of, and intimate with, many of the fathers of New England. His name with that of our John Davenport is signed to several prefaces of the old Puritan quartos. They accompanied some of Dr. Preston's works: "The Saints Daily Exercise," now before me, is one. I have also before me, "Tvvo Sermons" of his, in a 4to tract, "Preached to the honourable Society of Grayes Inne, Iune the 21 and 28, 1635. Who the next Lord's day following, died, and rested from all his labours." A knowledge of these sermons would have been important to Mr. Neal, who places his birth in 1579, at Sudbury in Suffolk. Mr. Neal, and those who have followed him in their accounts of Dr. Sibbs, write his name *Sibbes;* but in the titles of all his books which I have seen (and they are many) his name is printed SIBBS.

It was under the preaching of the Reverend Mr. William Perkins,* a strict follower of Calvin, that he became convinced of the errors of the Established Church; "but he for a time resisted and smothered those convictions, through a vain persuasion that if he became a godly man it would spoil him for being a learned one;" and while he could not forego his attendance on such preaching, from his great natural love of truth, yet, "when he heard the bell toll for the funeral of Mr. Perkins, his mind secretly rejoiced in his deliverance. But Dr. Sibbs completed the work which Mr. Perkins had begun upon the youthful mind of Cotton. For a remembrance of which, and his thankfulness to Dr. Sibbs, he procured his portrait, which "he placed in that part of his house where he might oftenest look upon it."

Mr. Cotton had become somewhat obnoxious to many on account of the change in his principles before leaving the University; and he was elected to settle at Boston only by a mistake of the Mayor, who voted for, while he intended to have voted against, him. Probably few, if any others, could have been found, who, under such circumstances, would have held a place so long as Mr. Cotton did his at Old Boston; but he had a most happy way of dealing with his opposers, whom he would often silence without offending. Thus he was continued in his office for what, in these days, would be considered a very long term of years.

Soon after Mr. Cotton was settled at Boston, "his dear friend, holy Mr. Bayns," recommended a lady to him, whom subsequently he married; "one Mrs.† Elizabeth Horrocks, the sister of Mr. James Horrocks, a famous minister in Lancashire." On the day of his marriage he said, and no doubt truly, that "he first received the assurance" of his spiritual redemption; and hence it was a day of double marriage to him. With his first wife he lived eighteen years. She was then taken off by a sickness which likewise severely afflicted her husband, and incapacitated him from performing his ministerial duties a year or more; and within the compass of about a year he married a second wife, "one Mrs. Sarah Story, a vertuous widow, very dear to his former wife." He had all his children by this lady.

The storm which eventually burst upon the head of Mr. Cotton had been some time in gathering; and though delayed by "the discretion and vigilance of Mr. Thomas Leverett‡ (afterwards a doubly-honored elder of the Church in another land), yet, when the sins of the place had ripened it," he saw no other safety but such as flight might afford. Complaint being entered at the High Commissioned Court that "the Magistrates did not kneel at the Sacrament," and that some

* Though Mr. Perkins died at the early age of forty-six (in the year 1602), yet he found time to compose works, which it takes three ponderous folios to contain.

† Writers in Dr. Cotton Mather's time had not generally adopted the distinction since made between Mrs. and Miss.

‡ Mr. Leverett was an Alderman of Old Boston, and came to New England with Mr. Cotton. He was the father of Governor John Leverett, who came with his father to Boston, at the age of about 17. The Christian name of his wife only is known.—See *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* iv. 121, &c.

other ceremonies were unobserved also, "letters missive were despatched incontinently to convent Mr. Cotton" before that "infamous" Court. When Mr. John Rogers of Dedham heard that Mr. Cotton had been thus brought into trouble, "he spoke of it in his sermon with just lamentation," and predicted that the informer would "die under an hedge, or something else, more than the ordinary death of men, should befal him;" and this fate, it is related, actually happened to the "debauched" informer.*

Therefore, to escape "a perpetual imprisonment, as had already murdered such men as Bates and Udal, he concealed himself as well as he could from the raging Pursevants." Meantime application was made to the Earl of Dorset, to fulfil some engagement of protection which he had formerly made for Mr. Cotton; but, from some interference from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl returned answer, "that if Mr. Cotton had been guilty of drunkenness or uncleanness, or any such lesser fault, he could have obtained his pardon; but, inasmuch as he had been guilty of Nonconformity and Puritanism, the crime was unpardonable, and therefore he must fly for his safety."

Accordingly Mr. Cotton travelled in disguise to London, and there concealed himself. Up to this time he had not fixed upon New England as a place of exile. In London he had intercourse with several "conforming" ministers, whose conformity was, as they viewed it, a necessary deception, and they endeavored to induce Mr. Cotton to conform in the same manner. They therefore held a friendly conference with him upon the subject, in which the matter was freely debated. The arguments of Mr. Byfield, Mr. Whately, and Mr. Sprint were brought forward by Mr. Cotton's friends as unanswerable; but, when he replied to them, "the issue whereof was, that instead of bringing Mr. Cotton back to what he had now forsaken, he brought them off altogether from what they had hitherto practised; every one of those eminent persons, Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, and Mr. Davenport, now became all he was, and at last left the kingdom for their being so." †

* This was noted at or near the time of its occurrence by Mr. Nathaniel Rogers; which in the original MS. record is still preserved, in a branch of the Rogers family in New England. It is contained, with a great many other reminiscences, in a very small MS. volume, procured for me by my friend J. H. Fogg, M. D., of South Boston, about three years since. The record is as follows: —

"A Joyner y^t^ was y^e^ principall Persecut^r^ of Mr. Cotton and his people of Boston, w^ch^by y^t^ Congreg: was so broken and changed, dyed (1637) under an hedge of y^e^ plague; it striking first into his house, of all y^e^ town, and at length vp̄o himself, who in a rage went out and sate him [down] and dyed." The account in the *Magnalia* does not materially differ from this; the author may have had his account from Mr. Rogers, who was a son of Mr. John Rogers of Dedham, mentioned in the text, and settled in Ipswich, N. Eng., 1636.

† There is yet a conjecture among some antiquaries, that Mr. Goodwin may have come to New England; as, by the above passage from the *Magnalia*, it is certain he left England; but Mr. Neal, in his *Hist. of the Puritans*, ii. 716 (ed. 4°. 1754), clearly shows that "he went into Holland, and became pastor of an independent congregation at Arnheim. He went in 1639, and returned about the beginning of the Long Parliament." He was in great favor with the Protector, whom he attended on his death-bed. He died in 1679–80, in the eightieth year of his age. There was an edition of his works in 5 vols. folio, the third of which, now by me, is dated 1683. I suppose it is to this Dr. Thomas Goodwin that "Mr. Iohn Lawrence" refers in his preface

After determining in his own mind between Holland, Barbadoes, and New England, he set sail for the latter place. In this decision he was doubtless influenced very much by the pressing invitations of friends here, and "letters procured from the Church of Boston, by Mr. Winthrop, the Governor of the Colony."

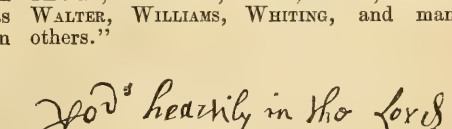
It has been very happily observed, "that the God that had carried him through the *fire* of persecution was now graciously with him in his passage through the *water* of the Atlantic Ocean, and he enjoyed a comfortable voyage over the great and wide sea." His arrival was hailed with exceeding joy by the "poor people in this wilderness;" who used to say of him, and the other two who came with him, that now their great necessities were supplied, "for they had *cotton* for their clothing, *hooker* for their fishing, and *stone* for their building." *

During the voyage of the Griffin, Mrs. Cotton was delivered of a son, to whom was given the name of Seaborn, and this was his first child. Arrived now in "New Boston," the history of the city becomes identified with that of Cotton,† and they must of necessity be continued together. "The new place of his adoption, especially upon the holy wisdom, conduct, and credit of our Mr. Cotton, upon some accounts of growth, came to exceed Old Boston in everything that renders a town

to his "Golden Trvmpet sounded at Pauls Cross," 1624, when he says, "I wish to live to requite some part of your courtesies," &c. There was a Mr. John Goodwin, a contemporary of Dr. Thomas. He had a large family, some of whom may have come to this country. Like Dr. Thomas, he was a learned Divine, and was the author of several works; one, now before me, entitled "The Divine Authority of the Scriptures Asserted," 4°. London, 1648, is accompanied by his "Efigie," from which his age is learned, namely, 47 in 1641. He wrote a book in defence of the execution of the king, which, after the *Restoration*, experienced the honor of being burnt with that of Milton's upon the same subject. Cotton's "Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven," London, 1644, was "published by Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye." That famous work by Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, "*Gospel Reconciliation; or, Christ's Trvmpet of Peace to the World*," was "Published (with a Testimony) by Thomas Goodwin, William Bridge, William Greenhil, Sydrach Sympson, Philip Nye, John Yates, and William Adderley." *Peter Cole* was the "Printer and Bookseller," who advertised, in 1657, "Eleven new books of Mr. Thomas Hooker, made in New England, attested in an epistle by Mr. Thomas Goodwin, and Mr. Philip Nye," and many other works by N. Eng. men, as Ward, Eliot, Mayhew, Stone, &c.

* Joshua Scottow was the first I have met with who published this play upon these names; but Mather, from whom the text is taken, leaves out his grandfather Mather's name. "A quaternion," says Scottow, "viz., Mr. Cotton, eminent for spiritual clothing, and Mather for celestial dying, Hooker for soul fishing, and Stone for building up in the holy faith." — *Narrative*, &c., 23.

† There have been many lives of Mr. Cotton printed, all, or nearly all, of which are based upon that excellent piece of biography of him in the *Magnalia;* of which it may not be too much to say, perhaps, that it is the best in that curious work. Norton's life of him is of no value in point of fact, or very little indeed. It is, probably, all its author intended it to be, a work to perpetuate the Christian principles of this eminent father. A very excellent pedigree of the Cotton family may be seen in the first volume of the *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Register*, prepared by Mr. J. Wingate Thornton. In another work, not yet published, the same gentleman notes the following families descended from Cotton: — "Byles, Brooks, Bradbury, Bourne, Cushing, Everett, Frothingham, Grant, Gookin, Hale, Jackson, Lee, Mather, Swett, Storer, Thayer, Thornton, Tufts, Tracy, Upham, Walter, Williams, Whiting, and many others."



considerable." This, though in a strain of highly-wrought eulogy, is adopted by the sober judgment of other and later writers.*

Oct. 10. After about a month Mr. Cotton was ordained teacher of the First Church; and, at the same time, Mr. Thomas Leverett was chosen a Ruling Elder, and Mr. Giles Firmin † was chosen Deacon. On the occasion of the ordination of Mr. Cotton, besides the "imposition of hands," the people were notified that they might sanction by their election the choice of the Teacher; or, in the words of one of the chief of the performers ‡ at the ordination, "he was chosen by all the Congregation testifying their consent by erection of hands." The same informer proceeds to describe the ceremonies at this early ordination, in these words: — "Then Mr. Wilson, the Pastor, demanded of him, if he did accept of that call? He paused, and then spake to this effect; that, howsoever he knew himself unworth and unsufficient for that place, yet, having observed all the passages of God's providence (which he reckoned up in particular) in calling him to it, he could not but accept it. Then the Pastor and the two Elders laid their hands upon his head, and the Pastor prayed; and then, taking off their hands, laid them on again; and, speaking to him by his name, they did thenceforth design him to the said office, in the name of the Holy Ghost, and did give him the charge of the Congregation, and did thereby (as a sign from God) endue him with the gifts fit for his office, and, lastly, did bless him. Then the neighboring ministers which were present did (at the Pastor's motion) give him the right hands of fellowship, and the Pastor made a stipulation between him and the Congregation." § Thus it was that Mr. Cotton came into his ministerial office in Boston, and thus are the peculiar exercises circumstantially detailed, which cannot fail to be gratifying to all those of succeeding generations who would know their obligations to the early fathers.

Oct. 11. The next day, after the imposing ceremonies by which Mr. Cotton was placed at the head of the Church of Boston, there was a great assemblage at Newtown, from all the settlements adjacent, for the purpose of ordaining Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone at that place, which was done "in such a manner as before at Boston;" the former

* Hubbard calls him "that miracle of learning and meekness." — *Hist. N. Eng.* 158. Hutchinson says, Cotton is supposed to have been more instrumental in the settlement of their civil as well as ecclesiastical polity, than any other person." Some have gone much further than this; that "his suggestions and recommendations in the pulpit were observed and adopted by the Church, while the magistrates were ready to adopt his private political counsels as the law of the land." — See Eliot, *Hist. First Church*, 21.

† Father of the author of that well-known work (to the last generation), "The Real Christian;" in the preface to which there are several valuable facts of a genealogical character. This son (of the same Christian name), who came over with his father, after about seven years returned to England, and died in 1697, at Ridgwell, in Essex, aged 80 years. — *Calamy*, i. 517, &c., where there is a particular account of him. Deacon Giles Firmin died before 6 Oct., 1634.

‡ Winthrop, *Journal*, i. 114.

§ *Winthrop*, i. 6. Hutchinson says, "The circumstances and order of proceeding in Mr. Cotton's ordination were intended as a precedent, and the congregational churches in New England have generally conformed thereto ever since." — *Hist. Mass.* i. 34.

as Pastor, and the latter as Teacher. At this ordination the gentlemen of Boston performed a conspicuous part.

Sept. 4. The same day that the Griffin arrived, arrived also the ship Bird, Captain Yates. She brought passengers, but how many is not known; she likewise brought some cows and four mares. She had a boisterous voyage, was driven far to the north, and was nearly three times as long at sea as the Griffin. Whence she sailed is not mentioned.

Meantime the adventurous John Oldham, with only three attendants, travelled by land from Boston to Connecticut. He followed the paths of the Indians all the way, and lodged with them in their huts by night; all of them treating him with kindness, and the Sachems making presents of beaver, in exchange probably for trifles. At his return he brought some hemp, "much better than the English, which grew there in great abundance;" also "some black lead, whereof the Indians told him there was a whole rock."

Oct. 10. By the arrival of the ship James at Salem, Master Graves, a considerable accession was made to the inhabitants of Boston. The same ship, with the same commander, had been here before; and then, as now, the time occupied in the voyage was eight weeks. He sailed from Gravesend, and, of his eighty passengers, twenty were for Boston, "and some sixty cattle."

The wages of workmen is this year again made an object of legislation, as also was merchandise. Three shillings a day for a carpenter, and two shillings and sixpence for a laborer, were thought to be "excessive rates," and the trader who charged for his goods double their cost in England was considered exorbitant; therefore the Court ordered that "carpenters, masons, &c.," should take but two shillings a day, and laborers but eighteen pence, and that no commodity should be sold at above four pence in the shilling more than it cost for ready money in England." One of the reasons urged for this order may excite a smile at this day, and amazement a hundred years hence. It was said that by such high wages many could earn enough in four days to keep them a week, consequently they had two days to spend in idleness! That this promoted indulgence in the use of tobacco and liquor, "which was a great waste to the Commonwealth." That, as the course of things had been, corn was now at six shillings the bushel, a cow at twenty pounds, some twenty-four, and some even twenty-six pounds; a mare thirty-five pounds, an ewe-goat from three to four pounds, &c.

There was a custom adopted this year, among the ministers, of meeting at each other's houses for the purpose of discussing questions of moment. These meetings have been considered by some * as the origin of the "Boston Association of Congregational Ministers."

* See Emerson's *Hist. First Church*, 20, 21. This Association "continues, every second Monday, in the afternoon, to hold a meeting for prayer, theological discussion, and social intercourse." — *Hist. Mass.* i. 34.

Some part of the work appointed to be done on the fort in Boston yet remained undone,* owing, it appears, to the neglect of the people of Salem, Newtown, and Saugus, to do the parts allotted to them. The Newtown people had been "warned," but Mr. Dudley "would not suffer them to come, neither did he acquaint the Governor with the cause." But the "cause" was, "that Salem and Saugus had not brought in money for their parts." When this was understood by the Governor, he wrote the Deputy a letter, stating the intent of the Court to be, that the work should be done by those in the Bay, and that the money assessed on the Salem and Saugus men was for another purpose. On receipt of this explanatory letter, Mr. Dudley wrote an answer, and despatched Mr. Haynes and Mr. Hooker with it to the Governor, who were authorized to treat upon the matter. On opening the Deputy's letter, the Governor found it "full of bitterness and resolution not to send till Salem had done its part." Mr. Winthrop returned the letter to Mr. Hooker, saying, "he would not keep such an occasion of provocation by him." A little time before this, Dudley had proposed to buy "a fat hog or two of Winthrop, being somewhat short of provisions." In this case, certainly, the Governor exercised the virtue of overcoming evil with good. He sat down and wrote to Dudley, offering him a hog as a present, and saying he would have sent it before if he had known when it would have been acceptable to him. However *hoggish* Dudley may have felt before the receipt of this letter, there was not much of that feeling left when he had read it; for he immediately returned answer to Winthrop, "that [Winthrop had], in overcoming himself, overcome him;" and though he declined receiving the hog as a present, he would gladly purchase it, "and so very loving concluded." And thus the affair seems, for the present, at least, to have ended.

Dec. 4. The cold seems to have been severe very early this fall. The snow was "knee-deep" on the fourth of December, and vessels were frozen up in the harbors.† At the same time, the small pox was

Dec. 5. making dreadful ravages among the natives. Sagamore John, a great friend of the whites, often mentioned before, died on the fifth of December, and his people died so fast, that Mr. Samuel Maverick of Winisemet buried above thirty in one day; for whose labors to alleviate their sufferings, his name "is worthy of a perpetual remembrance. Himself, his wife, and servants, went daily to them, ministered to their necessities, and took home many of their children." The people of the neighboring towns also took many of their children away, but most of them died soon after. Of all those who assisted the

* In September previous the Authorities made a requisition that "every hand, except Magistrates and Ministers, should assist in finishing the fort in Boston." — *Snow*, 63.

† "Mr. Wilson, by leave of the Congregation of Boston, whereof he was Pastor, went to Agawam [Ipswich] to teach the people of that plantation, because they had yet no minister. Whilst he was there, December 4, there fell such a snow (knee deep) as he could not come back for *several* days, and a boat which went thither was frozen up in the river." — Winthrop, *Jour.*, i. 118. Such weather is uncommon at this day, so early in December.

Indians in their sickness, but two white families were infected by it. At or about the same time, Sagamore James died, and most of his people also, of the same disease. It extended to the Pascataqua eastward, sweeping almost every native in the way.

At what place the small pox broke out first, the writers of the time do not state, but it was probably at some point to the westward of Boston, for it is certain that Chikataubat died of this disease about a month before Sagamore John. He had long been acquainted with the English; in 1621 he went to Plymouth, and signed a treaty with the Pilgrims. The territory over which he was Sachem is not distinctly bounded; it extended, probably, from Wessaguscus to Neponset. A son of his, named Wampatuck, gave a deed of Braintree to the English in 1665, and a grandson deeded Boston in 1695; but of this hereafter.

How far from the sea-board the pestilence spread, no certain information appears; nor is there much certainty how long it continued. It probably raged as long as there were new subjects for attack. Late in January, one John Seales returned to Boston from "a place twelve miles off," where he had been living with a small company of seven Indians. He reported, that, up to the time of his leaving, four of the seven had died of the disease. This man had run away from his master, with whom he had become dissatisfied, and he was now glad to run away from the Indians. He continued with them, probably, as long as they could be of service to him, but when his services were required for their benefit, the case was altered. Such examples have not been lost from that time to the present.

Some Pequots, who visited Boston several months later, reported that many of that nation had died of the small pox, and about the same time it was reported, that, of the great nation of the Narragansets, seven hundred had died. Also one Hall and two others, who went to Connecticut in the beginning of November, returned to Boston on the twentieth of January following, and reported that the small pox "was gone as far as any Indian plantation was known to the West, and much people dead of it." These men had been on a trading expedition, but the sickness ruined their enterprise. Of the Indian children attempted to be rescued from the malady by the people in and about Boston, all were dead but three before spring. One of the three had the singular name of *Know God;* which Winthrop says was given him because the Indians made such constant use of this phrase when accosted, "Me know God." This was a kind of countersign, which doubtless grew out of the constant importunity of their white brethren, inquiring "if they knew God?"

CHAPTER XIX.

Murder of Capt. Stone and others. — Market Day appointed. — First Tavern, and Store. — Thursday Lecture begun. — Lecture against Veils. — Cross cut out of the Colors. — Survey of the Town ordered. — Representatives first Chosen. — Great increase of Inhabitants. — First Election Sermon. — John Humfrey. — Mr. Andrew's Gift. — Enemies to the Colony in England. — The Patent demanded. — Emigrant Ships stopped at London. — Earl of Warwick. — Preparations for a Fort on Castle Island. — Some propose to remove to Connecticut. — First Entries on the Records of Boston. — Description of the first Book. — Origin of Select Men. — Various early Regulations. — The Triangular Warehouse. — Arrival of Eminent Men. — Opposition to the Removal to Connecticut.



THE year now commenced is one of thrilling interest in the history of New England, and to the people of Boston especially; as the centre of all undertakings, the fountain head of counsel and direction in the affairs of the country. This year was committed, or the knowledge of certain murders first reached Boston, which finally brought on the war with the Pequots, and which eventuated in their destruction, as a nation, or tribe of importance.

Captain John Stone, who had created some disturbance in Boston, the particulars of which have been detailed, sailed soon after to the eastward. At Agamenticus he was joined by Captain Walter Norton;* thence, in the autumn of 1633, he proceeded southward on his way to Virginia, and does not appear to have been heard from until the following winter. Then news was
Jan. 21. brought to Plymouth, that he had been murdered by the Pequots, as he was in a course of trade with them in the mouth of the Connecticut River. No steps, however, appear to have been immediately taken to investigate the affair, nor does it appear that any of the murdered men belonged to Boston, or any part of the Bay, as the settlements around the inner harbor were then termed.

Mar. 4. Meanwhile the business of Boston progressed, and a regular market was judged to be necessary. Accordingly the Court passed an order for the erection of a Market,† and for its being kept on Thursdays, on which days the public Lecture was held. At the same time a tavern was opened by Samuel Cole, and John Coggan opened a shop of merchandise. This was the first tavern and first shop opened in Boston. Hitherto every house was a house of entertainment, as well as a shop or store for the sale of merchandise. It was a long time, however, before stores became generally separated from houses of residence.

* Of the Christian name of Capt. Norton, there may be a question; but from some circumstances I am of the opinion that it is as I have given it in the text — Walter. As will be seen in our list of Freemen, *Gen. Reg.*, vol. iii., p. 90, Capt. Walter Norton is among those recorded 19 Oct., 1630. He probably went with others, not long after, to Pascataqua.

† "Erection of a mercate" is the language of Winthrop as rendered by his Editor. The true meaning I have no doubt is the "establishment" of a Market; for it is not very probable that a *building* for a market was contemplated at this early day. As will be seen from the records hereafter, reference is made to the "Market Place."

The Thursday Lecture,* which had its beginning in Boston, soon after the arrival of Mr. Cotton,† has, with some intermissions, been kept up until the present generation.‡ It was an excellent institution, and early exercised a good influence. Many of the discourses at this lecture were printed during the last century, and constitute a valuable portion of its literary history.§ At these lectures subjects were sometimes discussed which were of too secular a nature, as was then thought, for the pulpit on Sundays. Thus, Mr. Cotton took occasion at one of these early lectures to discuss the propriety of women's wearing veils. Mr. Endicott being present, he spoke in opposition to Mr. Cotton's views; and, "after some debate, the Governor, perceiving it to grow to some earnestness, interposed, and so it break off." What effect, if any, the lecture had to bring the veil into disuse here at that time, no mention is made. But about this time, whether before or after, is not quite certain, but probably before, Mr. Cotton lectured at Salem on the same grave question, with great effect. His arguments against veils were so conclusive to the females of the congregation, that, though they all wore them in the forenoon, in the afternoon they all came without them. This may have taken Governor Endicott by surprise, and he may have come up to Boston to counteract this wholesale, and, as he believed, unscriptural denunciation of a necessary appendage to the attire of all modest women, especially, as Mr. Williams and Mr. Skelton had proved conclusively from Scripture, that it ought to be worn in public assemblies.‖ For females to wear veils, they maintained, was no badge of superstition, while the Cross in the King's colors was evidently of that character; or so Mr. Endicott considered it, and he forthwith proceeded to cut it out. Roger Williams is accused of agitating this matter, and therefore accountable for the trouble that it occasioned; and as it was done in accordance with his views, it was of course condemned by all those who had denounced him as promulgating heretical doctrines.¶ Upon

Mar. 7.

* Under date 11 Dec., 1633, Winthrop writes, "The lectures at Boston and Newtown returned again to their former course, because the weather was many times so tedious as people could not travel, &c."

† It may be said rather, that his lectures were renewed on his arrival here, for he had held such lectures before he left England. See *Magnalia*, iii. 18. — At the end of two centuries, the Rev. Mr. N. L. Frothingham preached a sermon which he entitled, "*The Shade of the Past. — For the Celebration of the Close of the Second Century since the Establishment of the Thursday Lecture;*" and the Rev. Mr. R. C. Waterston, on the 14 Dec., 1843, preached "*A Discourse in the First Church on the Occasion of Resuming the Thursday Lecture.*" See *Chr. Examiner*, March, 1834, and Jan. 1844.

‡ "Of late years," says the *Christian Examiner*, "attendance on the Thursday Lecture has dwindled down almost, as it were, to non-attendance, except on the part of the liberal clergy of Boston and its vicinity. The walls of the Church on that day are almost bare, and consequently, in winter, extremely cold. Some desire its discontinuance; but, while others are attached to it by old associations, and the comforts and facilities of brotherly and ministerial intercourse which it affords, it is not likely that it will soon be given up." Vol. xvi. 129.

§ I have never heard of a complete collection of these, and very much doubt whether one could be easily made. Some thirty, only, extending over just one hundred years, 1714 to 1814, are in my own collection.

‖ Dr. Bentley asserts that Mr. Endicott had introduced the practice before the arrival of Mr. Williams, and that the latter supported it more to gratify Mr. Endicott and Mr. Skelton, than that he felt any interest in it himself. But this does not agree exactly with the well-known character of Roger Williams, as we understand it. See Knowles' *Life Williams*, 61.

¶ His cotemporary, Capt. Scottow, says, "This Child of Light walked in darkness about forty years, yet the root of the matter abode

this Mr. Hubbard sarcastically adds, "What that good man would have done with the Cross upon his coin, if he had any left, that bore that sign of superstition, is uncertain." Mr. Endicott cut out the red Cross from an entire conscientious conviction, that it was idolatrous to let it remain; arguing, and truly, that it had been given to the King of England by the Pope; and that it was a relic of Antichrist. Mr. Richard Browne, Ruling Elder of the church of Watertown, complained of the act to the Court of Assistants, as a high-handed proceeding, which might be construed, in England, into one of rebellion. To conclude the account of this matter by anticipating the order of events, it may be briefly stated, that the Court issued an attachment against Ensign Richard Davenport, then the ensign-bearer of Salem, whose Colors had been mutilated, to appear at the next Court. When that Court came together, which was a year after the Cross was cut out, "Endicott was judged to be guilty of a great offence;" inasmuch as he had, "with rash indiscretion, and by his sole authority," committed an act, "thereby giving occasion to the Court of England to think ill of them;" that, therefore, "he was worthy of admonition, and should be disabled from bearing any public office for one year."



ENDICOTT CUTTING OUT THE CROSS.

This affair of the Cross would hardly have been noticed, probably, but for the opportunity it afforded the people of Boston to punish those of Salem for their adherence to Roger Williams. And thus early is seen that spirit of dictation, which has ever since been conspicuous in this metropolis; and though it has, in a measure, made it what it is, it also shows, that, what Boston undertakes, Boston will do.

Meanwhile it probably occurred to the Authorities that they might delay further proceeding safely for the present; inasmuch as the same Authorities "being doubtful of the lawful use of the Cross in an Ensign." However, when it was thought the time had arrived in which some excuse should be sent over, and money had been raised to build a fort, to be employed in case excuses failed, the Governor and Assistants met Nov. 27. and agreed to write to Mr. Downing, their friend in England, "of the truth of the matter, under all their hands, that, if occasion were, he might show it in their excuse; for therein they expressed their dislike of the thing, and their purpose to punish the offenders, because the fact, as concerning the manner, was very unlawful." That Winthrop, and perhaps Cotton, were willing to connive at the depredation on St. George's Cross, is very manifest from several circumstances; only one, however, will be mentioned. Winthrop, about the same time,

in him: — Thus the Lord disposed of Satan's malice, so he was out-shot in his own bow."— *A Narrative of the Planting of the Mas. Col., &c.*, p. 21.

offered as great an insult to the King's Calendar, as Endicott had to his Colors; by utterly rejecting its "heathenish Roman nomenclature;" without even an apology for his conduct.*

Had there been no fear of a Royal Governor, little would probably have been heard about a mutilation of the Colors. For not above two months after this, "all the Ministers except Mr. Ward, of Ipswich, met at Boston, being requested by the Governor and Assistants," to consider what they should do, if a General Governor should be sent over? Also whether it was lawful to carry the Cross in their Banners? It was decided that they ought not to accept a General Governor; and, as to wearing Crosses in their Banners, they were divided, and were obliged to defer the matter to another meeting. At that meeting, which was in the following March, "Mr. Endicott being called to answer," the Court agreed no better than before; only it was agreed that for the present no Colors at all should be used.

April 1. Why the following order was made does not fully appear; it was, that an oath should be administered "to all house-keepers and sojourners, being twenty years of age and not freemen, and for making a survey of the houses and lands of all freemen."

Up to this time all the Freemen in the Province had been, or had the privilege of being, present at the General Courts, and of participating in making the laws by which they were to be governed. They had now become so numerous, that the attendance of all was quite impracticable. This state of things, however, was not contemplated in their Charter, but the propriety of having a less numerous body to transact the general business of the Commonwealth could not reasonably be questioned; though, according to Mr. Hubbard, the measure occasioned considerable disturbance, which, by the wisdom and prudence of "some private gentlemen, the trouble was prevented." Perhaps Mr. Winthrop's agency to bring about the proposed change may have been a reason that he was left out of the government, as he was. It was, however, agreed by concert beforehand, that two deputies from each town should "meet and consider of such matters as they were to take order in at the" next General Court.

May 14. Mr. Hubbard's plausible pretext for Mr. Winthrop's being dropped, is thus expressed:—"The Freemen, that they might not always burthen one person with the yoke of the government, nor suffer their love to overflow in one family, turned their respects into another channel;" and so elected Mr. Dudley Governor, and Mr. Roger Ludlow Deputy Governor. Mr. Haynes was chosen one of the Assistants, and Mr. Coddington Treasurer. At this Court it was determined that there should be four General Courts yearly, and that it should be

* Winthrop's Editor takes rather a strange view of this act. He says it "arose from a weak scruple," &c. He might as well have argued that the Reformation was founded upon "a weak scruple." That the convictions of our fathers were strengthened by time, of the absurdity of following "Romish Superstitions," is a very natural conclusion. That their opinions gained strength in a free wilderness, faster than they would have done under the restraints of arbitrary and sanguinary laws, is quite natural also.

lawful for the Freemen of each Plantation to choose two or three before every General Court to confer of, and to prepare, such business for, the next Court as they judged necessary to be acted upon; and that persons so selected by the Freemen should be fully empowered to act in the General Court for all the Freemen of the Commonwealth, in making laws, granting lands, in short, everything, excepting the election of Magistrates and other officers. Other reasons were given why the people should legislate by their representatives, instead of a general attendance of the whole. By such general attendance they were subjected to a great loss of time; * and, all the men being drawn from the border settlements, would leave them exposed to attack by the Indians.

The inhabitants of Boston and its vicinity had unprecedentedly increased since the emigration of 1630; "near twenty considerable ships every year, since the second," had arrived, "with such a number of passengers, that the inhabitants were forced to look out for new places of settlement, so that, in these four years, "every desirable place fit for plantation on the sea-coast was taken up." The places so occupied and named are recorded in this order by the early historian, Mr. Hubbard: — Salem, Charlestown, Boston, Dorchester, Roxbury, Watertown, Newtown, Lynn, Ipswich, Newbury, Hingham, Weymouth, "and, last of all, Concord, about twelve miles westward from Watertown, right up into the woods." †

At the late Election Mr. Cotton preached a sermon, ‡ and the practice was continued in succeeding years. They soon became as necessary a part of Election Day as any other of its ceremonies; and this was the first of the series of Election Sermons which, with few exceptions, has been kept up to this day. Whether there would have been a sermon by Mr. Cotton at this time, but for his wish to make known to the Freemen his disapprobation for their turning out the old officers, is not certain; but certain it is, he protested in strong terms "that a Magistrate ought not to be turned into the condition of a private man without just cause;" forgetting, in his warmth, that the Freemen were the

* The election this year occupied three days. — *Winthrop*, i. 132. The principal officers of the Government residing at Newtown, that town now became the seat of Government. But this Election was held in Mr. Cotton's meeting-house in Boston. — *Snow*.

† *Hist. of New Eng.*, 158. Two of the towns here named were not settled, however, till about a year later, yet there would be enough without them to substantiate the text of Winthrop's *Journal*, i. 128, namely, that two Deputies from each town attended the General Court of 14 May, of this year (1634), though his Commentator thinks that his Author should have written *three*, and not *two*, from each town; because he is of opinion that but *eight* towns sent Deputies; the names of whom he has given as follows from the Colony Records, and I have added the parts in brackets. A membership in the General Court did not then confer the title of Mr.

Mr. [William] Goodwin(1)
Mr. [William] Spencer(1)
Mr. [Richard] Brown(2)
Mr. [John] Oldham(2)
Mr. [Thomas] Beecher(3)
Mr. [Abraham] Palmer(3)
Robert Moulton(3)
Mr. [John] Coxeall(4)
Edmund Quinsey(4)
Capt. John Underhill(4)
John Johnson(5)
William Heath(5)
Mr. [John] Talcott(1)
Mr. [Robert] Feakes(2)
Mr. [George] Alcock(5)
Mr. Israel Stoughton(6)
William Felpes(6)
George Hull(6)
Capt. [Nath'l.] Turner(7)
Mr. [Thomas] Willis(7)
Mr. [Edward] Tomlins(7)
Mr. [John] Holgrave(8)
Mr. [Roger] Conant(8)
Mr. Francis Weston(8)

Thus Agawam, Hingham, Weymouth, Medford, Marblehead, &c., do not appear to be represented. But the Record does not state what towns were represented.

‡ I have been led to suppose that this sermon was preached *after* the Election, and not before it, as some have unhesitatingly stated.

(1) Cambridge.
(2) Watertown.
(3) Charlestown.
(4) Boston.
(5) Roxbury.
(6) Dorchester.
(7) Lynn (Saugus.)
(8) Salem.

judges of what might constitute "a just cause," and that rulers might be changed for very good reasons, without any imputation upon their integrity or ability to perform their office.*

During the month of June this year there arrived at Boston "fourteen great ships, and one at Salem." Among the gentlemen of special
July. note who now arrived was John Humfrey, Esquire, of whom mention has before been made.† He was the first Deputy-Governor of the Massachusetts Company, and was hindered from coming over in 1630 by the situation of his private affairs. This hindrance proved a fortunate thing for Boston; for, being a gentleman of high standing at home, he had great weight in counteracting the evil designs of the enemies of the Colony. His wife came with him; another proof of woman's fortitude and voluntary sufferings in a "forlorn wilderness," to encourage and uphold the pioneers of a vast undertaking for the good of posterity. Her sacrifices must have been greater than most others. She came out of the protection of an Earldom to accompany her husband here, with the full knowledge that the same undertaking had cost the life of the Lady Arabella Johnson, her sister, ‡ whom she did not expect to be a partaker of her privations, or a companion in her solitude. Mr. Humfrey had a large grant of land at Lynn, and there he settled soon after his arrival. At the end of about seven years' residence in the country, he returned with his wife to England.

Through Mr. Humfrey's influence, Boston received essential aid by contributions in money and other substantial gifts. One gentleman, Mr. Richard Andrews,§ of London, gave sixteen heifers, one of which he directed to be given to each of the ministers, and the rest to the poor. He afterwards made other donations. Mr. Humfrey brought ordnance, muskets, and powder, for the Colony, "bought for the public by moneys given to that end." Mr. Humfrey brought, also, propositions from many of the Nobility to become settlers in New England. These "propositions" amounted to questions of inquiry touching religious privileges.

Some of the ships lost many cattle; but of two that came from Ipswich, with above one hundred and twenty head, seven only were lost. At the same time, one ship only lost passengers. This was the Elizabeth Dorcas; which being "very ill victualled, and being hurt upon a rock at Scilly," which was the occasion of a long passage to

* Curious and interesting statistics about election sermons may be found appended to that of 1849, by Dr. John Pierce of Brookline, which he preached in the 76th year of his age, and which was among the last of the services of a long life. He died the same year.

† See *ante*, p. 52. In some early copies of that part of this work, 1632 was printed as the date of Mr. Humfrey's arrival, which is an error.

‡ Mr. Lewis has drawn a beautiful though melancholy picture of the situation of the Lady Susan at Lynn, in his history of that ancient town. See p. 115–16, where will be found some account of the family.

§ There was a *Thomas* Andrews, an Alderman of London, who, in 1648, was appointed one of the Judges at the trial of Charles. Richard Andrews may also have been an alderman. Thomas was Lord Mayor in 1651, not 1551, as printed in Mr. Young's collection of early matters about Massachusetts.

her, and one of extreme sufferings to the passengers, "whereof sixty perished at sea!"

The people of Boston were a good deal alarmed, about this time, from certain information, which they received from England, of movements prejudicial to their liberties. It appeared that a growing jealousy of the importance of the settlements had influenced "the Archbishops and others of the Council" to attempt to put a stop to emigration, and actually sent out warrants to stay the ships then ready to sail. They also commanded Mr. Cradock* to surrender the Patent, he being, or having been, the only legal Governor of the Massachusetts' Company. Mr. Cradock accordingly wrote to the Government here to send home the Charter. Meantime, the masters of the embargoed ships in the Thames, by good and prudent management, succeeded in being allowed to proceed on their voyage, for that time. And thus came Mr. Cradock's order for the return of the Charter, which was accompanied by a copy of the Council's Order† to him. This was a matter for serious consideration, and much of anxiety must have shown itself in the countenances of the Fathers of Boston. But as in other cases, so in this, they displayed the most consummate wisdom. It was in their power to procrastinate; they exercised that power, and thus is opened a portion of the sequel to what has already been premised.‡ Governor Dudley and his Council, "upon long consultation," first, whether they should return any answer to Mr. Cradock at all, and, secondly, if any, what it should be, finally agreed to write him, stating that they could not act in the matter without the authority of the General Court, and that there would be no General Court till next September. Thus, how much is due to the wisdom of the Authorities, and how much to the safety which three thousand miles of ocean afforded, may pretty satisfactorily be settled in the minds of all such as give the subject their attention.

About the same time, the Earl of Warwick, a great friend of New England, wrote an encouraging letter to Mr. Winthrop, in which he congratulated him on the prosperity of the settlement, and offered his services for its advancement.§

July 29. What the preliminary steps had been for erecting a fort on Castle Island does not appear; but now Governor Dudley and his Council repair to that island, with "divers Ministers and others," and there agreed upon erecting two platforms and one small fortification, and the Deputy-Governor, Mr. Ludlow, was appointed to oversee the work.

* He was member of Parliament for London, 1640, and died the same year. — See *Parliamentary His. of Eng.*, ix. *32. There was a Matthew Cradock, member of Parliament from Stafford, in the time of Philip and Mary, and was one of the members who "left it in disgust." There served in the same Parliament of 1640, with *our* Matthew Cradock, "Samuel Vassell."

† To be seen in Hubbard's *Hist. of New England*, 153.

‡ See *ante*, p. 64.

§ Several of the Puritan fathers' books, dedicated to this Earl, are in possession of the writer. He died 19 April, 1658, æ. 71, and was buried in Folstead church, Essex. "He was not content with hearing the long sermons of the Puritan divines, but he would have them repeated at his own house." — *Calamy, Fun. Ser.* in Granger. His residence is said to have been the finest in England.

Sept. 4. The time having arrived for the meeting of the General Court, it accordingly assembled at Newtown. It held a long and excited session; many subjects came up of great moment, among which a removal to Connecticut of an important part of the inhabitants of the Bay was one. This and other questions occupied the Court for a week, and then an adjournment for fourteen days was moved and carried. How much of the time of the Court was taken up in discussing the evils arising from the use of tobacco, "costly apparel, and immodest fashions," does not appear; but "pains and penalties" were prescribed for the special *benefit* of all such as presumed to indulge in them beyond specific bounds.

Sept. 1. The first book of the Records of Boston begins here; that is to say, what there is left of it, for the number of leaves torn off and lost is not known, nor when they were torn off and lost. The first entries now in being are in the autograph of Governor Winthrop.* It is probable that the first portion of the Records was occupied chiefly in the distribution and allotments of the lands of the peninsula,† and it may be that a list of the names of the residents was contained in the opening pages; but speculations of this nature are of small account. It is sufficient to state, that what now remains appears to be an entire book,‡ the first entry beginning at the top of the page, and is in these words: —

"Whereas it hath been founde that muche damage hath allreadye happnd by laynge of stones and loges neere the bridge and landinge place, whereby diverst boats have been much brusd; for p^r^vention of such harmes for tyme to come, it is ordered that whosoever shall vnlade any stones, lumber, or logges, where the same may not be plainely seene at highe water, shall sett vp a pole or beacon to give notice thereof, upon paine that whosoever shall faile so to doe shall make full recompence for all such damage as shall happen: being only declarative of y^e^ com. lawe herein." §

Against the above first paragraph in the Records are set in the margin the names of those persons who had the direction of the affairs of the town for the year, but how they were appointed does not appear. It will be seen in process of time, however, that similar officers received the name of Select Men. The following names, occupying the left-hand margin of the original Record, are presumed to have been present

* The first two paragraphs are written with blue ink, which is yet bright.

† It is Mr. Quincy's opinion, that "the assignment of house-lots within the peninsula, and the allotting farms to succeeding emigrants, formed the chief business of the town authorities for nearly half a century." — *Municipal Hist. of Boston*, p. 2. *That* was, very probably, *one* of their chief concerns; but they had several others which *they* thought of equal, if not of greater, moment.

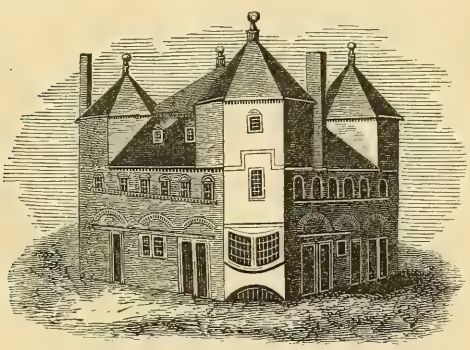
‡ It contains 161 pages, on foolscap paper. The paging and indexing was a comparatively modern labor, and from the pages running regularly through the book (from 1 to 161) it appears to be complete. The accompanying *fac simile* has been prepared at great cost, and is a faithful representation of half of the first page of the first volume.

§ Upon this last sentence Mr. Quincy remarks, "The persons passing this order, however, seem to have been under some apprehension lest their authority might be questioned." — *Municipal History*, p. 3. And well they might, for it will be remembered that, not many days before, their Charter had been demanded. That the future looked very critical to them is pretty certain.

when it was made; namely, JOHN WINTHROP, WILLIAM CODDINGTON, CAPT. JOHN UNDERHILL, THOMAS OLIVER, THOMAS LEVERETT, GILES FIRMIN, JOHN COGGESHALL, WILLIAM PEIRCE, ROBERT HARDINGE, and WILLIAM BRENTON.* The Record proceeds: —

"It is also ordered, that no person shall leave any fish or garbage neare the said bridge or common landing-place, between the creeks, whereby any annoyance may come to the people that passe that way, vpon payne to forfeit for every such offence five shillings, the same to be levied by distress of the goodes of the offender. And for the better execution of these orders, the aforesaid Giles Firmin is appointed overseer of said landing-place, to give notice to suche strangers and others as come hither with boats, and to take knowledge of all offences committed, and to levye the penalties which shall be forfeited. And if, after notice shall be given by the said overseer to any person that shall have any timber, logges, or stones, being without such pole or beacon, the said offender shall (after making recompence to the person damnified, if any damage happen) forfeit to the towne, for every daye the same offence shall continue, five shillings, to be levied by distresse." †

These extracts are supposed ‡ to establish the fact, that a narrow point or tongue of land projected into the harbor between Mill Creek and the Town Dock, and that upon and around this the principal business of Boston was at first done. The Triangular Warehouse, till 1824 an object of antiquarian curiosity, was built upon this point, though not until about sixty years after the period now treated of. It being thus introduced, it may not be improper in this connection to give an account of it.



THE TRIANGULAR WAREHOUSE.

For many years before the Triangular Warehouse was demolished it was an object of much interest, as a relic of ancient times, and as representing the style of

* There is one name in the MS. not entirely written out. This was crossed out apparently at the time it was written. I presume it was intended for *Edmund Quincy*. This person, whoever he was, may have been appointed one of the Town Officers, but not accepting the office, or otherwise prevented from being present. "Edmond Quinsey" was, at this time, an inhabitant of Boston, had been admitted a freeman 4 March, 1634.

† Nothing of a municipal character would be more natural, in a community associated for mutual benefit, than the choice or appointment of a few of their number to manage the general concerns of the whole. The missing portion of our Records would probably show this to have been among the first proceedings of the town. The name *select men*, which they eventually received, was easily, naturally, and almost necessarily, acquired; for men *selected* for any specific object were *select men*. The number of these *select men* may have varied from time to time before the time reached by the Records. There was a Town Meeting on the 8th of the 6th month, at which were chosen Richard Bellingham, Esq., J. Cogan, merchant, in place of Giles Firmin, deceased, and Robert Harding, now in Virginia, to make up the ten to manage the affairs of the town." Such officers first received the name Select Men in the Records in 1642.

‡ See Shaw's *Topog. and Hist. Descript. of Boston*, 73. Mr. Shaw is pretty good authority for facts of this nature, generally.

architecture in an early period of the history of Boston. The researches which have been made into its antiquities have not furnished data to establish the exact time of its foundation, but Mr. Shaw says it was "about the year 1700." In a "ledger-book" of the owners, that writer found some items * relative to the subject, but nothing concerning its time of building; though he says it was built by London merchants for a warehouse, and was subsequently improved for different purposes, both public and private. It stood opposite the Swing Bridge, so well known one hundred years ago, and at the head of the Town Dock, and measured forty-eight feet upon it; on Roebuck passage it measured forty-one feet, and on the back side fifty-five feet. Its foundation was of stone, and its walls of brick. These were of a larger size than the bricks of the country in later times. Its roof was slated. "There were two principal stories, with a good cellar underneath. The lower story appeared to have been arched, with very many doors and windows. On each corner and in the centre of the roof there was a tower, topped with a ball. The centre ball was of wood, the others of stone; all fixed on iron spires, set in lead." † There was a period in its history when it was the central point of the heaviest business done in the town, and here, for a long time, the public scales were kept. But, like every other structure of human art, it was doomed to sink into insignificance, as Time's heavy hand continued its pressure upon it; until its great agent, Improvement, came to its relief, and saved it from the mortification of crumbling to dust with the weight of years.

Sept. 18. In the midst of the stirring affairs which occupied the General Court now in session, there came in the ship Griffin, with about two hundred passengers, and one hundred cattle. Among the passengers were Mr. John Lathrop, Mr. Zachariah Synmes, and Mr. William Hutchinson. Of the trials and misfortunes of the latter gentleman notice will be taken in the order of their occurrence. His wife and several children came with him. He resided in Boston until the *Antinomian* controversy compelled him to remove to Rhode Island, over which colony he was the first Governor. Alford, in Lincolnshire, about twenty miles from Boston, was the place whence this family emigrated. Ann Hutchinson, who gave rise to the "Antinomians and Famalists" in New England, was the wife of this William Hutchinson. Her maiden name was Marbury, a daughter of Mr. Edward Marbury,‡ "a godly minister of Lincolnshire," and also of London. These were the ancestors of one of the most distinguished Governors of Massachusetts, Governor Thomas Hutchinson. Mary, the sister of Mr. William Hutchinson, married Mr. John Wheelwright, also involved in the Antinomian troubles. Susannah, the mother of Mr. William Hutchin-

* "1714. To Cash for ground rent two years, £2 4*s.* — To Benjamin Hallowell, 11*s.* 9½*d.* — To Cash for a ladder, 17*s.* — Paid Mr. Manly for repairing the tiles and slates. — Cash for extraordinary charges when the cellar was overflowed, 15*s.*"—*Descript. of Boston*, 73.

† "It was constructed with great strength, and the foundation stood upon a sandy marsh, beneath which there is found a solid blue clay, at about thirteen feet below the level of Ann Street." — *Snow.*

‡ See *Rise, Reign and Ruin of the Antinomians*, &c., p. 33.

son, probably came with him to Boston. The fame of Cotton, no doubt, had induced them to follow his fortunes into "these goings down of the sun."

Among the acts of the General Court, six hundred pounds was ordered to be raised "towards fortifications and other charges; which were the more hastened," says Winthrop, because, by one of the ships just arrived, there came over a copy of the commission for taking away their Patent.* Thus this act can only be construed as intended to resist the power of England. To return to the Records of the Town:

Dec. 10. "At a generall meeting vpon publick notice. Imp^{s}. It was ordered that Mr. Willson, the Pastor (in lieu of his land granted him at the North river, by Mestick, wch he should passe ouer to the towne of Boston), should have so much land at Mount Wooleston at his election. And after so much as shall be his portion of other lands belonging to the towne, to be laid him out so neere his other lands at Mount Wooleston as may be for his most conveniency." †

Dec. 18. At a meeting eight days after, ‡ "vpon publique" notice, it was agreed that "Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Coddington, Mr. Bellingham, § Mr. Cotton, Mr. Ollyver, Mr. Colborne, and William Balstone, shall have power to divide and dispose of all such lands belonging to y^{e} towne (as are not yet in y^{e} lawfull possession of any pticular prsons) to the inhabitants of y^{e} towne, according to y^{e} orders of Court; leaving such portions in comon for y^{e} vse of newe comers, and y^{e} further benefitt of y^{e} towne, as in theire best discretions they shall thinke fitt; the ilands hyred by y^{e} towne to be also included in this order."

The project of a removal to Connecticut of many distinguished settlers in and about Boston, caused great agitation in the town and

* See *ante*, p. 172.

† It was judged proper to introduce a few of the early entries from the Records, exactly as they are recorded, that the reader may have a just understanding of the manner in which the early public business of Boston was transacted.

‡ Winthrop, in his *Journal*, i. 151, speaks of a Town Meeting on the 11 Dec., "to choose seven men who should divide the town lands among them." From the same source we learn that the seven men were chosen by written ballots; or, to use his words, "by papers." At this meeting they left out Winthrop, Coddington, "and other of the chief men; only they chose one of the Elders and a Deacon, and the rest of the inferior sort." (But the names of the "inferior sort" are not given.) This they did, "as fearing that the richer men would give the poorer sort no great proportions of land, but would rather leave a great part at liberty for new comers and for common, which Mr. Winthrop had oft persuaded them unto, as best for the town." —*Ibid.*, 151–2. However, Mr. Cotton interfered, and influenced the people to reconsider their election of the 11th, and to hold another on the next lecture day, which they did, the doings of which comprise the next entry on the records, namely, Dec. 18th. The choice made the previous lecture day is not recorded, except by Winthrop in his Journal.

§ Some very interesting original letters, by a relative in England, are published in the *New England Hist. and Gen. Reg.* for April, 1853. His name is prominent in our history for a long period, and though the Quakers handle his name without *ceremony*, if not without mercy, and while it must be confessed they had reason to do so, yet he was not without eminent virtues. A town in the State perpetuates his name. A Henry Belyngham was Proctor of New College, Oxford, 1598. — *Gutch's Apx. to Wood.* A Sir Henry Bellingham was High Sheriff of Yorkshire, 1596. He married a daughter of Francis Boynton (a family traceable to Bartholomew de Bovington, living at the beginning of the 12th century). Our Richard was, no doubt, of the Yorkshire Bellinghams. Much of interest may be found concerning branches of the Bellinghams in Fuller's *Worthies* and Nichols' *Progresses*. Gov. Bellingham died 7 Dec., 1672, in his 81st year. He was the last of the Patentees. — *Int.-leaved Al'ck of Judge Sewall*, in the hands of Mr. Frederic Kidder.

vicinity. It was a subject of legislation, and was debated with much earnestness in the session of September, and also at the adjourned meeting, fourteen days later. The chief argument against a removal was, of course, made by those in authority residing in Boston and its immediate neighborhood. They very reasonably argued that, without a division, they were weak, and exposed to invasion; from the French by sea, and the Indians by land. But Mr. Hooker, as head of the Church at Newtown, urged their straitened circumstances for want of land. They had had from Captain Oldham and others glowing accounts of beautiful meadows along the Connecticut, and this was an important consideration, as they had many cattle to be provided for in an approaching winter; and while nothing is said about the meadows hereabout having been taken up and appropriated before their arrival; that Boston had already or might soon exercise an undue influence over the adjacent towns; that the offices had begun to be pretty sharply contested; that so many men of acknowledged ability and capacity, in one small community, afforded but a distant prospect of a just appreciation of them all, and hence the prospect of their being called into exercise being small and remote; — that all these considerations were taken into account may be more than probable.* However, those who advocated a removal were bound to abide the decision of the General Court. They did abide it; and when the day came to take the question, they got a majority of votes for removal.† From the time of this decision until October of the next year, preparations went steadily on for a removal; and, though no doubt some went in the mean time, it was not till the twentieth of October, 1635, that the main body of the settlers, consisting of "about sixty men,‡ women, and children, with their horses, cattle, and swine," set off, like the ancient Israelites, for their Land of Promise, upon a journey through a dense wilderness, which occupied them fourteen days in its accomplishment.§ Though the loss of so many worthy inhabitants from this

* Hubbard says, "two such eminent stars, such as were Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, both of the first magnitude, though of differing influence, could not well continue in one and the same orb."—*Hist. New Eng.*, 173. "Mr. Cotton had such an insinuating and melting way in his preaching, that he would usually carry his very adversary captive after the triumphant chariot of his rhetoric." — *Ibid.*, 175.

† While the matter was thus in debate in the General Court, some of Watertown took the opportunity of seizing a brave piece of meadow aimed at by those of Newtown, which, as was reported, proved a bone of contention between them, &c. — Hubbard, *N. Eng.*, 177.

‡ Some idea of the individuals composing this company may be had (that is, the names of the men) from a list of those who owned land in Hartford in 1639, four years after the great emigration. Until this year (1639) no catalogue of the inhabitants appears; then the Town Records of Hartford begin, or then the owners of lots were entered in a book. — See Dr. Joel Hawes' *Centennial Discourse* at Hartford, 9 Nov., 1834, to which is appended a list of the names here referred to. See also elaborate *Historical Notes on Connecticut*, by Mr. W. S. Porter, 12mo, 1842.

§ "Hearing of a very fertill place," says Johnson, "upon the river of Canectico low land, and well stored with meddow, — this people, seeing that tillage went but little on, resolved to remove and breed up store of cattell, which were then at eight and twenty pound a cow, or neare upon. But these men, having their hearts gone from the Lord, soone tooke dislike at every little matter; the plowable plaines were too dry and sandy for them, and the rocky places, although more fruitfull, yet to eat their bread with toile of hand, and how they deemed it insupportable. And they only waited now for a people of stronger faith than themselves were, to purchase their houses and land; accordingly they met with Chap-

then weak and feeble community was heavily felt at the time, it was more than made up, in numbers at least, by immediate arrivals from England, as will be marked in the sequel. Meantime there was little satisfaction in the consideration, that those friends who had thus buried themselves in the wilderness had lost much in security, whatever they might gain in lands and liberty.

CHAPTER XX.

Pequot Messengers visit Boston. — Fail in their Object. — Others arrive, — and are successful. — Their Detail of Stone's Death. — Some Narragansets appear in the Neighborhood. — Pequots fear being intercepted by them. — They conclude a Treaty. — Their Diplomatic Skill. — Not so Treacherous as represented. — Incident in the Life of John Eliot. — Ship Regard arrives. — John Mansfield. — Casualty. — Town Meeting Proceedings. — Orders about allotting out the Land. — About Fences and Gates. — School Master. — Regulation about Litigations. — Apprehensions from the French. — La Tour's Gasconade. — Severity of the Winter. — Israel Stoughton. — Bullets pass for Money. — Roger Williams. — Election. — Governor Haynes. — Manner of Election. — Captain Hurlstone. — Captain Graves. — Many Ships arrive. — Terrible Storm. — Richard Mather. — Ship Angel Gabriel lost. — Another, with many Lives. — Arrival of distinguished Men. — Vane, Peters, Shepard. — Further Trouble about Roger Williams. — His Banishment. — Arrival of Capt. Lyon Gardiner.



THE affair of the murder of Captains Stone, Norton, and others, by the Pequot* Indians, seems not to have occupied much of the attention of the Authorities in Boston since their occurrence until the present time, and would not probably now, had not the Pequots themselves moved in it. This they hardly would have done had they been innocent. But being desirous to be thought so by the people here, Sassacus, their chief Sachem, sent a messenger to conciliate them. He brought two bundles of sticks to designate how many beaver and other skins, and how much wampum, he would pay to have the matter passed over without further notice. After exchanging a few presents with Mr. Ludlow, he was dismissed with this message to his Chief, "that he

Oct. *end.*

men, a people new come, who having bought their possessions, they highed them away to their new plantation." — *Wonder-working Providence*, 75–6.

* The following are a few of the variations of the spelling of this name: —

PEQUOTS. — *Gookin, Mason, I. Mather, Williams, Winthrop, Johnson, C. Mather.*
PEQUODS. — *Hubbard, Gookin, Winthrop, Hutchinson, Douglass.*
PEQUANTS. — *Wood, Vincent.*
PEQUETS. — *Vincent, Pynchon, Underhill.*
PEQUINS. — *Winthrop, Recs. U. Cols.*
PEQUEATS. — *Underhill.*
PEQUITS. — *Gardener, MS. Letters, Short Story.*
PEKODS. — *Winthrop.*
PEQUIDS. — *Stoughton in Winthrop, MS. Letter.*
PECOATS. — *Winslow.*
PECOITS. — *Doc. in Hazard.*
PECOATES. — *Gov. Dudley.*
PEQUTS. — *Roger Williams.*
PAQUOATS. — *Treaty of* 1638.
PECQUOTS. — *MS. of E. Rawson.*
PEQUITT. — *Gookin, Denison.*
PECOTTS. — *Recs. U. Cols.*
PEACOTTS. — *Recs. U. Cols.*
PEAQUODS. — *Johnson.*

Other variations might be found, but these will suffice to show even the curious, probably, that the early writers considered the orthography of Indian names as a matter of no consequence. *Pequot* signifies *grey fox*, hence the Grey Fox Indians.

must send persons of greater quality," and then the Governor would treat with them.

Nov. 6. Two other messengers soon appeared. They brought a present of wampum, and, it being lecture day at Boston, the Assistants and Ministers held a sort of Council with the Indians. They were told that the English were willing to be friends with them, but that they must first give up those Indians who had murdered their countrymen. The Pequots seem to have been well prepared to defend their cause, and to justify what had been done by their people. They said that their Sachem, who was alive when the Englishmen were killed, was dead; that he had been killed by the Dutch; and as to the men engaged in the murder, they had all died of the small pox but two. These two, if worthy of death, they said they would move their Sachem to have them delivered up; but "they had no authority to do it." Respecting the killing of the Englishmen, it was done in self-defence; or this was the sum of the argument of the Pequot messengers. They said that Captain Stone and his men took two Indians, and, binding them hand and foot, made them show him up the river; that they were watched by nine Indians, and when they came on shore, and were asleep, they killed them; that then going towards the pinnace, it suddenly blew up. "This," says Winthrop, "was related with such confidence and gravity, as, having no means to contradict it, we inclined to believe it." However, Governor Dudley not being present, nothing was decided.

Nov. 9. Within a day or two, it appears that the Indians had an interview with Governor Dudley and his Council, and a treaty was concluded.* In the mean time, news reached Boston that two or three hundred Indians of the Narraganset tribe were lying about Neponset, and were waiting to intercept the Pequot ambassadors. This created a great sensation. The soldiers seized their arms and rendezvoused at Roxbury without loss of time. There also assembled the officers of Government, who at once despatched a messenger to the Narragansets, with a request that they would meet them at their camp without delay. The Indians attended the summons immediately. The English were somewhat surprised when they found that instead of three hundred, no more than two Chiefs and about twenty others were all that were in the company; and, that, instead of a hostile expedition, they were upon a hunting excursion only. The English, not fully understanding their design, probably, began to treat for the privilege of a safe return of the Pequots. They were told that these Indians had promised them a large amount of wampum, in a treaty just concluded, and that, if they would not molest the Pequots, they should have a part of it,—when they got it. The Narragansets were a magnanimous people, and they very readily agreed to the proposal, "and in all things showed themselves very ready to gratify the English, and departed well satisfied," and the Pequots returned in safety. Thus affairs with the Indians remained for the present.

* Particulars in The Book of the Indians, Book ii. 166–7.

But it afterwards appeared that the Pequots had got both the Dutchmen and Narragansets against them, and they had concluded to make some sacrifices to secure the friendship of the English. This was the key to their solicitude to adjust the affair of Captain Stone's death. Whoever in after times shall have the curiosity to investigate the political history of the Pequots, cannot fail to come to the conclusion, that if they had learned diplomacy in the schools of Europe, they could not have managed this matter with better success, thus far.

The Pequots were accused of treachery in their proceedings; but it would not be difficult to soften this charge into one merely of retaliation. Circumstances have a thousand times occurred, in which individuals as well as nations have mistook the one for the other. The Pequots had "treacherously" killed some Indians who came to the Dutch settlement on the Connecticut to trade. Is there any proof that this was not an act of retaliation? The Dutchmen had killed Totobam,* the Pequot Chief. Is there satisfactory proof that this was not an act of treachery on the part of the former? Mere assertion on the part of a historian will not settle cases like these.

A circumstance, amusing if not instructive to the present generation, grew out of the treaty with the Pequots. Mr. Eliot, of Roxbury, took occasion in a sermon to censure the Ministers, who had participated in making the treaty, for doing so without the advice of the people. Perhaps Mr. Eliot had not been consulted; however, the people began to reiterate Mr. Eliot's sentiments, which, coming to the ears of the Authorities, order was taken that "he should be dealt with." Accordingly Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Weld were appointed "to deal with him," which they proceeded to do; the result was, he was brought to see his error, and did "acknowledge, that for a peace only, the Magistrates might conclude *plebe inconsulto*,† and so promised to express himself in public next Lord's day."

Nov. 13. A ship named the Regard, of about two hundred tons, arrived at Boston. She came from Barnstaple, and had on board twenty passengers, and about fifty cattle. One passenger is mentioned by name, John Mansfield, "a poor godly man of Exeter," who "being very desirous to come to New England, and not able to transport his family, a Mr. Marshall of that city being troubled in his dreams about the said poor man, could not be quiet till he had given him fifty pounds to enable him to go, and lent him one hundred pounds more." This man was the son of a knight, Sir John Mansfield, "Master of the Minories" and who had been one of Queen Elizabeth's Surveyors. His sister Elizabeth was the wife of Mr. John Wilson, the first Minister of Boston, and Anne, another sister, was the wife of Captain Robert Keane, of Boston.‡

Nov. 21. In one of those severe north-east storms, so common on all the coast of New England, a boat was lost in the harbor, and John

* Broadhead, *Hist. State of N. York*, 234, has his name *Tatoepan*.

† That is, without taking advice of the rabble.

‡ Notes to Capt. Keane's Will, by Mr. John Dean, in *N. Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, vi. 156.

Willys,* "a godly man, one Dorety, an honest man, and two boys" were drowned. Three days after, their boat was found at Muddy River, overturned." They had been to Noddle's Island for wood, with which probably they had overloaded their boat, and attempting to return in the night, "and none of them having any skill or experience," were thus unhappily lost.

Feb. 12. It was ordered, in Town Meeting, that "all the inhabitants shall plant, eyther vpon such ground as is alreadie broken vp or inclosed in y^e^ Neck,† or else vpon ground at Noddles Island, from Mr. Maverakes graunt;" able men to have two acres each, and "able youth one each, to be allotted out by Mr. Hutchinson,‡ Mr. Cogan,§ Mr. Sampford,‖ William Cheesbrough ¶ and Mr. Brenton,(*) or any three of them." Every man to make his fences sufficient for all his planting ground on the Neck, "vpon paine, y^t^ if any losse doe come for defect therein," the owner of such fence to make it good, "vnlesse it doe come by vnruly cattell." "All y^e^ fences bee made sufficient before y^e^ seventh day of y^e^ second month, and they to bee looked vnto by our brother Grubb,(†) and brother Hudson,(‡) for y^e^ New Field; o^r^ brother Pennyman,(§) and brother Colborne,(‖) for y^e^ field by him; our brother Penn,(¶) and brother Belcher,[*] for y^e^ Fort Field."

Mar. 23. "Att" another "gen^r^all" meeting, it was agreed that overseers of fences should see that "such Styles and Gates as may bee needfull," should be put up: "brother Wilebore,[†] to see to y^e^ Gate and Style next vnto Roxburie." And "whereas y^e^ wood vpon y^e^ Neck of land towards Roxburie,[‡] hath this last winter beene disorderly

* Mr. Jo. Willust, freeman, 6 Nov., 1632.

† By *the Neck*, as used here, the whole of the Peninsula was meant. More recently, that part only which connects Boston with Roxbury was so denominated. Wood, in his *N. Eng. Prospect*, p. 32, says, "This Necke of land is not above foure miles in compasse," &c. — See *ante*, p. 139–41.

‡ William Hutchinson, freeman, 4 March, 1635. — See *ante*, pp. 175–6.

§ John Coggin, freeman, 5 Nov., 1633. — See *ante*.

‖ John Sanford? — John Sampeford, freeman, 3 April, 1632.

¶ William Cheesebrough, freeman, 18 May, 1631. — See *ante*, p. 126.

(*) William Brenton, freeman, 14 May, 1634. He afterwards settled in the Narraganset country, R. I., and was ancestor of the late English admirals of the name. — See Brenton's *Naval Hist.* and O'Byrne's *Naval Biog.*

(†) Thomas Grubb, freeman, 4 March, 1633.

(‡) William Hudson, freeman, 18 May, 1631. Francis, son of William Hudson of Chatham, Co. of Kent, Eng., was one of the first who set foot on the peninsula of Boston. He died 3 Nov., 1700, aged 82. — *Farmer out of Sewall.*

(§) James Pennyman, freeman, 6 March, 1632.

(‖) Mr. William Colbron, freeman, 19 Oct., 1630.

(¶) James Pen, freeman, 19 Oct., 1630.

[*] Mr. Edward Belchar, freeman, 18 May, 1631.

[†] Samuel Wilboare, freeman, 4 March, 1634. — This name has undergone various changes of orthography; some families adopting one spelling, and some another. It is sometimes written Wildbore, Wilbur, Wilbore, &c.

[‡] Thus the question, whether wood formerly grew here is clearly set at rest by this record. It is difficult to account for the passage in the *New Eng. Prospect*, by that accurate observer, its Author, which is in these words: — "Boston is two miles north-east from Roxberry; this situation is very pleasant, being a peninsula, hem'd in on the south side with the Bay of Roxberry, on the north side with Charles River, the Marshes on the backeside, being not halfe a quarter of a mile over; so that a little fencing will secure their cattle from the woolves. Their greatest wants be wood, and medow ground, which never were in that place; being constrained to fetch their building timber, and fire-wood from the ilands in boates, and their hay in loyters: It being a Necke, and bare of wood: they are not troubled with three great annoyances; of woolves, rattle-snakes, and musketoes. These that live here upon their cattle, must be constrained to take farmes in the countrey, or else they can-

cutt vp and wasted, whereby many of y^e^ poore inhabitants are disappointed of releife," therefore it is agreed "y^t^ Mr. Treasurer Bellingham and Mr. William Hutchinson, w^th^ the three deacon's shall consider whoe have beene faultie herein, and sett downe what restitution of wood vnto the poore such shall make."

The business of the meeting being retarded probably, by persons attending to and discussing their private affairs, caused the following order to be passed, namely, "y^t^ whosoeu^r^ at any publique meeting shall fall into pryvate conference to y^e^ hindrance of y^e^ publique businesses, shall forfeit for euery such offence twelue pence, to bee paid into y^e^ Cunstable's hand for publique vse." At the same meeting, the Record reads, "It is gen^r^ally agreed y^t^ noe wood shalbe felled at any of the islands nor elsewhere, vntill they bee lotted out, but att Muddy Ryver, Dorchester Necke or Noddles Island; y^t^ all y^e^ wood as yet left vpon y^e^ Necke of land towards Roxburie, shall bee gathered vp and layd or heaped in pyles" before the seventh of April next.

April 13. The Town ordered that all the "drye cattle put vnto our brother Cheesbrough for keeping att Pullin Point Necke vntill the first of y^e^ ninth month, shalbe at the rate of five shillings a head vnto him. Likewise it was then gen^r^ally agreed vpon, y^t^ o^r^ brother Philemon Pormont* shalbe intreated to become schoolmaster for the teaching and nourtering of children w^th^ vs." At the same time Richard Fairbanke† was ordered to be "intreated to take the cowes to keeping of, vpon y^e^ Neck," but if he declined, another brother, "Thomas Aug. 8. Wardall‡ to be intreated therevnto;" and "Nicholas Willys was chosen Cunstable."

Nov. 30. It was ordered that "new-comers" could not have allotments of land unless they were "likely to be received members of the congregation;" that none should be allowed to sell their houses or lots to "new-comers," without the consent of those appointed allotters; that those who have lands allotted "should build thereon before the first of the first month, called March," or the "Allotters to dispose of y^m^" to others. That "Mr. William Hutchinson, Mr. William Colborne and Mr. William Brenton shall sett pryces vpon all cattell, comodities, victualls, and laboorer's and workmen's wages, and y^t^ noe other prises or rates shalbe given or taken."

To prevent hasty litigation this order was thus early made: "Noe inhabitants among vs shall sue one another at y^e^ lawe before y^t^ Mr. Henry Wane§ [Vane], and y^e^ twoe elders, Mr. Thomas Ollyver and Thomas Leverett have had y^e^ hearing and desyding of y^e^ cause, if they

not subsist; the place being too small to containe many, and fittest for such as can trade into England, for such commodities as the countrey wants, being the chiefe place for shipping and merchandise." These observations were made in 1634. — See *Wood*, p. 32–3.

* Philemon Portmorte, freeman, 6 May, 1635. — Some account of his family may be seen in *Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, ii. 400. — See also Farmer's *Register*.

† Richard Fairebancks, freeman, 14 May, 1634.

‡ Thomas Wardall, freeman, 4 March, 1635.

§ Presumed to be no other than Henry Vane, Esq., though he had landed in Boston only the October before.

cann." Mr. William Colborne, Mr. William Aspinwall,* Mr. John
Dec. 14. Sampford, William Balstone,† and Richard Wright,‡ were directed to bound out lands at Mount Wollaston for Mr. William Coddington and Edmund Quinsey; also a farm "sufficient for Mr. Cotton, at Muddy River; Mr. Colburn one at the same place "neare vnto and about his house w^h^ he hath there built;" the two elders, "Mr. Thomas Ollyver and Thomas Leveritt," also to have their farms laid out at the same place.

Notwithstanding the anticipated troubles recently from the French had pretty nearly subsided, such was the state of feeling between England and France, that no permanent hopes could be entertained anywhere, that new troubles might not, at any moment, arise. Of this the
Jan. 15. people of Boston had a new proof early this year; a slight collision having occurred at the eastward between the French and some of the Plymouth men, in which two of the latter had been captured, with their effects. Soon after, Mr. Allerton went to demand their liberation; but the French officer in command, Monsieur La Tour, refused to deliver the men or goods, and, in a sort of gasconade, bid Allerton tell the English on the coast, that all the country from Cape Sable to Cape Cod belonged to the King of France, and that if they persisted to trade east of Pemaquid, he would make prize of them; and when Mr. Allerton desired to see his Commission for all that, he replied, "That his sword was Commission sufficient;" when that failed, he said, it was time enough to produce his Commission. This being now reported at Boston, which, added to their fears for the loss of their Charter, gave, for a time, a chill to the prospects of the community. The Plymouth people, not long after, attempted to enlist the Authorities in the Bay to join them, and to send a force sufficient to dispossess the French; but the Bay people declined.

Jan. 31. The winter, which had now fully set in, was exceedingly severe; "three men had their boat frozen up at Bird Island,§ as they were coming from Deer Island, so as they were compelled to lodge there all night; and the next morning they came over the ice to Noddle's Island, and thence to Molten's Point,‖ in Charlestown, and thence over the ice by Mr. Hoffe's to Boston." At the same time six persons were kept a week on Governor's Island, at the end of which they got to Mattapan Point with their boat. For nearly the same space of time the ice was not broken between Governor's Island and Boston, neither could boats pass to Charlestown for two or three days together.

* Mr. William Aspinwall, freeman, 3 April, 1632.

† William Balstone, freeman, 18 May, 1631.

‡ Richard Wright, freeman, 14 May, 1632.

§ A lodging on Bird Island, even a hundred years ago, would not have been a very comfortable one probably. Its head had sunk below high-water mark in 1775, and how long before that, is not certain.

‖ So named from Robert Moulton, probably, an early settler of Charlestown; freeman, 18 May, 1631. He was a shipwright. Among those who petitioned in favor of Mrs. Hutchinson and Mr. Wheelwright, was Robert Moulton. He was then (1636) of Salem.

Feb. 15. Nearly a month later ice continued in the harbor, in passing upon which, from Boston to Winnesemet, a young man, servant to Mr. Richard Bellingham, fell through and was drowned.

Mar. 4. At a General Court at Newtown,* Captain Israel Stoughton was censured for promulgating certain opinions against the authority of magistrates. An order was passed that brass farthings should no longer be received as farthings, and that, instead thereof, musket bullets should be used. At this Court Mr. Hooker preached a discourse.

April. 25. Just before Governor Dudley's term of service expired, he and his Assistants summoned Roger Williams before them to answer to the charge concerning oaths. He had maintained that to administer an oath to a wicked person, or "an unregenerate man," was in itself a wicked act, inasmuch as it caused such person "to take the name of God in vain. After being heard before all the Ministers, he was very clearly confuted. Mr. Endicott was at first of the same opinion, but he gave place to the truth."

May 6. At the General Court of election now convened at Newtown, John Haynes, Esquire, was chosen Governor, Richard Bellingham, Esquire, Deputy Governor, and Mr. Hough and Mr. Dummer, Assistants. Mr. Endicott was left out of office, on account, apparently, of the affair of the colors; but the expediency of his holding office pending the uncertainty attending the demand of the Charter, may have had a place with the reasons unassigned for his retirement. Mr. Ludlow had given some offence, by electioneering too strenuously, and being a little too dictatorial in arrangement for the election. Some thought he was somewhat impatient to be Governor.

The manner of proceeding to choose the officers at this Election is thus clearly described by the Ex-Governor: — "The Governor and Deputy were elected by papers, wherein their names were written; but their Assistants were chosen by papers without names, namely, the Governor propounded one to the people; then they all went out, and came in at one door, and every man delivered a paper into a hat. Such as gave their vote for the party named, gave in a paper with some figures or scroll in it; others gave in a blank."

After the election, Mr. Haynes made an address to the people, in which he stated that he knew the burthen upon them by way of taxes had been very great, especially upon the poorer sort; that, therefore, to do all he could to lighten those burthens, he should administer the government free of any charge.†

About this time Mr. Winthrop received a visit from his old friend, Captain Nicholas Hurlstone. He had been living in St. Christophers

* The members from Boston at this Court were Mr. Richard Bellingham, Mr. Edward Gibbons, Mr. John Coggeshall, and Mr. William Colburn.

† Out of a rate of £600, ordered to be raised last year, Boston, Dorchester, and Newtown, were each assessed £80; this year these towns were assessed only £27 6*s.* 8*d.* each, the whole amount to be raised being £200. Thus, up to this time, Dorchester and Newtown were considered equal, in wealth at least, to Boston.

about five years, to which place he probably went immediately after he
May 21. landed the colonists here from the Ambrose in 1630. Now he came as a merchant, in a Dutch ship which arrived at Marblehead. He gave his host an account of that island, which he recorded in his journal.* The people there, he said, were very wicked, though they had three English churches in the place.

June 4. A few days later came another of the old captains, Captain Graves, in the James, who had come every year for the last seven years; and the same day arrived two Dutch ships. They brought twenty-seven Flanders mares, three horses, sixty-three heifers, and eighty-eight sheep.† They were five and a half weeks from the Texel,‡ "and lost not one beast or sheep." And, only three days
June 7. after, "there came in seven other ships, and one to Salem, and four more to the mouth of the Bay, with store of passengers and cattle."

Great inconvenience had been experienced, on arrivals of vessels, "by people's running to the ships, and the excessive prices of commodities;" to prevent which it was ordered that one in each town should buy for the whole; but this, says, Winthrop, took no good effect.

June 24. The enterprise which brought people to Boston carried them away from it in every direction, thus early, and on every kind of business; some far into the wilderness to trade with the Indians, some to Cape Cod to catch whales for their oil, and now a company goes with Captain Hodges, in the Rebecca, and Captain Graves, in the James, to the Isle Sable, to catch "sea-horses." But from this last
Aug. 26. expedition they returned with only partial success. While they were at that island a most terrible storm visited the coast of New England, doing immense damage, in which many lives were
Aug. 18. lost; but it did not extend so far east as Cape Sable, though it was felt "a great way south." The ship James, of Bristol, Captain Taylor, had a most narrow escape at the Isle of Shoals. After losing three anchors, she was saved by a momentary veering of the wind. She had on board "one hundred passengers, honest people of Yorkshire," among whom was Mr. Richard Mather, § the ancestor of the noted divines of that name, with his family, long famous in Boston; also Mr. Matthew Mitchell, Mr. Daniel Maud, Nathaniel Wales, Barnabas Fower, Thomas Armitage, and George Kenrick. At the same time sailed from Bristol the Angel Gabriel, which, in the same storm, was driven from her anchors at Pemaquid and lost. She was a strong ship and well furnished, with some fifteen pieces of ordnance. In the

* That the Captain Hurlston here mentioned is the same who, in 1630, commanded the Ambrose is to me very probable. Hence the paragraph in the text.

† The mares were priced, each, £34; heifers, £12; sheep, 50*s*.

‡ Winthrop has it *Tessell*. I have substituted a place better known, at least.

§ A journal kept by Mr. Mather of this voyage has been neatly and in a convenient form published by Mr. David Clapp, Boston, 12mo, 1850. The original is in possession of the Dorchester Antiquarian Society. Of the descendants of Richard Mather, a pretty full account will be found in the *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vol. vi. p. 20–2.

same tempest a bark of Mr. Allerton's was cast away upon Cape Ann, by which disaster twenty-one persons perished, seven of whom were the family of Mr. John Avery, including himself. Mr. Anthony Thacher and his wife were the only persons saved out of all that were on board, and their preservation was, at the time, viewed as a Remarkable Providence; they having been cast ashore in a surprising manner, and kept from starving by some necessaries as surprisingly cast on shore also.

A nephew of Anthony Thacher, then a young man, left the vessel at Ipswich, influenced, it is said, by some melancholy forebodings in his mind respecting the voyage by water, and so escaped the disaster which fell so heavily upon almost all the rest. And thus was another progenitor* of a numerous and distinguished family remarkably preserved.

Sept. 1. At the Quarterly General Court† appeared the first Grand Jury of the country, "who presented above one hundred offences; and, among others, some of the magistrates." At the same Court, Captain Trask, one of its members, was directed to apprehend "divers lewd servants," who had stolen and run away with a boat and other things. He pursued them to the Isle of Shoals, and thence to Pascataqua, where, in the night, he took them by surprise; and, bringing them to Boston, they were, at the next Court, "severely whipped, and ordered to pay all charges."

Oct. 6. There was now a large addition made to the distinguished individuals lately arrived. In "two great ships, the Defence and the Abigail," came to Boston Mr. Wilson, the Pastor, Mr. Thomas Shepard, Mr. John Jones, Mr. Hugh Peters, John Winthrop, junior, Henry Vane, Esquire,‡ besides others who equally deserve particular mention.

October. The Church of Boston had all along been in trouble about the "heresy" of Roger Williams, and now, at the General Court, "he was again convented," at which "all the ministers in the Bay were desired to be present." He was accused of writing letters "full of antichristian pollution." He now not only justified the letters, but all the opinions advanced in them also. To induce him to retract, it was proposed to postpone proceedings for a month, and at the end of that time to have further "conference or a disputation;" but he asked for no delay, and desired to dispute then. "So Mr. Hooker was appointed to dispute with him, but could not reduce him from any of his

* The preservation of John Howland, of the Mayflower, is of deep interest. See the *N. E. Hist. and G. Reg.*, vol. ii. 186–8. There is, in Mr. Buckingham's *N. Eng. Mag.* for July, 1834, an interesting pedigree of the Thacher family, by a distinguished descendant and friend of the writer, the late Dr. James Thacher, of Plymouth. There is also extant, and which the writer has seen, an extensive MS. memoir of the family, recently in possession of a gentleman of Saco, Me.

† The Boston members of this Court were William Hutchinson, William Colburn, and William Brenton. From Dorchester, Nathaniel Duncan, Capt. John Mason, William Gallard. Four from Salem; Capt. Traske, John Woodbury, Jacob Barney, and John Spencer.

‡ See *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, ii. 121, &c., in which I have attempted to do something like justice to the memory of this distinguished man. Winthrop mentions his arrival, and, in a separate paragraph, speaks of him with the greatest respect. — *Journal*, i. 170.

errors. So, the next morning, the Court sentenced him to depart out of its jurisdiction within six weeks; all the ministers, save one, approving the sentence." *

It was specially enjoined upon Mr. Williams "not to exercise his gifts" meanwhile; and that, if he obeyed the injunction, he might be allowed to continue till spring. It does not appear, however, that he made any promises of obedience; and, within a few weeks, the news was current at Boston that he was entertaining company at his house, and did preach to them, and thereby did "go about to draw others to his opinions." Therefore the Authorities ordered him to be taken into custody, and that, by a ship then lying at Nantasket ready for sea, he should be sent into England. A warrant was sent to him at Salem, by virtue of which he was to be brought to Boston, and there put on board the ship. But the officer charged with that duty found Mr. Williams sick, and unable to leave his house without evident hazard of his life. This was his excuse for not obeying the mandate; which excuse was brought to Boston by "divers of Salem." Whereupon Captain Underhill was despatched in a pinnace to apprehend and convey him on board the ship. But, on the arrival of the Captain at his house, he found that Mr. Williams had been gone three days, and whither no one could (or would) tell. And thus escaped the founder of Rhode Island from the hands raised against him, under a mistaken sense of duty, and was wending his way through an almost trackless wilderness, amidst the snows and frosts of midwinter, or encountering the more perilous journey in an open boat, following the indentations of the icy and savage coast, southward, for that safety of person and freedom of conscience which he knew God had vouchsafed to all men.

Nov. 3. John Winthrop, junior, who had recently returned from England, sent out a bark of thirty tons and about twenty men, to take possession of the mouth of Connecticut river; for which object he had made preparations in England, and had procured a Patent of territory thereabouts, and a commission to be its Governor; and, by the

Nov. 28. end of the month, Captain Lyon Gardiner arrived at Boston in a small vessel, in which were twelve men and two women. Their destination was also the mouth of the Connecticut. Gardiner was an expert engineer, and had served in that capacity in the Low Countries. He had been engaged to go there and construct a fortification, and "to command it," by the Lords Say and Brook, Sir Arthur Heslerigge,† Sir Matthew Boynton, ‡ and others, under the im-

* Winthrop, *Journal*, i. 170–1. His Editor, though usually free with his conjectures, does not adventure one as to who it was that would not endorse the sentence of banishment against Mr. Williams. Was it Cotton?

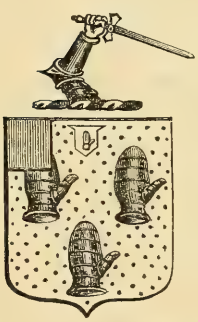
† He was eldest son of Sir Thomas Heslerigge, of Noseley, in Leicestershire; being so disgusted with the arbitrary government of Charles I., that he determined to quit his country and come to New England. In Parliament he was among the most prominent opposers of that ill-advised and headstrong Monarch, and was the member who preferred the bill of attainder against Wentworth, Earl of Strafford. In the Civil War which followed, he was the first "to draw the sword, and throw the sheath away." At the *Restoration* he was thrown into the Tower, where he died of a fever, 8 Jan., 1661. — See *Grainger*, and *Grey's Notes to Hudibras*.

‡ In Gardiner's own account of his coming over, and of his employers, he wrote this

mediate direction of Governor John Winthrop, junior.* The Authorities of Boston improved the opportunity of his being here, to engage him to undertake the completion of the fortification on Fort Hill.

CHAPTER XXI.

Town's Proceedings. — Lands laid out to the Inhabitants at Mount Wollaston at Muddy River. — Ferry to Charlestown and Winesimet. — Lieut. Gardiner employed on the Fort. — Grand Jurors. — Watch ordered. — Overseers of Town Concerns chosen. — Orders concerning Fences, Hogs, entertaining of Strangers. — Members to the General Court. — Magistrates for Life. — Fire. — Ship Charity arrives. — Benevolent Act of Hugh Peters. — Ship St. Patrick. — Difficulty with the Officer of the Castle. — Other Troubles about the Fort. — Colors restored. — Vane elected Governor. — Internal Town Regulations. — Lands allotted to Owen Rowe at Mount Wollaston. — Water Bailiffs appointed. — Constable. — Houses not allowed to be built near Streets. — Hogreeves.



Jan. 4. AT a Town Meeting, six hundred acres of land were ordered to be laid out for "Mr. Atherton Haulgh,"† beyond "Mount Woollystone, betweene Monottycott ryver" and Weymouth bounds; and if it did not contain a "meete" proportion of meadow, he was to have "it in y^e^ little meaddow at y^e^ vpper end of y^e^ fresh brooke, called y^e^ Stand." It was, at the same time, ordered "y^t^ hereafter none shall fell any wood or timber at Muddy Ryver or any other place but vpon their own allottments."

Jan. 23. Thomas Marshall "was chosen by generall consent for y^e^ keeping of a Ferry from y^e^ Mylne Point‡ vnto Charlestowne, and to Wynnyseemitt, and to take for his ferrying vnto Charlestowne, as y^e^ ferryman there hath, and vnto Wynnyseemitt, for a single pson sixpence, and for two sixpence; and for every one above y^e^ number of two, two pence a piece."

name Bonnington, but I have no doubt the true name was as I have given it, and that he was of the famous Yorkshire family of that name. He was son of Francis, grandson of Thomas Boynton, and was born about 1591; married a daughter of Thomas Lord Fairfax; knighted 1618; high sheriff of Yorkshire, 1628, 1643; Governor of Scarboro' Castle; died 1646. — See Poulson's *Hist. Holderness*, and Nichol's *Progresses of James I.*, where he is called "one of those the Rebels chiefely trusted in Yorkshire." Gardiner's work, here referred to, is printed, but not edited, in *Colls. Mass. Hist. Soc.* There is a sort of introduction to it. His name is spelled *Gardener*. There is a pedigree of his descendants extant.

* Winthrop says, i. 173, that Gardiner came in a "Norsey" bark. This *word* "Norsey" sadly puzzled his editor, he "never having seen it before." He therefore concludes that the bark came down from among the Norwegians! Now, though she may not have come from Noseley, where one of her owners lived, it would be quite as easy to derive the name given by Winthrop from Noseley, in the county of Leicester, as it would be to derive it from the Black Sea, though its name were expressed in French.

† The same persons designated before under the names *Hough*, *Hoffe*, *Haugh*, &c. There may be male descendants of Atherton Hough under different names at this day. The name does not appear in the first Boston Directory.

‡ Windmill Point. In the early records of other towns *milne* is often written for *mill*, but I do not find it so spelled in any of the old dictionaries to which I have recurred. The location of the "Milne Point" is sufficiently indicated by the extract from the Records.

To improve the important services of Captain Gardiner, before his departure for Connecticut, the town "agreed y^t^, for y^e^ raysing of a new worke of fortification vpon y^e^ ffort hill, about y^t^ wh^ch^ is there alreaddy begune, the whole towne would bestowe fourteene dayes' worke" a man. For this end Mr. Deputie, Mr. Henry Vane, Mr. John Winthrop, sen^r^., Mr. William Coddington, Mr. John Winthrop, iu^r^., Captain John Vnderhill, and Mr. William Brenton," were chosen Commissioners. They were directed to "sett downe how many dayes worke would be equall for each man to doe, and what money * such should contribute, beside their worke, as were of greater abilities and had fewer servants, that therewith provisions of tooles and other necessaryes might bee made, and some recompence given to such of y^e^ poorer sort as should be found to bee overburdened with their fourteene dayes' worke; and Mr. John Cogan is chosen treasurer, and Mr. William Dyer, clarke, for y^e^ furtherance of this worke;" which "worke is to be gone in hand with soe soone as y^e^ weather will pmitt, in regard y^t^ y^e^ ingineere, Mr. Lyon Garner, who doth soe freely offer his help therevnto, hath but a short time of stay."

Feb. 19. The town chose Mr. John Cogan and William "Aspinnell" as Grand Jurors, and Richard Fairbanks, William Hudson and James Pennyman to serve as "pettie" Jury. A week later there was a

Feb. 27. Town Meeting "vpon pryvate warning," at which it was agreed "y^t^ there shalbe a Watch taken vp and gone around with from the first of the second month next, for y^e^ summertime from sunne sett, an houre after y^e^ beating of y^e^ drumbe, vpon penaltie, for every one wanting therein, twelve pence for every night."

Mar. 14. There was another "gen^r^all meeting vpon priuate warning," in which Thomas Oliver, Thomas Leveritt, William Hutchinson, William Colborne, John Coggeshall, John Sampford, Richard Tuttell, William Aspenall, William Brenton, William Balston, Jacob Ellyot and James Penne, were authorized to be overseers "from this day to oversee and looke vnto and sett order for all the allottments within vs, and for all comers in vnto vs, as also for all other y^e^ occasions and businesses" of the Town, excepting matters of Election and the General Court.

Mar. 21. As several persons who had had lands lotted out to them had not improved them according to the prescribed conditions, it was now ordered in Town Meeting, that the lots laid out to them were free to be otherwise disposed of. Their names were "Mr. Atherton Haulghe, Zachie Bosworth, Richard Truestayles, Richard Oakes, Nathaniell Woodwarde, Thomas Meakins y^e^ elder, Thomas Meakins y^e^ younger, Mr. Greene, Mr. Mullyns, Richard Walker, John Palmer, James Johnson, Richard Brackett, Thomas Blott, Richard Tuttell,

* In the margin of the Town Records are arranged in a column the following names, and against each is set £5; viz., Bellingham, Vane, Winthrop, sen., Coddington, Winthrop, jun., Kayne, Hutchinson, Cogan, Leverett, and Harding.

Barnabie Darryfall, Thomas Savage, [John] Bushnall,* Mr. Woodwarde, Mr. Stanley, Robert Houlton, Anthony Harker, [George] Grigges y^e^ carpenter, and Richard Wrighte." Some of these persons had, perhaps, gone to Connecticut, some to other places, and some had failed to build on their lots from other circumstances.

At this meeting provision was made to have "sufficient fences to y^e^ Cornefielde, before y^e^ fourteenth of y^e^ next second month;" that, for every defective rod then found, five shillings penalty: "The feild towards Rocksberry to be looked out by Jacob Ellyott and Jonathan Negoose; the Fort Feild, by James Penn and Richard Gridley; the Mylne Feild, by John Button and Edward Bendall; and the New Feild, by John Audley and Thomas Faireweather."

If hogs were found running at large after a certain day, John Sampson and William Balstone were ordered to seize them, and they were declared forfeited by their owners. If any inhabitants entertained
May 9. strangers over fourteen days, without leave "from those y^t^ are appointed to order the Towne's businesses," they were liable to be "dealt with" by those "Overseers," as they thought advisable.

May 13. Twelve days before the meeting of the General Court, there was a Town Meeting, at which Mr. William Hutchinson, Mr. John Coggeshall, and Mr. William Brenton were chosen "for Deputyes or Comittees for the service" of that Court.† A few weeks before,
April 7. "at a General Court, it was ordered, that a certain number of Magistrates should be chosen for life;" and at the General Election, three persons were actually chosen to be Magistrates during their lives. These were Winthrop, Dudley and Vane. It does not appear that the people approved of such a disposal or assumption of offices, and they were soon abandoned; for they very justly reasoned, that by such a course of proceeding, all offices might be disposed of, and nothing left for their choice.

The Town had been free from accidental fires for some time past, but about this time the house of Mr. John Benjamin was burnt down, subjecting him to a loss of one hundred pounds in goods.‡

April 12. The ship Charity, of Dartmouth, came near being cast away as she sailed into the harbor with a heavy north-west wind. She was of one hundred and twenty tons burthen, and brought a timely supply of provisions, which were at this time much needed. To prevent speculators oppressing the poor, by buying up the provisions, and holding them at extravagant prices, Mr. Peters § bought up the whole

* A John *Bushnell* appears afterwards at Saybrook, Ct. He is probably the same person in Boston in 1636. — See *N. E. H. Gen. Reg.*, iv. 19.

† This is the first mention in the Town Records of the choice of Representatives, or "Deputyes," as they are called, for the General Court. It is not unworthy of note, that at this time London sent but four members to Parliament; only one more than Boston sent to the General Court.

‡ This fire is recorded by Winthrop, *Journal*, i. 185, but he does not state where Benjamin lived. He was admitted freeman, 6 Nov., 1632, and is said to have lived at Watertown. He may have gone there after this, though I do not find his name in the list of the early settlers of that town, as published by Rev. Dr. Francis. Mr. Hamblen finds Joseph Benjamin among the inhabitants of Barnstable, 1662–6. — See *N. E. H. Gen. Reg.*, ii. 64–5.

§ This distinguished man, I presume, wrote

cargo; by which operation, "he saved the Country two hundred pounds."* It was then distributed "to all the towns, as each town needed." He had been laboring for some time to induce the people to establish a sort of magazine, by buying up necessary articles when they were cheap, which should be well husbanded and dealt out when they were scarce, at reasonable rates; but it does not appear to have been brought about, notwithstanding he had set this distinguished example.

May 15. Considerable uneasiness was felt in the town, about a month later, which happened on the arrival of the Ship St. Patrick, Captain Palmer. All ships were to observe certain regulations on passing the fort at Castle Island, but since the trouble about the Colors, or rather the Red Cross in it, the Fort presented the awkward appearance of a captured garrison; no Flag to signify its real character. Under these circumstances, however, the St. Patrick was brought too, and, by Lieutenant Morris, the officer of the Fort, made to strike her Colors. Captain Palmer complained to the Authorities; alleging the conduct of the commander of the Fort to be a flagrant insult both to his Flag and Country. Now the St. Patrick belonged to Sir Thomas Wentworth, who, up to this time, was claimed as a friend to New England;† and, therefore, it was neither wise nor just to give, unnecessarily, any offence on such occasions. They, therefore, ordered the officer of the Fort before them, and in the presence of the Master of the ship proclaimed that their officer had no authority to do as he had done; and he was ordered to make such atonement for his conduct as Captain Palmer should demand. The Captain was very lenient, requiring only an acknowledgment of his error, on board his ship, "that so all the ship's company might receive satisfaction;" this was submitted to, and thus all parties became quieted. But within a few days another circumstance occurred respecting the Fort, with a somewhat different result. One Thomas Millerd or Miller, mate of the ship Hector, then lying in the harbor, being probably emboldened by the proceedings against the officer of the Fort, or from some other cause not reported, pronounced all the people here traitors and rebels, because they had discarded the King's Colors. On complaint being made to Captain Ferne, the Master of the Hector, Millerd was brought before the Court, and there made to acknowledge his offence, and to sign a paper to that effect. He was then discharged.

These occurrences gave the Authorities considerable concern, lest reports should be carried to England that they had rebelled here, in

his name *Peter*, but usage has added an *s* to it. His brother Thomas, who was also for a time in New England, wrote his name *Peters*. — See *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, ii. 58—64.

* Mr. Peters had in several ways shown his benevolence to the country. By his influence with a gentleman of Saugus, he gave £300 to the colony. With Mr. Weld, he procured, at another time, £500 in London; and in 1641, they procured of Mr. Robert Houghton, of Southwark, "the King's brewer, and divers others," £500. Mr. Houghton and Mr. William Hiccock had before, with some others, at the "motion of Capt. Underhill," given ten barrels of powder.

† Wentworth (afterwards Earl of Strafford) was at this time "Lord Deputy of Ireland," in which country he boasted he had made his Master "as absolute as any Prince in the world." The St. Patrick was, perhaps, an Irish ship.

fact, and were playing false, and that their contempt of the English Flag was evidence of the allegation. Therefore, to counteract such representations, Mr. Vane, now * Governor, called the Captains of the ships † together, and desired to know how they felt towards the Government and people here, and if they were offended at what had happened, and if so, what they required in satisfaction. They frankly told the Governor, that if they should be questioned, on their return to England, in regard to "what Colors they saw here," a statement of the bare facts in relation to it might result to their disadvantage. Therefore, they would recommend that the King's Colors might be set up on the Fort. The Governor and his Advisers seem to have come pretty well over to the same conclusion, but there was a difficulty in the way, — "they had no King's Colors;" by which confession of theirs it is pretty clear that others, besides Mr. Endicott, had been making war on St. George's Crosses. To remedy this difficulty, two of the ship-masters offered to present them with Colors. But so fearful were these conscientious people lest they should tolerate a symbol of idolatry, that they declined receiving the Colors thus offered, until they had first taken the advice of Mr. Cotton in regard to it. It was finally concluded, that although they were of the decided opinion that the Cross in the Ensign was idolatrous, and, therefore, ought not to be in it; nevertheless, as the Fort was the King's, and maintained in his name, his Colors might be used there. So the Governor accepted the Colors of Captain Palmer, and promised they should be set up on the Fort at Castle Island. Accordingly the Governor, with the consent of Mr. Dudley, directed Lieutenant Morris,‡ by warrant, to "spread" the King's Colors there, which was accordingly done.

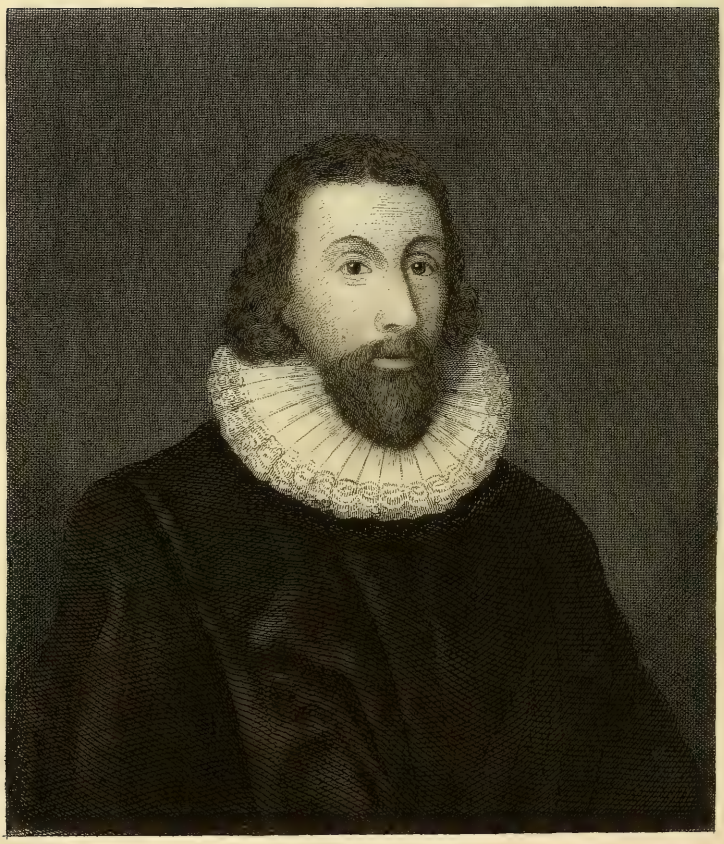
May 25. While these events were passing in Boston, the General Election of officers for the present year took place, which resulted in the choice of Henry Vane, Esquire, for Governor, and John Winthrop, Esquire, Deputy Governor. To show their respect for the new Governor, all the Masters of ships in the harbor (and "there were fifteen great ships"), gave him a salute with their ordnance.§ The next week he invited all the Captains on shore, and gave them a dinner. After dinner, he proposed the following regulations to be observed by ships on their arrival at Boston: — First, that all ships should come to an

* By carrying on the narrative of the transactions which grew out of the indignity offered to the St. Patrick, the order of time is, of course, necessarily anticipated. As will be seen presently, the event here detailed took place after Mr. Vane was elected Governor.

† There were ten in the harbor at this time. There were fifteen but a few days before, as will be seen.

‡ This person appears to have been the commander of the fort, and the same who was Ensign to Captain Underhill, and who, according to *Winthrop*, i. 127, "taking some distaste to his office, requested the Magistrates, that he might be discharged of it, and so was, whereby he gave offence to the Congregation of Boston; so as, being questioned, and convinced of sin in forsaking his calling, he did acknowledge his fault; and, at the request of the people, was by the magistrates chosen Lieutenant to the same Company; for he was a very stout man, and an experienced soldier."

§ The language of Winthrop is, in noticing this election, "The ships congratulated his election with a volley of great shot, because he was son and heir to a Privy Counsellor in England." — *Journal*, i. 187.



Engraved by T. Kelton

JOHN WINTHROP,

SECOND GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

anchor before reaching the fort, or to send their boats with an officer who should satisfy the commander of it that they were friends; second, that before any goods were offered for sale, an invoice should be delivered to the Governor, who should have the privilege of purchasing; third, sailors not to be allowed to remain on shore after sunset, "except upon necessary business." To all which, the Captains of the fifteen ships "willingly condescended unto."

Ships this season had made quick passages across the ocean; "divers, both out of the Downs and from Holland, came in five weeks;" and Mr. Ball's ship, which sailed hence on the sixteenth of January last, made the English coast in eighteen days.

June 6. Meanwhile, the internal concerns of the town are not neglected. In a regular meeting of those with whom all matters, except elections, had been entrusted,* it was agreed that there should be "a sufficient foot-way made from William Colborne's field end, unto Samuell Wylebore's field end, next Roxbury, by the surveyors of high-ways, before the end of the next month." At this meeting it appeared that Richard Fairbanks had sold two houses, "in Sudbury End," that were William Balstone's, to two strangers, contrary to a former order, and, therefore, the sale was declared void; and for which he was fined ten pounds. Also that "Isaacke Cullymore, carpenter," had sold his house to a stranger, and he was fined ten pounds.

June 20. At a meeting "it was agreed that, Mr. Owyn Roe, of London, having a house and townes lott amongst vs, and certaine cattell, shall have layd out for him two hundred acres att Mount Woollystons, for the present releife of his cattell, and for him to inioy when as he shalbecome an inhabitant amongst vs, and not otherwise." But Mr. Rowe never came to New England; though, as late as the eighteenth of February of this year, in a letter to Mr. Winthrop, he said his heart was with the people here; that he had given up his business, and as soon as he could get in his debts and settle his affairs, he intended to come; for he desired to see the glory of the place, "and to behould the bewttye of God in these gowenings [gowings-in] of his in his tempel." This he wrote in answer to one from Mr. Winthrop, dated on the tenth of the preceding December. In the same letter, Mr. Rowe requested that "Mr. Ransford" might be accommodated with a farm, on which the stock of cattle he had sent over might be preserved; for he had lost near five hundred pounds, "as Mr. Wilson could certifye." † He was one of the early members of the Massachusetts Company, and had also been an early benefactor to the colony, as Winthrop shows. The troubles which led to the "Civil War," diverted him from becoming a resident of Boston, in all probability, for he was employed in the military service in that contest; and when the King was brought to

* Namely, "Thomas Oliver, Thomas Leveritt, William Hutchinson, Willyam Coulborne, John Coggeshall, William Aspenall, Richard Tuttell, John Sampford, and James Penne."

† See Hutchinson's *Coll. of Orig. Papers*, 59.

trial, he was one of the Judges in that "High Court of Justice," and among those who signed the warrant for his execution.*

Aug. 3. Mr. Samuel Maverick, who had been in Virginia about a year, returned to Boston with two vessels. He brought with him some fourteen heifers, and about eighty goats; of the latter, he lost twenty on his voyage. He gave an account of great sufferings in that colony; that above eighteen hundred people had died there within the year, and chiefly of famine; and that corn was at twenty shillings the bushel.

Aug. 15. The regulators of the town's affairs appointed John Sampford and William Hudson, "Waterbalies, to see y^t^ noe annoying things, eyther by fish, wood or stone, be left about y^e^ sea shore," contrary to an order made the first of September, 1634. And on the

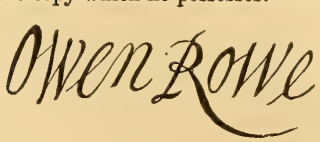
Aug. 22. twenty-second of the same month, at a General Town Meeting, Mr. William Hutchinson, Mr. John Coggeshall, and Mr. William Brenton, were chosen for "Deputyes or Comittyes for the service of this next General Court." And "att this assembly, Mr. John Newgate is chosen for one of y^e^ Constables within this towne, for one whole year."

Sept. 16. At the general meeting of the town now held, ten men were selected for the "same businesses and occasions," and with the same powers as their predecessors had for the management of the town's affairs.† They were chosen for six months only. At a meeting

Sept. 26. ten days later, "it was founde y^t^ William Hudson hath sould an housplott and garden vnto one William Mawer, a strainger, w^th^ out" consent, and was fined twenty shillings. Also, "William Aspenall hath sold a housplott and a garden vnto one Mr. Tinge,"‡ and is fined five pounds. "Mr. Samuel Cole" was charged with selling a lot to one Mr. Greenfield, and is let off with a small fine.

Oct. 4. It was ordered in town meeting that "no house at all" should be built near to any of the streets or lanes, unless by consent and advice "of y^e^ Overseers of y^e^ Townes occasions." This regulation was declared to be to prevent disorderly building, "to y^e^ inconvenience of streetes and laynes." For non-observance of which a fine not exceeding ten shillings was to be imposed. At the next meeting, it was ordered

* The fac simile of his autograph, here presented, is copied from a beautiful engraving of the "Death Warrant," accompanied by the names of those Judges who signed it. Copies of this curious instrument are common, but generally of wretched execution. I am indebted to Mr. John Dean for the liberty to make a tracing for the subject of this note, from the copy which he possesses.



† As some new names appear, they are all given: — "Thomas Olyver, Thomas Leveritt, William Hutchinson, Robert Keayne, John Newgate, William Coulborne, John Coggeshall, John Sampford, William Brenton, and William Balstone;" all *mistered* in the records, except Thomas Leveritt, which omission was of course accidental.

‡ His Christian name was probably William. He had a brother Edward here in 1638, who came over in the same ship with Mr. John Josselyn. These names will be often met with in the progress of the History. William and Edward Tynge were brothers. The former died 18 Jan., 1653.

Oct. 17. that all the timber in the market place, not taken away before the first of next month, should be forfeited. William Brenton and John Sampford were appointed to look to the matter; which, if they neglected to do, the Town would not neglect to look to them for a fine of ten shillings, as the record says.

It was further ordered, at this meeting, that "John Gallop shall remove his payles at his yarde ende within fourteen dayes, and to rainge them even with the corner of his house, for y^e^ preserving of y^e^ way vpon y^e^ sea bancke; that William* Wilkes, Isaac Cullymore, Henry Lynne, and Mr. Greensmyth,† shall raynge theire payle vpon each of their grounds, streight from y^e^ corner of William Wilkes his house, or from y^e^ vpper poast of his garding gap, and to preserve a pathway of a rod breadth betweene payle and payle, betweene this and y^e^ first of next second moneth; and soe to goe all along vnto John Pemberton's house in y^e^ same range." Also there shall be a street between Henry Lynn and Mr. Samuel Coles' ground, to run up from the water side to the next great cross street, one and a half rods wide. Also another lane to go up from the water by John Gallop's, to the same cross way, a pole in breadth. Also another "layne to be left to goe from y^e^ water side vp y^e^ balke, or neare y^t^ goes vp from y^e^ end of John Mylams house next William Aspenalls ground, to goe along to y^e^ mylne cove, a rod and a half broade." Also, "y^t^ the streete way from y^e^ gates next James Everills towards y^e^ mylne, is to runne streight along in an even lyne to John Pemberton's house, and to raynge betweene Thomas Marshalls house and Sergyant Savages house, and to be within y^e^ streete between payle and payle on eyther syde, two pole" in breadth. Also a lane to run from cove to cove, between Thomas Paynter and Thomas Marshall, one and a half poles wide.

Nov. 1. An order was passed, that for every rod of planting ground not fenced by the first of the next April, ten shillings a rod should be paid, or the ground forfeited. And several persons paid fines‡

Nov. 15. "vpon their houses, selling contrary to a former order." Also Richard Fairbanks was chosen "Hog Reeve."‖

Nov. 28. Robert Harding was ordered to remove a "little house in his yard, and take it away from thence, before the first of next May." It was also ordered, that those inhabitants who were in want of wood, might get it at "Deare Island;" that if they left any felled which they did not take away, others were at liberty to take it.

Dec. 3. The town chose John Coggeshall, William Coulborne and William Brenton, to serve as Deputies in the General Court. Eight persons§ were also chosen "to consider of Mount Woolistone businesse,

* Usually written in the records *Willm.*

† At the General Court, 3d August, 1637, "one Greensmith" was imprisoned for saying, "that all the Elders, except two, did preach a covenant of work." The two ministers were Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright. He was fined £40.

‡ They were, William Hudson v.^s^, William Aspenall xxv.^s^, and Samuel Cole xx.^s^; all paid into the hands of Mr. Robert Keayne.

‖ About three years later he was appointed a sort of Post Master, as will be seen. He was made a freeman 14 May, 1634.

§ Vane, Winthrop, Oliver, Keayne, Newgate, Coulborne, Coggeshall and Brenton, were those made choice of.

and for y^e^ ripening thereof; how there may bee a Towne and Church there w^th^ y^e^ consent of this Towne's inhabitants." At the next meeting
Dec. 12. it was agreed that Edward Belchar, William Talmage, Thomas Snowe, William Deninge and John Arratt [?], servants of William Brenton, should have their "great allotments" at Muddy River; "and also our brother Robert Hull and Thomas Wheeler."* At the
Dec. 25. next meeting leave was granted Thomas Mount† to fence in a piece of marsh before his house, "for the making of brick, at the pleasure of y^e^ overseers of y^e^ Towne."

Before the close of this year, there arrived a ship at Barnstaple with eighty heifers, and one from Bristol with passengers; but much of her freight and most of her passengers were sent out by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, for his Plantation at Agamentacus.‡ And by the 17th of
Nov. 17. November, two other ships arrived from London, "full of passengers, men, women and children." One of them had been out twenty-six weeks, and was reduced to great extremity. The passengers, though in a state of starvation, "yet came all safe on shore, and most of them sound, and well liking." Among those who now arrived at Boston, were Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, afterwards of Ipswich, and Mr. Ralph Partridge, afterwards minister of Duxbury.

There was another windmill erected this year at Boston, and one at Charlestown; a water-mill at Salem, one at Ipswich, and one at Newbury.

Cattle, notwithstanding they had been constantly brought in, were at a high price. A good cow was worth about thirty pounds; a pair of bulls or oxen, forty pounds; corn, five shillings a bushel; boards, about ten shillings the hundred feet; carpenters, three shillings a day. ‖

* Perhaps the same who, in 1675, fell desperately wounded at Wickabaug Pond, in Philip's war. He survived, but Capt. Edward Hutchinson died of wounds received at the same time.

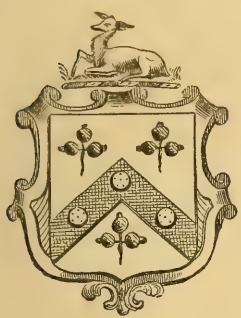
† The name is written in the margin of the Record, *Munt*.

‡ No names of passengers are given, or name of the ship. This is often the case in Gov. Winthrop's Journal; an omission seriously felt at this day.

‖ The facts in this paragraph I take from Mr. Webster's edition of *Winthrop's Journal;* some of them not being intelligible in Mr. Savage's edition.

CHAPTER XXII.

Pequot Indians. — Their Jealousy of the English. — Its Origin. — They kill Mr. Oldham. — Discovery by Capt. Gallop. — His Desperate Fight near Block Island. — Returns to Boston with a Captive. — Roger Williams. — Miantonimo. — Lieut. Gardiner. — Gov. Vane sends Commissioners to the Narragansets. — Forces sent to Block Island. — They ravage the Country. — Sail to the Pequot Country. — Effect little. — Result unfavorable. — Complained of by Plymouth and Connecticut. — The English in much jeopardy. — Deputation of Narraganset Indians visit Boston. — League between them and the Pequots prevented. — Roger Williams. — Pequots commit more Murders. — Bloody Fight at Saybrook. — Narragansets make War on the Pequots. — They bring Trophies to Boston. — Company under Underhill sent to Saybrook. — Pequots attack Wethersfield. — War declared against them. — March of Capt. Mason. — Blindness of the Pequots. — Mohegans and Narragansets march with the English. — The principal Pequot Fort stormed and taken. — The Army returns to Saybrook.



ALTHOUGH there had been some serious passages between the Pequot Indians and the English hitherto, they did not so materially affect the people of Boston, as to cause any very deep animosity to remain in their minds. The Pequots had committed murders, but the sufferers did not belong to Boston, nor to Massachusetts; nor was it certain that those who were murdered had not brought down vengeance upon their own heads, by their imprudence. Since the outrages here alluded to, the English had increased in numbers, and a few had gone and occupied lands in the immediate neighborhood of those Indians. Suspicions and jealousies are always the offspring of ignorance. The natives could not comprehend much of the system which governed the conduct of their new neighbors, and hence a jealousy of what they could not understand was the natural result; they saw there was a great difference between their own and their neighbors' condition, which they were ready at once to attribute to their superior endowments. This naturally excited envy, and this a desire on the part of the Indians to triumph over them.

The Pequots were similarly situated with respect to their neighbors on the west, — the Dutch, — with whom no good understanding had prevailed for some time. However, it is not at all probable that they contemplated a general war with the white people at any time. They thought they had pacified them about the murder of Captain Stone and his company; and they may have thought that if a few others happened they could as easily be passed over. They had no idea, probably, that by killing a man belonging to Boston, any more trouble would arise than though he belonged to any other place; but here their reasoning, if they reasoned at all, failed them; for Captain Stone belonged to Virginia, and that country was too far off to redress the injury or to inquire into the cause of it.

July. This was the actual state of things when news came to Boston that one of its active business community had been murdered by

the Indians of Block Island. This was Captain John Oldham, who had occupied a conspicuous place during the whole period of the existence of the Colony of Massachusetts; and although he did not reside permanently on the peninsula of Shawmut, yet his principal business was here.

It proved that Captain Oldham was killed by some Narraganset Indians who happened to be at Block Island at the time of his visit. July 20. The discovery of the murder and its perpetrators was accidental, and happened in this way. Captain John Gallop, an intrepid mariner of Boston, being upon a trading expedition, put into Block Island to traffic with the natives. He had with him his son John,* another son not mentioned by name, and a servant, who is described as a "strong, stout fellow." As they approached the island, they discovered a vessel making off from the shore, under suspicious circumstances; for those on board of it managed the sails in an awkward manner. Immediately after, they saw that it was full of Indians.† Though his men numbered but four, including himself,‡ Captain Gallop determined to capture the piratical vessel, as he now conceived her to be such. He therefore fired upon her as soon as he was near enough, and then stood off to ascertain what effect his fire had upon the pirates; for, owing to their numbers, he was afraid to board them at once, as "they stood ready armed, with guns, pikes and swords." To attempt their capture under these circumstances was certainly desperate; but Gallop had the advantage of being able to manœuvre his vessel, while his enemies were such sorry sailors that

* He was killed at the great swamp-fight, in Narraganset, 19 Dec., 1675, being then captain of one of the Connecticut companies. He had a grant of land on Mistick river in 1653, "in consideration and with respect unto the services his father hath done for the country." He married Mrs. Margaret Lake, and left posterity. — See Miss Caulkin's *Hist. New London*, 98, 291–2.

† Fourteen in all, says *Winthrop*, i., 189.

‡ Winthrop says, "one man more and two little boys." The "little boys" were doubtless the sons of the Captain. How old they were at this time does not appear; but John, jun., had a daughter married in 1672. Rev. Mr. Cobbet, in his *Narrative*, says he had his account from him. — See *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vii., 211–12. From the part they acted in this tragedy they could not have been very young. Mr. Cobbet relates, that Gallop, on finding the seine in the enemy's vessel, was about to "take it with him to catch basse withal, and then perceived a dead body under it with the head cut off;" that when he entered the vessel, "he bid his two sons follow him, and stand by him with their guns ready charged, which they did; and he, taking the bloody head and washing it, knew it to be Mr. Oldham's, and said, 'Ah! brother Oldham, is it thee? I am resolved to avenge thy blood!' And then, taking his dagger to the scuttle-hole, in which the Indians were quogged, as thick as they could stand, head by head, he jobbed his dagger very often with all his strength upon them. Upon which one Indian first got out and begged quarter for his life, and he would tell how many were in the hold, and who they were, and what they had done; they granted him that quarter," &c., as in the text. "Presently after, another very proper fellow got out, and got to them, and desired like quarter for his life; but they considering if they spared and bound him also in their hold, they might in the night unbind each other and do them mischief, being but four persons, and much tired; whereupon, without further debate, they chopped off his head, and heaved his carkas overboard; upon which the other Indian confessed to them, that he was their Sachem whom they had killed; and that it was he who had stirred up the Block Islanders to take that English vessel and cram the men in it. Now the wind waxing higher and contrary, they could not tow the other vessel any further, cut the rope and let her drive, and hastened to Saybrook fort with their captive Indian; whereupon that just war was commenced against the bloody Pequots and their associates."

they appear to have had little or no control over their craft. Gallop, therefore, having drawn off to a fair distance, made all sail, with the prow of his vessel aimed directly against the quarter of the enemy. There being a good breeze, he struck her with such force that she was almost overset by the collision ; and this so frightened the Indians, that six of them jumped into the sea and were drowned ; yet the English captain did not dare to board her, but stood off again to prepare for another broadside of the same kind. His success increased. The next time he drove the fluke of his anchor through the bows of the pirate, and remained fast to her. In the mean time he raked her fore-and-aft with his small shot, till every Indian had hid himself below. The English might now have boarded her, but the Captain concluded to continue his successful broadsides, as his anchor had broken its hold, and his bark was drifting from his antagonist. As soon as the Indians saw him hauling off, four or five more of them leaped overboard and were drowned. Seeing this, Gallop came alongside and boarded them. The Indians, by this time, if not before, being satisfied that all was lost, one came out of the hold and surrendered ; and being bound, was put into the hold. Then another came up, and he was bound likewise ; but not daring to put him into the hold with the other, fearing one might unloose the other, they threw him bound into the sea. There were still two left in the hold, and these defended themselves so bravely with swords, that Gallop resolved to secure them there, and to sail away with his prize. He therefore made her fast to his own vessel and proceeded on with her in tow ; but in the night the wind came on to blow, and he was forced to cut her adrift, and thus he lost her. He soon after arrived at Saybrook with the Indian captive, and in due time returned with him to Boston.

When Captain Gallop got possession of the enemy's vessel, he found the body of Captain Oldham under an old seine, yet warm ; and though the head was dissevered and disfigured, he knew him well, and exclaimed, "Ah, brother Oldham! is it thee? I am resolved to avenge thy death!" Thus being sure that he had engaged the murderers of his friend, his naturally strong arm was doubly nerved by the justice of his cause.

July 30. There were with Mr. Oldham two boys and two Narraganset Indians, and there was a suspicion that the latter were accessory to Captain Oldham's death. However this may be, neither of the four in company with him were killed. Mr. Roger Williams, recently driven from Salem to escape persecution, being situated in the vicinity of the Narragansets, learned at once all the particulars relative to Mr. Oldham's death, and communicated it by letter to Governor Vane, at Boston. He also sent for and obtained the two boys that were with Captain Oldham when he was killed, and they were, soon after, by Miantonimo sent to Boston. The messengers who brought Mr. Williams' letter to the Governor, were the same who were with Mr. Oldham when he was killed ; and whether they were implicated in that murder

or not, they did not very satisfactorily acquit themselves before the Governor and Council at Boston; and had they not been charged with messages from Canonicus, they would no doubt have been dealt with as enemies. The Indian captured by Captain Gallop, had, on his examination, accused these Indians as having been concerned in Captain Oldham's death, and this was the grounds of suspicion against them.

Some of the people began to be clamorous because the Government had not moved at once to revenge the death of Mr. Oldham; meanwhile, the great Narraganset Sachems, Canonicus and Miantonimo, were exerting themselves to find out the murderers, and the latter had actually gone against Block Island with two hundred men, in less than one week after the murder was committed. Among those disposed to complain against the Government for delaying to do "justice" upon the Indians, was Lieutenant Gardiner, of the fort at Saybrook. He tauntingly said, that not only himself, but "many more with him wondered that the Bay did not better revenge the murdering of Mr. Oldham, an honest man of their own, seeing they were at such cost for a Virginian."

Notwithstanding, Governor Vane acted with prudence; he used all means at his command to learn the actual state of the case. On the
Aug. 8. eighth of August he sent a deputation into the Narraganset country to hold a personal conference with Canonicus,* who, it was well known, was a just man, and a friend to the English. The embassy consisted of Lieutenant Edward Gibbons† of Boston, and Mr. John Higginson of Salem.‡ Kutshamokin, a chief of the Massachusetts Indians, accompanied them as interpreter. From this negotiation they
Aug. 13. returned on the thirteenth of the same month, having been "very well accepted, and good success in their business. They observed in the Sachem much state, great command over his men, and much wisdom in his answers and the carriage of the whole treaty; clearing himself and his neighbors of the murder, and offering assistance for revenge of it, yet upon very safe and wary conditions."

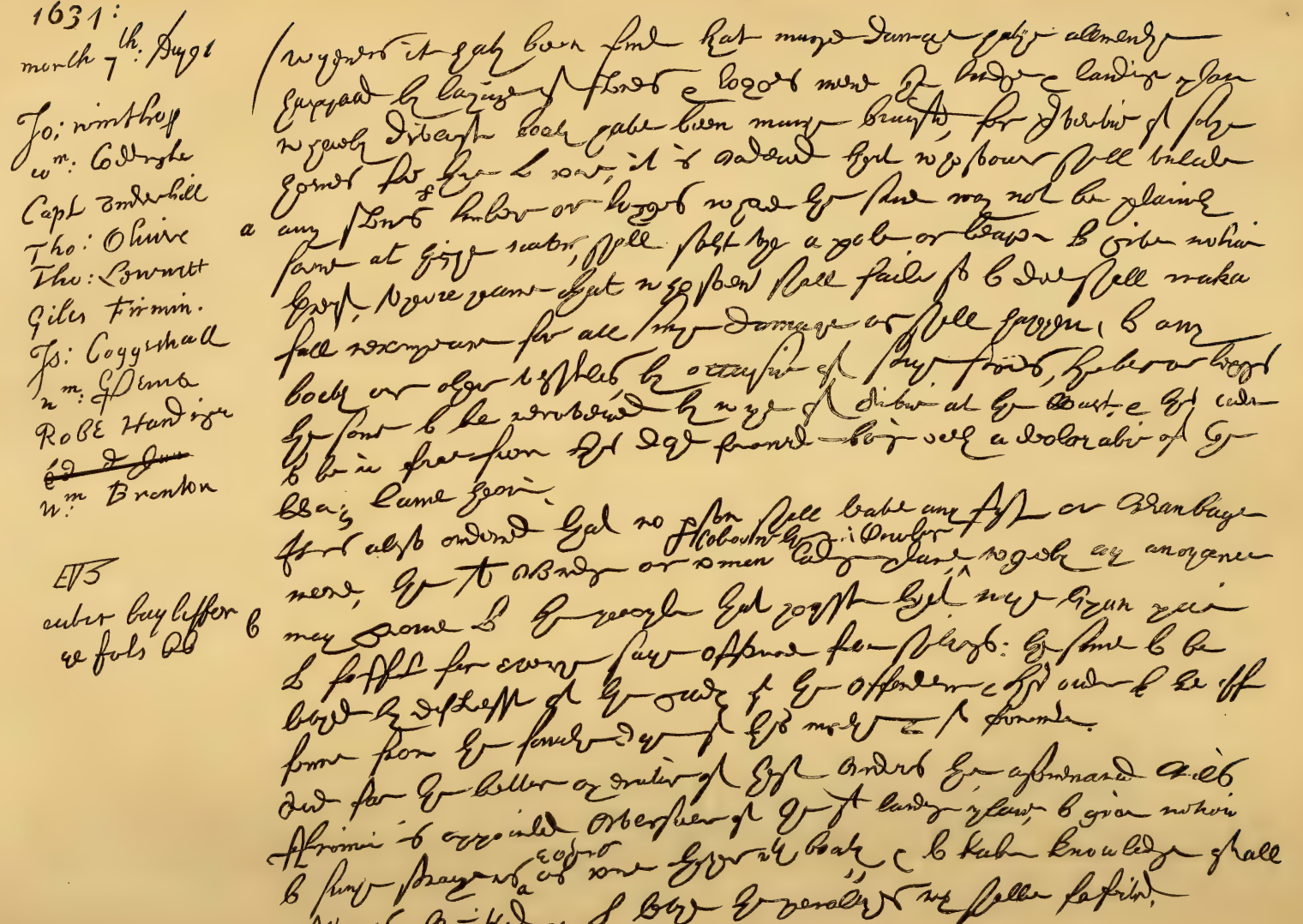
It was pretty soon settled, by advice of the Magistrates and Minis-

* A man, says Johnson, "then well stricken in years," had therefore "caused his nephew, Miantinomo, to take the government upon him, who was a very sterne man, and of very great stature; of a cruel nature, causing all his nobility, and such as were his attendance, to tremble at his speech. The people under his government were very numerous, besides the Niantick Indians, whose Prince was of neare alliance unto him. They were able to set forth, as was then supposed, 30,000 [3000] fighting men."— *Won. Work. Prov.*, Book ii., chap. 6.

† Mr. Gibbons was in New England when Governor Endicott arrived, and rendered much service in organizing his Government at Salem. What time he came over does not appear, but he was at Mount Wollaston for a time, and probably came over with the founder of that colony. Joshua Scottow says, that, on associating with the people of Salem, a "saving work" was commenced upon him, and he "afterwards was the chieftane and flower of New England's militia, and an eminent instrument both in church and commonwealth; he being the younger brother of the house of an honorable extract." — His *Narrative*, p. 10. Captain Johnson says, (in 1644), "He is a man of a resolute spirit, bold as a lion, a Major-General, very forward to promote all military matters; his forts all well contrived, and batteries strong and in good repair, his artillery well mounted and cleanly kept." — *Won. Work. Prov.*, 191.

‡ In Johnson's *W. W. Providence*, Book ii., chap. 6, will be found a most excellent description of the proceedings at the council with the Indians in their country. No one can read it without believing Johnson was himself on the spot.

Fac simile of the first entry in the Town records.



1631:
march 7th: Augt

Jo: winthrop
wm: Coddyngton
Capt Underhill
Tho: Oliuer
Tho: Lowrett
Giles firmin.
Js: Coggeshall
wm: Spencer
Robt Hardinge
~~Ed Dunn~~
wm Brenton

ETS
enter beyliffes
w fols 8b

ters, that the Block Island Indians should be chastised, and that an expedition for the purpose should forthwith be dispatched to that Island. Such was the state of the public mind, that men enough volunteered for the service as soon as they were wanted. It was decided that the expedition should consist of ninety men; that the former Governor, John Endicott, Esq., should have the chief command, as General; that the whole should be divided into four companies, under the immediate charge of Capt. John Underhill, Capt. Nathaniel Turner, Ens. William Jennison,* and Ens. Richard Davenport, of Salem.

General Endicott's instructions were to put to death the men of Block Island, but to spare the women and children and bring them away.† This was to revenge the death of Captain Oldham. When this part of their commission should be executed, they were to proceed against the Pequots on the Main, and to demand of them the murderers of Captain Stone and others, a thousand fathom of wampum for damages, and some of their children as hostages. If they refused to comply, force was to be employed against them.

Aug. 31. Thus appointed, the expedition sailed from Boston, and on the last of August arrived at Block Island. Owing to the surf, a landing was effected with difficulty. About sixty Indians rushed to the shore to encounter them; all "able, fighting men, as straight as arrows." They began the attack with fury, says Captain Underhill, "as though they had meant to have made an end of us all in a moment. They shot one young man in the neck, through a collar, for stiffness as if it had been an oaken board, and entered his flesh a good depth.‡ Myself received an arrow through my coat-sleeve, a second against my helmet on the forehead; so as if God in his providence had not moved the heart of my wife to persuade me to carry it along with me (which I was unwilling to do), I had been slain."

Having effected a landing, the Indians at once dispersed and hid

* Winthrop, whom I follow here, does not give *Jennison's* Christian name. He was among the first freemen of the colony, and was entitled to the distinction of Mr. He settled in Watertown, and held important offices there. In 1633 he went to Bermuda, where he had formerly resided. He went in a vessel named the Thunder, as pilot. She had been sent there to procure provisions; but not being able to obtain any, "for the weavils had taken the corn before they came there," they proceeded to Virginia. At that colony they obtained corn and goats, and returned to Boston June 1st, 1634. Mr. Jennison related that there had been a great change in Bermuda since he lived there; "divers lewd persons being become good Christians." That there were three ministers, "who had lately, by fasting and prayer, dispossessed one possessed with a devil." Upon this "miracle" Mr. Savage has an amusing note. — *Journal*, i. 134.

† These were indeed sanguinary orders, but they were in strict accordance with the usages of those times. It strikes the writer that it would be extremely unjust to charge Governor Vane with originating them, as is not very faintly hinted in a note to their record in Winthrop's Journal. If by such insinuation others were supposed to be held less blameless, the satisfaction gained can be but momentary. The reader having conned the note referred to on page 192, let him read in connection Winthrop's text, six pages forward, page 199.

‡ In October of this year the General Court granted George Munnings £5, for the loss of an eye, "in the voyage to Block Island." — *Savage's Note in Winthrop*, i., 195. Among those made freemen, 4 March, 1635, is George Munnings. He died at Boston, 24 August, 1658. He had a son George. Perhaps with some the name may have slid into *Manning*.

themselves as well as they could.* In the course of two days, however, they found and killed "some fourteen," destroyed large fields of corn, burnt up all the wigwams they could find, and then reëmbarked, to see what could be effected among the Pequots. The expedition touched at Saybrook. Captain Gardiner was displeased at an attempt upon those Indians. He believed the Narragansets only were to be chastised, and he said to General Endicott, "you come hither to raise these wasps about my ears, and then you will take wing and flee away." The Authorities both of Connecticut† and Plymouth‡ thought the expedition an unadvised one also.§

Sept. 7. From Saybrook Endicott proceeded to Pequot river, now called the Thames. He landed on both sides of the river, had several parleys with small parties of the Indians, but could get no satisfaction whatever. He therefore destroyed everything he could find of a destructible character, and succeeded in killing two Indians.‖ Two days were employed in this work, and he then embarked for Boston,

Sept. 14. where the "fleet" arrived on the fourteenth of September, not having lost a man, and but two wounded.

The expedition had on the whole a bad effect. The ability of the Indians to make atonement for offences was not then well understood by the English. It is evident, from the light since thrown upon the condition of the Indians of that day, that they could not comprehend the justice of the English in demanding satisfaction for wrongs committed by straggling Indians, even though they were of the same tribe with those of whom the demand was made. Hence for the aggrieved to retaliate was only to put themselves in the same barbarous circumstances with the murderers. It is not at all likely that the principal part of the inhabitants of Block Island had anything to do with the murder of Captain Oldham; and yet it was out of their power, if they would, to deliver up those who were actually concerned in it. Nor is it probable that there was any contrived plan beforehand to murder him, and hence but

* Block Island was then described as being ten miles long, four broad, full of small hills, and all overgrown with brushwood of oak; no good timber. There were two plantations, three miles apart, and about 60 wigwams; some very large and fair; and above 200 acres of corn; some gathered in heaps and some standing. The Indians called it Manisses, which may admit of the interpretation of the "Island of the Little God." It was afterwards owned by Boston men.

† See Trumbull, *Hist. Connecticut*, i. 77.

‡ Mr. Winslow wrote to Deputy Gov. Winthrop to that effect, as appears from the *Journal* of the latter, p. 199, in which he justifies the action, and says "he took it ill" that Gov. Winslow should accuse "us that we had occasioned a war by provoking the Pequots;" and he answered him that, "as much had been done in the expedition as could be expected, considering they fled and could not be followed by the men in armor. That they went not to make war, but to do justice; and having killed thirteen of them for four or five of ours, which they had murdered, &c., we were not much behind them."

§ Capt. Johnson calls it a "bootelesse voyage," which he says, "encouraged the Indians very much, and made them boast that they had deluded the English, "and withall, they blasphemed the Lord, saying 'Englishman's God all one flye, and Englishman all one squawe.'" — *Wond. Work. Prov.*, iii.

‖ "They obtained some little speech with a great number of them at a distance, but after they understood what was propounded to them, first cunningly getting behind a hill, they presently ran away into the woods and swamps, where there was no pursuing them: however, one discharging a gun among them, as they were taking their flight, stayed the course of one, which was all that could be done against them for that time." — *Hubbard, Ind. Wars*, 120.

few could be accessory to it. There may have been a quarrel, or, more probably, a few wicked roving Indians, meeting with him accidentally, thought it a good opportunity to possess themselves of his goods and money; for he had a considerable amount of the latter with him.

The Connecticut and Plymouth people were right in their conjecture about the mischief that might be expected to ensue from so indecisive a blow as that aimed at the Pequots was. For the expedition had scarce left their shores before they besieged the fort at Saybrook in considerable numbers, and cut off many that ventured abroad. Among these was a Mr. Samuel Butterfield,* "a godly young man," † whom they took prisoner and roasted alive.

Complaints were soon as loud against the war as they had been for it, and great fears began to be entertained that the Pequots would overcome the Narragansets by negotiation, and cause them to unite against the Settlers. No times could be more critical for the English than those which were now veiled in the future. Boston, although at considerable distance from both the Narragansets and Pequots, trembled for its own safety. Connecticut had just began to be settled; scarcely one hundred and fifty Englishmen could be found in it. Roger Williams, with about half a dozen men, had just made a beginning at Providence. Hence there was no barrier between the hostile Indians and Boston. Mr. Williams was fully aware of the actual state of things. He saw that if these two powerful nations of Indians were united, the English must, in all probability, be swept from the country; and though he did not, perhaps, fear for his own personal safety, for wherever he went he was greatly beloved by the Indians, yet he labored night and day for the good of the whole. His value to the community from which he had been forced to fly, soon became very apparent. He kept the people of Boston constantly advised of the plans of the Indians.

Oct. 21. Governor Vane having meanwhile invited Miantonimo to visit Boston, he came here soon after. There came with him another Sachem, two sons of Canonicus, and about twenty men. The Governor

* I learn his Christian name from Niles' *Indian and French Wars*, in which is given a very different account of the affair in which he was killed, from our other authors. How that author got his information does not appear. This work of the Rev. Mr. Niles lay in manuscript from 1762, the time of the author's death, till 1834; about this latter year, I called the attention of the Publishing Committee of the Mass. Hist. Soc., in whose keeping it was, to some circumstances connected with it, and they *began* to print it in a volume of their Colls. Why it was cut off in the middle of a sentence, perhaps they could have explained. Certain it is they promised to print the rest of it. That promise has not been performed, though almost *twenty years* have expired since it was made, and some of those who made it are yet living.

† Winthrop, i. 118. — He was son-in-law of "Old Mr. Michell." Gardiner does not mention Butterfield by name, but says the man taken was a brother of "Mr. Mitchell, the minister of Cambridge." By which, it must be understood, "minister of Cambridge" when Gardiner wrote (1658). "Old Mr. Michell" here mentioned, was Mr. Matthew Mitchell, who came over with Mr. Richard Mather in 1635, as recorded *ante*, p. 185. Mather, *Magnalia*, B. iv., 167, has, by one of his vain pedantic flourishes, misled others besides Farmer, in regard to the Christian name of the father of Jonathan Mitchell, of Cambridge. Butterfield had probably married a sister of Mr. Mitchell, which explains what Gardiner says, and likewise what Mather says. "Old Mr. Michell," the father-in-law of Butterfield, was with him when he fell into the hands of the Indians, but he himself escaped. Three were killed on the spot, one had five arrows shot into him, and yet recovered.

being notified by Kutshamokin of their coming, the day before they arrived, sent twenty musketeers to Roxbury, who escorted them into town about twelve o'clock. Preparations had been made to enter into a treaty, and the most of the Magistrates and Ministers were assembled to give counsel and advice in the proceedings. It being dinner time, the Sachems and their Council dined by themselves in the same room with the Governor, but the Chief's attendants were dined at the inn of Mr. Cole.* After dinner Miantonimo was requested to propound terms on which he would enter into a treaty, which he did, and then they adjourned till the next day. Accordingly they went in the morning, and a treaty was drawn up, and signed by the Governor and the Indians. The English confessed that they did not think the Indians quite understood it, though Kutshamokin interpreted it to them as well as he could; therefore they agreed to send a copy of it to Mr. Williams, with a request that he would explain it to them.† This being finished, Miantonimo was escorted out of town after dinner, and dismissed with a volley of shot.

Oct. 22.

Treaties thus made could at best afford but faint hopes of security under their provisions, whatever they might be. And in the present state of existing relations, distrust continued, and reasonable fears were entertained that possibly the Pequots might succeed in winning over the Narragansets to their interest; and it will ever remain a question whether they would not have succeeded, had it not been for the interposition of Roger Williams. He received pressing letters from the Governor and others of Boston, urging him to prevent a peace, if possible, between the Narragansets and Pequots. Thus importuned he renewed his exertions, though at the utmost peril of his life. "The Lord helped me," he says, "immediately to put my life into my hand, and scarce acquainting my wife, to ship myself, all alone, in a poor canoe, and to cut through a stormy wind with great seas, every minute in hazard of life, to the Sachem's house. Three days and three nights my business forced me to lodge and mix with the bloody Pequot ambassadors, whose hands and arms, me thought, wreaked with the blood of my countrymen, and from whom I could not but nightly look for their bloody knives at my own throat also; when God wonderfully preserved me, and helped me to break in pieces the Pequot's negotiations and designs."

From this time until the Pequots were subdued, there was not even a wavering among the Narragansets, and they served the English faithfully throughout the war; notwithstanding the Pequots used the most powerful of human arguments to bring them to see what they conceived to be their vital interests; namely, their own preservation.‡ And so confi-

* See *ante*, p. 166.

† The Treaty may be seen in Winthrop's *Journal*, i. 199.

‡ Captain Johnson was not probably aware of the labors of Mr. Williams in preventing the league, and attributes the ruling motive of the Narragansets to an ancient hatred they cherished towards the Pequots, and Mr. Hubbard, as usual, improves upon Johnson's ideas, in the following passages: "Machiavel himself," he says, "if he had sat in council with them, could not have insinuated stronger reasons to have persuaded them to a peace."—*Narrative*, 121, ed. 4to, London, 1677.

dent were the Pequots that they should enlist the Narragansets against the Settlers, that they continued their depredations, wherever they found an opportunity. About the time Miantonimo was making a treaty at Boston, they took and murdered Mr. John Tilly* in a manner too revolting to be related.† Tilly went from Boston, or some place about the "Bay," in a small bark for the Trading House at Suckiag (Hartford), and as he was coming down the river, he carelessly went on shore, and thus fell into the cruel hands of the Pequots. When he arrived at Saybrook on his way out, Captain Gardiner cautioned him aganst the danger to which he would be exposed in his passages; but "Mr. Tille" took it ill of him, because the Captain would exercise some authority over all such as went up the river. But Tilly being "a stout man," had great confidence in himself, and that confidence cost him his life, and the country the services of a brave and active man. He was killed on a point of land within view of the fort, which Gardiner named Tilly's Folly. Notwithstanding great watchfulness was observed at Saybrook all winter, yet there happened a desperate and bloody fight but a short distance from it. Captain Gardiner with ten men was ambushed while performing some necessary labor, and escaped only by cutting their way through a great body of Indians with their swords; several were killed and others badly wounded, among whom was Captain Gardiner himself.‡

Oct. 25.

Feb. 22.

About the same time Governor Vane wrote to Gardiner, requesting his opinion as to the best means of quelling the Pequots. With his answer Gardiner sent a man's rib-bone half shot through with an arrow. The Pequots thought they had killed Gardiner in the late fight, and a swarm of near three hundred of them immediately after beleaguered the fort; but on finding out their mistake they fell back to their old modes of operation. Pretty soon, however, the Narragansets began the war upon them, as they had agreed to do, and they drew off altogether from Saybrook to oppose them. Having had some success against the Pequots, Miantonimo sent twenty-six of his men to Boston with a present of twenty-six fathoms of wampum, and a

Mar. 21.

* The residence of Tilly is not pointed out. There was a John Tilly early at Dorchester. There were Hugh and John "Tille" about the north side of the Bay, some time before Boston was settled. — See *ante*, p. 57. Whether that John Tille were the same with him killed by the Pequots, is not quite certain. There were *Edward and John* Tilly of the Mayflower; they were both dead before the end of March, 1620–1, but they both had families; and there were Tillies in several places in the Colony of Plymouth about the time of the Pequot war.

† Some further particulars may be read in the Book of the Indians, 169, 11*th edition*. — See also *Winthrop*, i. 200; *Gardiner*, (in Mass. H. C., vol. 23, p. 147); *Underhill* (*in idem*, 26, p. 15.)

‡ It seems, from Gardiner's own account of the affair, that some of the Boston people had spoken lightly of the ability of the Indians to do execution with their arrows. He says he "found one of the dead men with an arrow shot entirely through him, except half a rib on the opposite side of his body, from that in which the arrow entered. This he preserved, and also the rib, intending to send it to Boston, to let the Authorities know there, that Indian arrows were not to be spoken so lightly of as some had done." Dr. I. Mather says, there were about 70 Indians who fought Gardiner, and that they killed four of his men; that a fifth was sorely wounded, but recovered, and lived to cut off the head of the very Indian who wounded him, the next year. — *Relation*, 45. About 300 Pequots came a few days after and challenged the English to come out and fight, mocking them by imitating the cries of those they had tortured; but a discharge of grape-shot caused them to make a sudden adjournment. — *Ibid.* 46.

Pequot's band to show that he had kept his word by fighting the enemies of the English. In return presents were made to four of the chief of the deputation, which consisted of a coat for each, worth fourteen shillings apiece.

April 10. Owing partly to the complaints from Connecticut, the Authorities at Boston concluded to send twenty men to Saybrook. They were now dispatched for that place, under the command of Captain Underhill, but at the charge of Connecticut.

April 23. Governor Haynes had, on the third of April, left Boston for Connecticut, his future residence. On his arrival at Saybrook he wrote back* "that the Pekods had been up the river at Wethersfield, and had killed six men, being at their work, and twenty cows and a mare, and had killed three women, and carried away two maids."† The "maids" were not long after liberated through the exertions of the Dutch; the Governor of whom, Wouter Von Twitter, Esq., at New Amsterdam, ordered his men to rescue them at all hazards, even to the breaking of the Peace with the Indians. A Dutch sloop was sent into the mouth of the Thames for the purpose, but the Pequots would hear to no terms of ransom, and stratagem alone succeeded. Several Pequots, having been seduced on board the vessel, were seized and held till the captive girls were produced.

May 1. The feeble settlements on the Connecticut held a General Court at Hartford, and resolved "on an offensive warr against the Pequoitt." Ninety men were immediately assembled and put under the command of Capt. John Mason. This was almost the entire strength of the Colony; but they had secured the interest of the Mohegans, who to the number of about eighty warriors marched with them against their own countrymen.

A glance now at the state of the country shows that the Pequots had rushed headlong to the very brink of destruction. They had done all they could to irritate their adversary, and had effected nothing by way of alliance with other tribes. They now stood single-handed against four nations, as it were, two of their own countrymen, and two of the English.

May 10. In less than ten days, Mason had collected his forces together, and in three frail barks fell down the river to Saybrook; and here, with Captains Gardiner and Underhill, future proceedings were

* To whom the letter was directed, *Winthrop*, my authority, does not say. During the administration of Gov. Vane, Winthrop often speaks of the Government as "we;" and now, "we received a letter." It was probably directed to Mr. Vane.

† "Sequin, a head man of the River Indians, gave lands on the river to the English, that he might sit down by them and be protected. But when he came to Wethersfield [then called Watertown] and set up his wigwam, the people drove him away by force. Resenting the wrong, but wanting strength to revenge it, he secretly drew in the Pequots, who came up the river, and killed six men," &c.— Lothrop's *Cent. Ser. at W. Springfield*, 1796, p. 23–4. *Winthrop*, i. 260. See also Mr. Goodwin's *Geneal. of the Foote Fam. Int.* p. xxi–ii., in which are found the names of two of the men that were killed, namely, Abraham and John Finch, but the names of the others do not appear; one of the girls taken was a daughter of William Swaine. — Other facts of great interest may be seen in Gardiner's, Underhill's, Vincent's, Hubbard's and Mather's histories.

arranged. The few sick and feeble men were sent home, and their places supplied from the men at the fort, and to Mason's "Army" Underhill and his twenty men were added.

May 21. The Pequots had watched narrowly all the movements thus far, and well knew themselves were the object of them; but this morning, May the twenty-first, when they saw the transports sail out of the mouth of the Connecticut, they supposed that they were upon some other design. They watched them closely, however, by runners from hill to hill and from point to point on the coast, until they saw the vessels sail by the mouth of their river, since called the Thames. They then confidently believed that they had nothing further to fear from them; for they most naturally concluded, that, if they were to be attacked, the march would be by land directly across the country from Saybrook; and this, indeed, was the very order of the Council of War at Hartford. But, as in the sequel will be seen, this breach of orders, if it did not prove the salvation of the "Army," proved the destruction of the Pequots.

Thus completely deluded, the short-sighted Pequots set up joyous shouts, as though they had gained a victory; and they sent runners about the country to call their people together, that they might have a season of rejoicing.

May 22. Meanwhile, Mason proceeded on his voyage for Narraganset Bay, which he was two days in performing. Owing to a strong north-west wind, he could not land his men till the evening of the twenty-third of May. He then proceeded directly to the residence of Miantonimo, who received him respectfully, and showed a willingness to assist him; but he expressed astonishment that the English should presume to go against Sassacus with such a small number of men.

May 24. Proceeding on their march, the English were joined by about four hundred Narragansets, and, after a fatiguing travel of about twenty miles, reached the fort of the Nianticks, on the borders of the

May 25. territories of the Pequots. Twelve miles further brought them to a fording place in Paucatuck river, and at night they encamped in hearing of the nearest Pequot fort. This was the fort at Mistick. Here a great number was assembled, and this was the very night they had set to celebrate their deliverance from invasion. Accordingly, until near midnight, they were distinctly heard, giving unrestrained utterance to their joy, in boisterous festivity. Having wearied themselves, and in the fatal confidence that no enemy was near, they all fell into a sound sleep at a late hour of the night; and thus were found an easy prey by their more wily adversary.

May 26. By the light of a splendid moon, the little Army was formed for the march about one o'clock in the morning. The Indians had ceased their shouts of joy, and were, many of them, in their last sleep, as it proved. Moving on, the Indian guides soon brought the English by intricate paths to the foot of the "great hill" on which the fort was. Here, halting his men, Captain Mason inquired of Uncas,

the leader of the Mohegans, where the Indians, his allies, were, for they were not to be seen; and was told they were fallen in the rear, and were "exceedingly afraid." The English were prepared for this, although during the march the Indians had boasted of the great things they would do to the enemy, and how many they would kill; and at the same time "sneered at the Englishman's courage, and said he durst not look a Pequot in the face." Yet now nearly half of the Narragansets had deserted and run away. The most of the rest would have followed, Mason says, had he not promised them that they need not come within shot of the fort, and that they might surround it at a distance, to seize fugitives.

The fort to be attacked had two entrances, at opposite points, and covered a space of twenty acres, which space was so thick set with wigwams, "that the English wanted foot room to grapple with their adversaries;" and the entrances were blocked up with boughs or bushes. Mason, having divided his force, led up the first division in person, the other was led by Captain Underhill. One marched against the western entrance, the other against the eastern. At a few rods' distance, a dog barked, and an Indian, who happened to be outside of the fort, discovered the English when they were about to discharge their guns upon it. He had only time to cry, Englishmen! Englishmen! and that in his own tongue,— *Owanux! Owanux!* when the work of death begun. "Every man," says Underhill, "being bereaved of pity, fell upon the work without compassion, considering the blood they had shed of our native countrymen — having slain, first and last, about thirty persons."



STORMING OF THE PEQUOT FORT.

In attempting to force an entrance, "one Master Hedge was shot through both arms, and more wounded. Captain Mason and myself," says Underhill, "entering into the wigwams, he was shot, and received many arrows against his head-piece. Myself received a shot in the hip, through a sufficient buff coat, which, if I had not been supplied with, the arrow would have pierced through me. Another I received between neck and shoulders." The odds was too great. The English seeing they would be beat out of the fort, Mason with his

own hands set fire to the wigwams,* which in a moment enveloped the whole in flames.† This decided the day. The English with their Indian friends surrounded the burning fort, and shot down those that attempted to escape.‡

Thus, in "about one hour's space," was the power of the Pequots almost annihilated. Between six hundred and seven hundred perished by the sword or the flames; seven only escaping, and seven were taken prisoners. But two of the assailants were killed; one of Mason's company, and one of Underhill's, and twenty wounded.

The vessels which had brought the troops to Narraganset, were ordered to proceed to Pequot to receive them again when they had finished the work for which they came. They arrived within a few hours of the time, and thus Captain Underhill and the Narragansets returned in them to Saybrook, and Captain Mason and his men proceeded to the same place by land, destroying whatever they met with belonging to the Pequots in their march.

As the English were upon their march, after they had destroyed the fort at Mistick, a great body of Pequots from another fort pursued them; frantic with rage for the loss of so many friends, they rushed upon them repeatedly, with the utmost fury; but the troops, facing about, fired their muskets in their faces, by which movements they were as often put to flight. In this retreat of a few miles, one hundred more of the Pequots were supposed to have been killed.

On Captain Mason's return to Hartford there was a day of rejoicing, and he was hailed as a great conqueror.

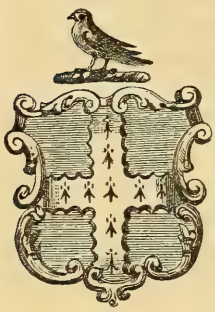
* "So entring one of their wigwams," says Mason, "I took a fire-brand, and suddenly kindled a fire in the mats," &c. — Mason *in Hubbard*, 125. — "At which time, an Indian drawing an arrow, had killed him, but one Davis, his Sergeant, cut the bow-string with his courtlace." — *Hubbard*, 125–6.

† Their wigwams were substantial, and covered with mats of grass, which being very dry, and the fire being set on the "windward side, did swiftly overrun the whole fort," out of which the English then retreated, "only one, Arthur Smith, was so wounded he could not move out of the place, but who was happily rescued from the flames by Lieut. Thomas Bull." — *Mather's Relation*, 32.

‡ Winthrop records the Fight under 25 May, and adds, "Presently came news [to Boston] from Narraganset, that all the English, and 200 of the Indians [friends] were cut off in their retreat;" and that three days later "this was confirmed by a Post from Plimouth, with such probable circumstances, as it was generally believed." — *Journal*, i. 225.

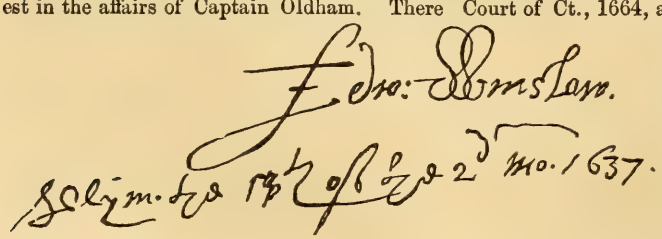
CHAPTER XXIII.

Pequot War continued. — Negotiations with Plymouth. — Letter of Edward Winslow upon the Subject. — Winslow comes to Boston. — States the Reasons why Plymouth should not engage in the War. — Election. — Great Excitement. — Seat of Government removed from Boston to Newtown. — Preparations for the War. — March of Capt. Patrick. — Other Forces raised. — Thanksgiving. — March of Capt. Stoughton. — Letter of John Humfrey. — Stoughton arrives at Pequot. — Pursues the Indians. — His Dispatches. — Surprises a large Number. — Puts many of them to Death. — Some protected by the Nianticks, whose Chief is cited to Boston. — Appears and gives Satisfaction. — Death of Pequot Chiefs, Sassacus, Mononotto. — Swamp Fight. — Many Prisoners taken. — Stoughton proceeds to Block Island. — Close of the War.



April 1. ABOUT the first of April, Mr. Winthrop wrote to the Governor of Plymouth for advice respecting proceedings against the Pequots, and probably hinting something about the propriety of that Colony's taking a part in the war, by furnishing men or means, or both. This letter was answered on April 17. the seventeenth following, by Mr. Winslow, by direction of the Governor. In this he says, "Concerning your present busnies, we conceive it will be simply necessary for you to proceed in the war begun with the Pequots, otherwise, the natives we feare will grow into a stronger confederacy, to the further prejudice of the whole English. We are very glad to heare that the Munheges are fallen from the Pequots, and brought to a professed war with them, knowing their inveterate hatred; and, desire it may be nourished by all good meanes." — "But there is one thing of ill consequence, which we heare from Connecticut, viz., that there are some English there that furnish the enemy by way of trade, having made a league with them. If you inquire of Mr. Jesop* who came in the barke with Mr. Harding, you may receive particular information thereabout. That this will be ill taken I doubt not, yet durst doe no other than inform you. Yet, let me commend one thing to your consideracon; how dangerous a thing it may prove, if the Dutch, who seek it, and they, should close by reason of the Pequots' necessity. I speak not this as desiring the benefit of their trade, for we are weary of the worke, as we are dealt withall."†

* John Jessop, of Connecticut, had an interest in the affairs of Captain Oldham. There was a John Jessop, Deputy to the General Court of Ct., 1664, at which time he represented Westchester. See *Public Recs. of Ct.*, 12, 425–6, and Bolton's *Hist. Westchester*, i. 259–61.



† Autograph letter of Edward Winslow, never published, in possession of the Author.

Other communications followed. Plymouth had been urged to send some of her Government officers to Boston to negotiate upon the subject of the war. Mr. Winslow excused the Government, in the letter from which the above extract is made, for not having complied with the request, instead of writing; and observed, that if, after the election in the Bay, Mr. Winthrop had any desire to speak with him, he would find him at Goodman Stow's in Roxbury; but no particular time for seeing him is mentioned.

It is evident that the Government of Plymouth had a disinclination to have anything to do in the war; but Mr. Winslow was finally deputed to meet the Authorities at Boston, and to discuss the matter. At this interview Mr. Winslow said the Pequot war was none of their quarrel; and, in the next place, Boston had refused to lend its aid to Plymouth when they had been solicited to do so on a like occasion. Other objections were stated, all of which were answered, but no conclusion is stated.*

May 12.

The time for an annual election having arrived, it was held at Newtown. Great excitement prevailed. There was a large party, which may be denominated the liberal party, at the head of which were Mr. Cotton and Mr. Vane. At the head of the other were Mr. Wilson and Mr. Winthrop. These were very nearly equal, and this occasioned the anxiety, and "there was danger," says Winthrop, "of a tumult that day; for those of that side [the liberal party] that grew into fierce speeches, and some laid hands on others." Winthrop and his party, however, prevailed, being himself elected Governor, Mr. Dudley Deputy Governor, Mr. Endicott a standing Counsellor, and Mr. Israel Stoughton and Mr. Richard Saltonstall Assistants. Mr. Shepard preached the Election Sermon.

May 17.

It had been a custom of some two years' standing, established by the General Court, that at the Court of Election the Governor should be attended by six men, selected by himself, whose duty it was to carry halberds and swords on that day, as a sort of body-guard to the Governor and the other members of the Court. These six men were denominated the Serjeants, and they attended on Mr. Vane to the place of

* It appears, however, by a letter (a) from the Court of Plymouth, that that Colony finally agreed to furnish forty men, &c. But it was the 5th of June before they made that "solemn act of court," and gave notice that they had done so; and then they were not wanted. Mr. Hubbard must have been ignorant of what had hitherto passed between Boston and Plymouth in respect to this war, or he would hardly have said in his *Narrative* (121), that when Plymouth was applied to "she appeared very cordially willing" to engage in it; and that before their quota of men "could be dispatched away, news was brought that the enemy was wholly routed; so as their journey was stopped, and their good will accepted for the deed, as if they really had been there to have borne their part in the service; their non-appearance in time and place being not to be imputed to any backwardness in their minds." This, from anything to be gathered from the same author to the contrary, looks like setting up a strong defence for a party which had not been accused, but possibly might be very liable to be. The same day that the Court of Plymouth decided to enter into the war, the letter of Mr. Winslow, before mentioned, was dated, namely, June 5th, and at the same time a trusty Indian runner arrived at Plymouth from Nemasket, with the news of the overthrow of the Pequots at Mistick.

(a) See Mr. Winslow's letter (in *Hutchinson's Col.* 60–1). It is exceeding strange that Hutchinson should print this letter antedated a year. He has done the same by one of Captain Stoughton's, *ib.* 61–2.

election this year ; but when they saw that he had lost his election, they laid down their halberds and went home, leaving the new Governor to appoint others or go without any. "And," says Winthrop, "whereas they had been wont to attend the former Governor to and from the meetings on the Lord's days, they gave over now, so as the new Governor was fain to use his own servants to carry two halberds before him ; whereas the former Governor had never less than four." *

May 18. Boston had omitted to choose its Representatives till after the General Election, and thereupon the Town chose "Mr. Henry Vane, Mr. William Coddington and Mr. Atherton Haulgh ;" but they were refused seats as members, by the majority of the court,

May 19. and were sent home again, and an order to the Town for a new election. The next day the voters assembled and chose the same gentlemen.†

The people of Boston were not without almost daily advices of what was passing in and about Connecticut river, and though the late exciting election had diverted them somewhat from immediate action in the war, yet, within a week after that matter was settled, a company of

May 22. forty men was put under the command of Capt. Daniel Patrick, of Watertown. These were hastened away, because intelligence had just been received from Miantonimo, that the Pequots, seeing they could not escape from a war, had sent away their women and children "to an island." This was only a rumor probably, though it may have been true to some extent; for there were some hundreds of "women, children and old men" that perished in the fort at Mistic.

May 24. While Mason lay with his forces at Narraganset, he received a letter from Captain Patrick, stating that he was arrived at Roger Williams' plantation, and should join him with his force as soon as possible. But Mason and Underhill concluded it unsafe to delay, as there was a communication between the Narraganset women and the Pequots, and hence there was great danger that their design might be discovered and frustrated ; therefore they marched without delay to attack the Pequots, the result of which has just been recounted. In the mean time Patrick arrived at Narraganset in time to embark in the same vessels which had brought Mason, and returned in them to the mouth of the

* "The former Governor and Mr. Coddington, being discontented that the people had left them out of all public service, gave further proof of it in the congregation, for they refused to sit in the Magistrates' seat, where Mr. Vane had always sitten from his first arrival, and went and sate with the deacons, although the Governor sent to desire them to come in to him. And upon the general Fast, they went from Boston to keep the day at the Mount with Mr. Wheelwright." — Winthrop, *Journal*, i. 224. The only question, or at least the first question to be settled, in considering the result of the election, is, whether it was really done by a majority of the legal voters, or whether certain manœuvres, practised by Mr. Wilson and the old Governor, had not an undue effect in bringing it about. I offer no opinion upon it, but merely state the facts as they are. A knowledge of subsequent preceedings is necessary to form a judgment. — See *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, ii., 133, &c.

† Winthrop says, *Journal*, i., 220, "The Court being grieved (at the first choice) found means to send them home again, for that two of the freemen of Boston had no notice of the election. So they went all home, and the next morning they returned the same gentlemen ; and the court not finding how they might reject them, they were admitted." — See, also, *Town Records.*

Thames. Thence he marched with Mason from Pequot to Saybrook.* Both Underhill and Mason seem to have had a dislike of Patrick.†

It had been agreed at Boston, before the march of Captain Patrick, that two hundred men should be raised by Massachusetts to assist Connecticut in carrying on the war. But before the remaining one hundred and sixty‡ could be got ready, news was brought of the fall of Mistick. It was therefore thought needless to send so large a force. But some of the people began to murmur against a reduction of the original number,§ and sent a deputation to remonstrate with the Governor, accompanied by three ministers. "The Governor took it ill." However, "it was thought fit to send about forty ‖ men more, which was yielded, rather to satisfy the people, than for any need that appeared." Yet it was generally believed that the Pequots were still formidable. The much-dreaded Sassacus had not been killed or taken, and he held a strong fort at a few miles from that destroyed at Mistick. Therefore vigorous efforts were considered to be yet necessary.

June 15. There was a day of thanksgiving kept throughout Massachusetts, and about the same time Capt. Israel Stoughton, of Dorchester, sailed from Boston for the Pequot country. He was Commander-in-chief of the expedition. Capt. William Traske, of Salem, led the Essex men, and Richard Davenport was his Lieutenant. Mr. Wilson, of Boston, went as Chaplain.¶

Notwithstanding the principal power of the Pequots was broken, the stern cry of vengeance was continued, and Captain Stoughton embarked with one hundred and twenty men for the Pequot country. Amidst the preparations to crush those Indians, no voice of compassion is heard for even such of them, as, from their age or other circumstances, could merit no retributive scourge from the hand of a foe. All seemed of one opinion, namely, that the "sins of the fathers should be visited upon their children," in the most literal sense of the language of inspiration.

There is, indeed, a solitary letter in existence, in which the writer

* Compare Mather's *Relation*, *Hubbard*, *Underhill and Mason's Histories*, by which the author has been able to show the Proceedings of Patrick, hitherto unexplained.

† "And although Captain Mason told him he did not delight in his company, yet he would and did march along with him." — Mason in *I. Mather*, 35.

‡ The 160 men were thus assessed on the towns: —

Boston,	26	Roxbury,	10
Salem,	18	Newtown,	9
Ipswich,	17	Newbury,	8
Saugus,	16	Hingham,	6
Watertown,	14	Weymouth,	5
Dorchester,	13	Medford,	3
Charlestown,	12	Marblehead,	3
			160

§ And Mr. Winslow, writing by authority of the Court of Plymouth, 5 June, says, "Let not this [the news of the fall of Mistick] discourage the sending of your 160 men, but take such revenge as may be a service to after times," &c. — Hutchinson, *Coll. Orig. Papers*, 61.

‖ From what will elsewhere appear, what Winthrop means by this is, that the intended 160 men were to be *reduced forty;* for Mason says, that 120 arrived in the Connecticut, under Stoughton, to join in prosecuting the war. — See Mason in *Hist. Colls. Mass.*, 18 vol., p. 145. Same in I. Mather's *Relation*, 36.

¶ Lots were cast to determine which should go, Mr. Wilson or Mr. Eliot, and the lot fell to the former. — *Col. Recs.* "I think I have heard that reverend man of God, Mr. Wilson, say, that *he was, before he went out, as certain that God would give the English the victory as if he had seen it already obtained.*" — I. Mather, *Relation*, 54.

June 7. ventures to suggest to the Magistrates of Boston, in the time of their energetic preparations to send out Captain Stoughton, whether it would not be better to make peace with the Pequots, who probably now would be glad of almost any terms; even to the "delivering up of these men or their heads, who had wrought and brought so much miserie upon themselves and theirs; or, if not so, whether, if they gave good assurance by hostages, the blood shed by them might not seem to be sufficiently expiated;"* with much more upon the subject of the war, in the same benevolent strain. But it had no visible effect.

June 26. By an order of the General Court of Connecticut it appears that the squadron under Stoughton had arrived in the mouth of the river before the twenty-sixth of June; † as on this day Mr. Haynes and Mr. Ludlowe were directed to repair thither to treat with Captain Stoughton about prosecuting the war.

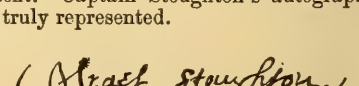
Meanwhile Sassacus and another distinguished Chief, Mononotto, with the greater part of the remaining Pequots, had fled westward along the coast, and Captain Mason being joined with the Massachusetts forces, with about forty men, pursued on after them. But the aspect of the war was now changed. The enemy at once became wanderers in strange places, with extremely precarious means of subsistence; "owing to their children and want of provisions," their flight was slow, and they became an easy prey wherever they could be found. Their own countrymen were cruel enemies to them, who were as much to be avoided as the now desperate and exulting Englishmen. Stoughton made several dispatches to the Government, of his operations, but very few of them are preserved. From one,‡ hitherto unpublished, received at Boston

July 6. on the sixth of July, it appears he was then lying with his forces in "Pequid" river, and Captain Mason had joined him with thirty men. Mr. Haynes and Mr. Ludlow were also with them. He said "there was yet good tuff work to be done, and how deere it would cost was unknown; for Sasaco[s] was resolued to sell his life as deere as he could," and so was "Momowattuck, another great chief." A third great Chief § had been delivered into their hands, but him they detained to be "serviceable to them," though they would not promise him his life. Forty-eight other prisoners, by a pinnace, "being Giggles,"‖ were shipped for Boston, where they arrived at the date above mentioned. Stoughton's dispatch came with them. He further says, "we

* Autograph letter of the Hon. JOHN HUMFREY, dated June 7th, 1637, never published, in possession of the author.

† Mason says Stoughton arrived there in "about a fortnight after his soldiers returned home from Mistick fight." They probably "returned home by the first of June." — See Mason in *I. Mather*, 36.

‡ There is no date to this, but it is marked as having been received, 5 : 6. Few names are contained in the letter. — "Steward Calacot, Lifetenant Damport [Davenport], Sosomon" (a Dorchester Indian, an interpreter, of whom hereafter), are all, except those mentioned in the text. Captain Stoughton's autograph is here truly represented.



§ He was sent out as a spy afterwards, of whose adventures there is a curious account in Hubbard, *Nar.*, 128.

‖ This name, I question not, should be *Jiggles*. There was a Thomas Jiggles, of Boston, at a later date. — See Caulkins' *Hist. N. London*, 244.

heare of a great number [of Pequots] vp y^e^ country among y^e^ Neepenetts." He then proceeds to say, "we have settled on a place for our randavooze, y^e^ best we could for y^e^ present; vpon y^e^ mouth of Pequid riuer, on y^e^ Naanticot side, where we have 100 acres of corne, if not two or three hundred men at hand, and a curio^s^ spring of water within o^r^ pallazado, and may, by great guns, comand y^e^ riuer." "We shall y^e^ next weake joyne in seeing w^t^ we can do against Sasaco^s^, and another great Sagamo^r^, Momowattuck."

Stoughton had before, probably in a letter to Winthrop, detailed the manner in which the Indian prisoners, now received, came into his hands; he "having pursued the Pequots beyond Connecticot, and missing, returned to Pequot river, where they were advertised that one hundred of them were newly come back to a place some twelve miles off. So they marched thither by night and surprised them all." * They "put to death twenty-two men, and reserved two Sachems, hoping by them to get Sasacus, which they promised. All the rest were women and children, of whom they gave the Narragansets thirty, our Massachusetts Indians three, and the rest sent hither. These were disposed of to particular persons in the country. Some of them ran away, and were brought again by the Indians, our neighbors, and these we branded on the shoulder." †

Several of the Pequots had fled down into the Niantick country, where Ninigret ‡ was Sachem. This Chief was desirous to shield them from destruction, and at the same time to be at peace with the English. July 12. He therefore came to Boston with seventeen of his men, bringing a present of ten fathoms of wampum. The Authorities refused to treat with him unless he would now agree to give up the Pequots. He at first declined the proposition, July 13. but the next day he submitted to it. His present was then received, but he was referred to the Commanders of the army at Pequot to treat further; for which purpose instructions were sent to



NINIGRET.

* "Being first trepanned by the Narragansetts, under pretence of securing them, by which means" the "Massachusetts forces had an easie conquest over them. The men among them, to the number of thirty, were turned presently into Charon's ferry-boat, under command of Skipper Gallop, who dispatched them a little without the harbor."—Hubbard, *Nar.* 127. This exploit was before the arrival of the Connecticut men, and Mason passes lightly over it in his history. A little jealousy is observable among the Connecticut people. They were fearful lest Massachusetts should get too large a share of the glory of the war.

† Winthrop, *Journal*, i. 231–2. See also Hubbard's *Nar.*, 127.

‡ This Chief had the address to save himself and his people generally, from the destruc-

them by Ninigret. Then "he was lovingly dismissed, with some small things given him." *

Meanwhile Sassacus, with twenty or thirty of his people, fled to the Mohawks, who soon after murdered him and all his followers, "being lured thereunto by the Narhagansets, as was confidently affirmed and believed." †

Being joined with the Connecticut forces, Captain Stoughton sailed for Quinnipiak, afterwards named New Haven. They were three days in reaching that point. While the vessels sailed along the coast, a party of the English proceeded by land, accompanied by the Mohegans under Uncas. At a point of land now in the town of Guilford, they captured a small party of Pequots who had retreated there to elude their pursuers. One of them proved to be Mononotto, the last great Chief of the Pequots. He was at once put to death, his head cut off and set upon a tree, and the name of Sachem's Head given to the point, by which it has ever since been known. The wife of Mononotto was taken prisoner. As it was known that through her means the lives of the two captive girls of Wethersfield were preserved, she and her children were spared, "and in special recommended" to Governor Winthrop, of Boston, "who," on her arrival here, "taking notice of her modest countenance and behavior, gave special charge concerning her." ‡

July 13. Animated by success, the English, by the aid of their Indian allies, were able to scour the country far and wide. At length, coming "to a small Indian town seated by the side of a hideous swamp, into which they all slipt, as well Pequots as natives of the place. § Before our men could make a shot upon them, Mr. Ludlow and Captain Mason, with half a score of their men, happened to discover this crew. Captain Patrick and Captain Traske, with about one hundred of the Massachusetts men, came in upon them." Order was given to surround the swamp, but Lieutenant Davenport, rushing into the swamp with some twelve others, came near being cut off. He was "sorely wounded," as were two Ipswich men, John Wedgewood and Thomas Sherman. They were rescued at great peril by Serjeant Riggs of Roxbury. It being near night, the swamp was partially surrounded

July 14. to prevent the escape of any; but early the next morning about thirty of the "lustiest of the enemy" broke through where Captain Patrick's company were stationed, and escaped to the

tion which fell successively upon the other tribes. He was alive till after Philip's war. For nearly all the facts which have been preserved about him, see the BOOK OF THE INDIANS, Book ii., 131, 146, and 153, edition 1851. For some signal service which he performed for Governor Winthrop of Connecticut, that gentleman caused his portrait to be painted; from a copy of which, in the possession of the late GRANVILLE TEMPLE WINTHROP, Esq., the accompanying engraving is made.

* Winthrop, *Journal*, i. 232.

† Hubbard, *Narrative*, 128.

‡ Ibid., 131.

§ Hubbard, *Narrative*, 129. The "hideous swamp" mentioned by Hubbard was a beautiful field when Dr. Dwight wrote his poem, "Greenfield Hill," and probably long before. It lies in the town of Fairfield, on the borders of Long Island Sound, about three miles from Greenfield Hill. — See *Green. Hill, a Poem*, INTROD.

woods. Some of them, however, lost their lives in the attempt; "the rest were left to the mercy of the conquerors, of which many were killed in the swamp, like sullen dogs, that would rather, in their self-willedness and madness, sit still to be shot through or cut in pieces, than receive their lives for the asking at the hands of those into whose power they were now fallen. Some that are yet living [1677], and worthy of credit, do affirm that in the morning, entering into the swamp, they saw several heaps of them sitting close together, upon whom they discharged their pieces, laden with ten or twelve pistol bullets at a time, putting the muzzles of their pieces under the boughs within a few yards of them; so as, besides those that were found dead (near twenty), it was judged that many more were killed and sunk into the mire, and never were minded more by friend or foe." * "To this issue," says the same author, "was the Pequod war brought." Some two or three hundred prisoners were taken from the swamp. These were divided among the allies. Of those brought to Boston, fifteen of the boys and two women were sent for Bermudas to be sold for slaves; but they were carried to the Island of Providence, in the West Indies.†

August. In the beginning of August Captain Stoughton proceeded to Block Island. After killing "one or two" of the Indians, he got a parley with them, who finally agreed to submit to the English, to pay a hundred fathom of wampum, and to deliver up any that could be found that had had any hand in Captain Oldham's death.

Aug. 5. Mr. Wilson returned to Boston from the army. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone came with him.‡ They took Providence in their way, doubtless to have an interview with Mr. Williams. The same day arrived also Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Pynchon, and about twelve others. They "came the ordinary way by land, and brought with them a part of the skin and lock of hair of Sasacus and his brother, and five other Pequod Sachems, who, being fled to the Mohawks for shelter, with their wampum, being to the value of five hundred pounds," were put to death, as before mentioned. "So that now there had been slain and taken between eight and nine hundred. Whereupon letters were sent to Mr. Stoughton and the rest to call them all home." §

Such is the almost possibly briefest, and, at the same time, connected history of the Pequot war, that the nature of the subject seemed to allow; nor can it by any construction be deemed foreign to the history of Boston. Boston counsel directed it; one of its principal Captains led Boston men to storm the stronghold at Mistick; and Boston men kept the field as long as an enemy was to be feared.

* Hubbard, 130–2.

† See Winthrop, i.

‡ These came, probably, to attend the ecclesiastical synod which was to meet on the 30th of the month. See next Chapter.

§ Winthrop, *ut supra*, i. 235.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Religious Controversy. — Persecutions. — The Persecuted found other Colonies. — Grounds of the Difficulties. — Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. — Mr. John Wheelwright. — Cotton and Vane favor Mr. Wheelwright. — Fast Sermon of the latter. — Called to an Account for Opinions advanced in it. — It is pronounced Seditious. — Ordered to appear for further Trial. — A Synod called to decide what Errors existed. — Mr. Wheelwright tried and banished. — Boston remonstrates. — Remonstrants proceeded against. — Some expelled the Court. — Case of Aspinwall, Coggeshall, Baulston, and others. — Mrs. Hutchinson. — Parentage and Character. — Trial and Banishment. — Killed by the Indians. — Remonstrants disarmed. — Case of Captain Underhill. — Governor Winthrop censured. — State of the Boston Church.



WHILE the whole of New England was distracted by a war with the Indians, Boston was more distracted, if possible, with religious dissensions, in which parents were set against children, children against parents, brother against brother, as is always the case in religious as well as political controversies.

The dissension of which notice is now to be taken was far more detrimental to the prosperity of Boston than any other, from the day of its settlement to the time of the Revolutionary War. Other places, though benefitted by Boston's misfortune, were not so in a corresponding degree. The Dutch of New York offered the persecuted of Boston the free enjoyment of their religion, which some gladly embraced by settling in that Colony. Rhode Island was settled by Boston people, and Mr. John Wheelwright led a colony hence to New Hampshire, and founded Exeter.*

The grounds of these distractions may be thus briefly stated.† It was maintained by those called *Antinomians*,‡ or *Familists*,§ that the

* It may not be amiss to state in this connection, in answer to the remark of Dr. Eliot, "It has always seemed very strange that Mr. Wheelwright did not go with his friends to Rhode Island, instead of removing to New Hampshire," that the Doctor did not seem to be aware that Mr. Wheelwright had large possessions in the last-named Colony. It may be due to the subject to remark, also, in reference to a supposed discovery some years since made, namely, that Mr. Wheelwright made no purchase of lands in N. Hampshire in 1629, as set forth in history, and that a certain deed, purporting to be of such purchase, was a forgery. No argument in favor of the genuineness of said deed will be here offered. I shall only observe, that if the deed in question be a forgery, then a large number of other papers, going to show, incidentally, that there was such a deed or purchase, all written before 1637, and which I myself have seen, are forgeries also.

† From Welde's Preface to Winthrop's *Short Story*. Should any one doubt to whom belongs the chief authorship of the work here cited, let him read Cotton's *Way of the Churches Cleared*, page 56, and elsewhere; but the most conclusive evidence will be found, merely by comparing Winthrop's *Journal*, i. 261, with the *Short Story*, 45–47. Two men, without close conference, could not have written things so exactly coinciding, being word for word in many places.

‡ "A sect of people that hold the keeping of Moses' law to be unprofitable, and that there is no sin in children. They began to appear somewhat above 100 years ago [about 1606], and had one John Islebius, a German, for their ringleader." — *Phillip's New World of Words*, 6th ed., by J. K.

§ This was a distinct sect from the Antinomians originally, though they are usually coupled in our books as though they were one and the same. The Familists had their beginning with one Henry Nicholas, before the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He called his followers the "Family of Love," and hence their appellation. — Camden's *Eliz.*, 248.

Law, and the preaching of it, is of no use at all to drive a man to Christ; that a man is justified without faith from eternity; that he is united to Christ by the Spirit, without any act of his; that the graces of saints and hypocrites may be the same; that the whole letter of the Bible is a covenant of works; that no Christian must be pressed to duties of holiness; and so on, to the number of twenty-nine heads, or "dangerous opinions." After Mr. Welde had enumerated these in his Preface, he says they were only "some of them, to give but a taste, for afterwards you shall see a litter of fourscore and eleven of their brats hung up against the sun, besides many new ones of Mistress Hutchinson's; all which they hatched and dandled."

It has been the custom of writers to speak of Mrs. Hutchinson as the origin of the Antinomian troubles; but that is not the true state of the case.* The difficulties with Roger Williams were of the same character, and of a higher date.† It is, however, true that Mrs. Hutchinson had some advantages for gaining proselytes that those who preceded her had not, and abilities of the most superior cast for improving them.

The community that expects to rid itself of all impurities, and to arrive at perfection, must expect its members which constitute it will live forever, and to admit none to be of its number from any other community, and no children to be born in it. The Rulers of Boston were doubtless men in advance of the age in which they lived, and they must not be censured for not having the knowledge which had no existence then, saving, perhaps, in the brains of a few theorists. They had to learn that accidents and misfortunes as often happened to those they were assured led blameless lives, as to the more wicked, when equally exposed to them.

Oct. 25. It was soon found that not only the immediate family of Mrs. Hutchinson fell in entirely with her views, but many of the best and most influential men in Boston were of her way of thinking in matters of religion.‡ So completely was she master of her subject, and so irresistibly did she enforce her views, that she carried Cotton captive. Winthrop for a time wavered, but was finally rescued by the interest of Wilson, § and became her bitterest enemy. Her brother-in-law, Mr. Wheelwright, ‖ having come with his family to Boston about

* Winthrop says, *Journal*, i. 200, that Mrs. Hutchinson "brought over with her two dangerous errors, 1. That the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person; 2. That no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification. From these two grew many branches."

† It is said, in the Preface to the *Short Story*, that those who held "unsound and loose opinions commonly labor'd to work first upon women, being, as they conceived, the weaker to resist; the more flexible, tender, and ready to yield: and if once they could winde in them, they hoped by them, as by an Eve, to catch their husbands also;" and that "most of these seducers lived in Boston."

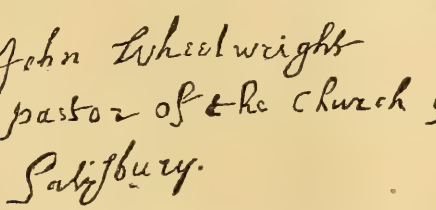
‡ "And indeed it was a wonder upon what a sudden the whole Church of Boston (some few excepted) were become her new converts, and many also out of the Church. She drew, also, some of eminent place and parts to her party." — *Short Story*, 34.

§ The Church of Boston were so displeased with the course of Mr. Wilson, not long after, that when he went into the pulpit near half of the congregation would go out. — *Neal.*

‖ He arrived on the 26th of May of this year, in the same ship with Mr. Samuel Whit-

five months previous, was fully of her opinion.* Many of the inhabitants were highly pleased with Mr. Wheelwright's preaching, and an attempt was made to have him settled permanently in Boston as their preacher. It is natural that the old Ministers should not favor this; for, high as they were estimated for learning, talent and piety, it was possible that a brilliant young Minister like Mr. Wheelwright might, in some degree, eclipse them. Mr. Cotton, nevertheless, was in favor of his settling here. It was finally concluded, however, that he should settle in that part of Boston then called Mount Wollaston,† over "a new Church to be gathered there." Winthrop objected to his being settled on the peninsula, on the ground that "he was apt to raise doubtful disputations," and had advanced sentiments similar to those of his sister Hutchinson; yet Winthrop says he himself might agree with him as to the point in dispute, and that "he thought reverendly of his godliness, and could be content to live under such a ministry." Winthrop's course, however, in reference to Mr. Wheelwright, offended "divers of the brethren;" and, finding this to be the case, he the next day confessed that he had committed an offence, and proceeded to make a long and tedious explanation, and winds up his account of it by saying: "How this was taken by the Congregation did not appear, for no man spake to it." Probably "no man" understood it. The same kind of metaphysics continues to perplex many even to the present day, or all such as seek to find the meaning of what, in itself, means nothing. Mathematicians never argued more unprofitably about the "indivisibility of matter," or "squaring the circle," than the metaphysicians of that age did about "evidencing justification by sanctification," and similar questions.

ing. — See Belknap, *N. H.*, i. 337. He lived at Belleau, in Lincolnshire, which is only two and a half miles from Alford, the residence of the Hutchinson family, into which he married, as previously mentioned. — See *ante*, p. 175. He had an estate at Mawthorpe, in the parish of Willoughby, in the same county, also near Alford, which, in 1677, he gave to his youngest daughter, Sarah, "in consideration of her marriage to Richard Crispe." — See *Suffolk Deeds*, ix. 215. Mr. Wheelwright and his wife were admitted to the Church in Boston, 12 June, 1636. His autograph, as here represented, is traced from the original in the *Mass. Archives*. In his earlier years he wrote his name *Whelewright*, as the records of Exeter witness.



* He had preached against a "covenant of work" before he came to Boston, and had converted Hanserd Knollys to his opinions. After he was silenced he lived for a time privately near London. Knollys heard of him "by some Christians, that he had been instrumental to convert many souls," and set out to visit him. At the same time he learned that Mr. Wheelwright had come into the same neighborhood where he lived, namely, Auderley, in Lincolnshire. After he had had an interview with Mr. Wheelwright, he was fully convinced that he was under a covenant of work. But in two or three other interviews he became enlightened, and immediately set out upon enlightening others. This took place not long before Mr. Wheelwright came over in 1636. Knollys followed him to Boston soon after, as will be seen. — See Life of Knollys, *written by himself*, 18–25.

† "He was desired by many to be their teacher with Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson, but the Church being so well supplied, the Church by vote, on Oct. 30th, 1636, allowed him to preach to some of their members removed to Braintree," &c. — See Hancock's *Cent. Ser.*, 19.

Governor Vane supported the doctrines maintained by Mr. Wheelwright, and carried on a controversy in writing with Winthrop; and Mrs. Hutchinson held a "double weekly lecture," to which a large number of persons constantly resorted, "to the number of fifty, sixty, or eighty at once." * At these lectures she was able to repeat from memory the sermons that she had heard preached, and as she went along would make her own commentaries upon them. In this manner she brought great numbers to her way of thinking.

As soon as there was an organized opposition to the "new doctrines," measures began to be talked of, by which a stop might be put to them, and the Commonwealth saved from ruin; for it was said that the difference between the doctrines maintained by either party was "as great as between Heaven and Hell." Winthrop's party do not seem to have ever had the remotest idea that they could be wrong, or that the other party could be sincere and honest in their opinions. Charity is not heard of among the oppressors; and when those of the "new doctrines" spoke charitably of them, they were spurned the more. That Mr. Wheelwright and his followers believed sincerely that the other party were "under a covenant of work," is quite as clear now, as that a difference existed between the parties.

Jan. 20. A Fast was kept "in all the Churches," to lament the troubles that seemed to be about to overwhelm the country; among others, danger from the Indians, and the dissensions in the Churches are particularly mentioned. In his Fast sermon Mr. Wheelwright "inveighed against all that walked in a covenant of works, called them antichrists, and," according to Winthrop, "stirred up the people against them with much bitterness and vehemency. For this he was called into the Court, and his sermon being produced, he justified it. Whereupon the Elders of the rest of the Churches were called, and being asked, if in their ministry they did walk in such a way, they all acknowledged they did. So, after much debate, the Court adjudged him guilty of Sedition, and also of Contempt,† for that the Court had appointed the fast as a means of reconciliation of the differences, and that he had purposely set himself to kindle and increase them."

Governor Vane "and some few more," at once protested against the decision of the Court, in which they "wholy justified Mr. Wheel-

* "But the last and worst of all," says Mr. Welde, in a tone of deep lamentation, "which most suddenly diffused the venom of these opinions into the very veins and vitals of the people, was Mistress Hutchinson's double weekly-lecture," &c.

† This much talked of sermon has been preserved (in manuscript). Mr. Savage, in a note to Winthrop, thus remarks upon it: — "I unhesitatingly say, that it was not such as can justify the Court in their sentence for *sedition* and *contempt*, nor prevent the present age from regarding that proceeding as an example and a warning of the usual tyranny of ecclesiastical factions." Being descended from one of the chief leaders of the party complained of, namely Mrs. Hutchinson, Mr. Savage excuses himself for not giving a more particular account of her than he has done. I do not object to this, inasmuch as he has defended the other party, Mr. Wheelwright, from whom I am descended, in a very satisfactory manner. All the defence Mrs. Hutchinson requires, I trust I have made for her, and that consists in truly narrating the rise and progress of the unhappy controversy in which she was so large a sharer and sufferer.

wright;" and the Church of Boston tendered a petition in his behalf, and justified his sermon also. Seeing he had so many and such strong friends, the Court concluded to suspend sentence upon him until the next Court; meantime he was "commended to the Church of Boston to take care of him," and ordered to appear at the next Court.

Boston was favorable to the cause of Mr. Wheelwright, and the Court was unwilling to sit where its doings were pretty likely to be condemned by the people.* It was therefore voted that it should be held next at Newtown. Mr. Vane showed his dislike of the proceeding by refusing to put the vote, which was done by Mr. Endicott.

May 17. The result of this day's election has been stated in detailing the progress of the Pequot war, so far as the election of officers was concerned.† So well had the plans of the opposition to the "Antinomians" been concerted, that the result was all they could wish for; yet the Court was not prepared to sentence Mr. Wheelwright, although he appeared as he was ordered to do; so it gave him a respite till the next session, which was to be in August; that in the interim he might "bethink himself and retract his error, otherwise he must expect no favor." To this proposition of clemency, he said, if he were guilty of Sedition he was worthy of death; but if they proceeded against him, he would appeal to the King, and that he had nothing to retract. In the mean time an ecclesiastical Council was convened, to discuss the matter. ‡

That an Assembly, or Synod, formed for a specific object, and of materials of one faith, should find much difficulty in agreeing in condemning those of a different faith, is not to be expected. Under these

Aug. 30. circumstances "an Assembly of the Churches § at New-Town," drew up a "Catalogue of erroneous opinions," to the number

* "A great part of the body of the people, and I am apt to think, at the first, the majority of the Town of Boston, were of the same side the question with those people who afterwards came here." [To Rhode Island.] — See Callender's *Hist. Disc.*, 26.

† See *ante*, page 211.

‡ "An extraordinary act made by the General Court this session, very much heightened the discontent." Many persons of Mr. Wheelwright's opinions in Boston, were expecting their friends from England; a penalty therefore was laid on all persons against entertaining strangers who came with intent to reside, without special liberty from the Government. "This," says Hutchinson, "was a very severe order, and was so disliked by the people of Boston, that upon the Governor's return from Court, they all refused to go out to meet him, or shew him any respect." — *Hist. Mass.* i. 62–3. "Mr. Cotton was so dissatisfied with this law, that he says [in his *Answer to Bailey*] he intended to have removed out of the jurisdiction to Quinnypiack, since called New Haven; but finding the law was not improved to exclude such persons as he feared it would be, he altered his mind." — *Ibid.*, 63. See also Hutchinson's *Coll. of Papers*, 67–100. It was customary, when the Governor returned from Court, for the inhabitants to turn out and escort him to his house; but when he returned to his house in Boston, from Newtown, after the passage of this law, there was no welcome of the kind from the people.

§ "There were all the Teaching Elders through the country, and some new come out of England, not yet called to any place here, as Mr. Davenport," &c. — Winthrop, *Journal*, i. 237. This "Assembly" was "three weeks together at Cambridge, then called New Town. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Bulkley, alias Buckley, being chosen Moderators or Prolocutors, the Magistrates sitting present all that time. as hearers, and speakers also when they saw fit." — Preface to the *Short Story*. Johnson says that at this "first Synod held in New England, there were present about 25 Reverend and Godly Ministers," who were to "assist in cutting downe those cursed errors." There was that "bright shining light, Mr. Davenport, the cheerfull, grave, and gracious soldier of his (the Lord Christ's), Mr. Allen, also Mr. Tompson, Mr. Browne, Mr. Fish, the much honoured Mr. Eaton, and Mr. Hopkins" [both of whom had just come over]. — *Wonder Working Prov.*, 117.

of eighty-two, "as were found brought into New England, and spread under hand there," all of which were found to be heretical.

Oct. 2. Thus fortified by synodical authority, the General Court proceeded to pronounce sentence against the accused,* first calling upon him to state "how his mind stood, whether he would acknowledge his offence or abide the sentence of the Court? His answer was, in effect, that he had committed no Sedition nor Contempt, and had delivered nothing but the truth of Christ." Among a great many other things which the Court urged against him was "the difference which he hath raised amongst men, by a false distinction of a Covenant of Grace, and a Covenant of Works; whereby one party is looked at as friends to Christ, and the other as his enemies," by which "all things are turned upside down amongst us."

The first day of the Court was finished with the record, that Mr. Wheelwright was guilty of "wilfully neglecting all means of light, in that he would not vouchsafe to read a very brief writing, which much concerned him;" and "although the cause was now ready for sentence, yet night being come, the Court arose, and enjoined him to appear the next morning."

Oct. 3. "The next morning he appeared, but long after the hour appointed." When he came, "the Court demanded what he had to allege why sentence should not proceed against him?" He merely asked the Court to point out on what page or leaf of his sermon he had said that of which he was accused.† This the Court evaded by a sort of subterfuge, and sentenced him "*to be disfranchised and banished our Jurisdiction, and to be put in safe custody, except he should give sufficient security to depart before the end of March.* Upon this he appealed to the King's Majesty; but the Court told him an appeal did not lie in this case," for they had full jurisdiction, as expressed in their Charter. As he declined giving "security for his quiet departure," he was committed to the custody of the Marshal.‡ The next day he was permitted

* "It was conceived by the Magistrates and others of the country, that the means which had been used proving ineffectual, the case was now desperate, and the last remedy was to be applied, and that, without farther delay, lest it should be attempted too late, when fitter opportunity might be offered for their advantage, as they had boasted, and did certainly expect upon the return of some of their chief supporters, who by a special providence were now absent from them." — *Short Story*, 23.

† When he was before the former Court he demanded whether he were sent for as an innocent or as a guilty person? and the Court said "neither, but as suspected only;" then he asked for his accusers; and was answered, "his Sermon, which was there in Court." — *Short Story*, 49.

‡ In its "Brief Apology," printed in the *Short Story*, 48 to 64, the Court says, "Objection hath been made against its proceedings, as if Mr. Wheelwright had not a lawful trial, as not being put upon a Jury of Freemen; but the answer to this is easie, it being well known to all such as have understanding of matters of this nature, that such Courts as have power to make and abrogate laws, are tyed by no other orders but their own, and to no other rule but truth and justice; and why thrice twelve men, sitting as Judges in a Court, should be more subject to partiality than twelve such called as a jury to the bar, let others judge." — If Henry the VIII. ever promulgated anything more arbitrary than this, the writer is ignorant of it. That such lawgivers should fear the abrogation of their Charter is very reasonable. No one will wonder, if, as Welde says, some of the persecuted did cry out to their oppressors, that "they were blinded in their legal ways, and would stumble and fall, and in the end break

"to go home, upon his promise that if he were not departed out of this Jurisdiction within fourteen days, he would render himself at the house of Mr. Staunton, one of the Magistrates, there to abide as a prisoner, till the Court should dispose of him." *

Such were the proceedings which drove Mr. Wheelwright to leave the jurisdiction of Boston. He was not at a loss probably for a place of refuge. He had a tract of land in New Hampshire, notice of the purchase of which in 1629, has been taken ;† to that he removed, and thus became the founder of Exeter.‡

It might have been hoped, but may not have been expected, that by a disposal of the "leader" of the "heretics," the rest of them would be silenced, or forced to believe against their convictions ; but hopes and expectations, under such circumstances, are generally delusive ; "for Mr. Wheelwright's party persisted in their opinions, and the principal of them were as busy as before in nourishing contentions." §

Nov. 2. At the same time the dominant party seem to have been equally busy to devise means to rid itself of these also. They were prominent persons, many of them, and had signed a petition ‖ in Mr.

their necks into Hell." —*Preface.* The "Brief Apology" above cited is the same, probably, which Winthrop says the "Magistrates set forth," and afterwards appeared in the "*Short Story.*" — See Winthrop, *Journal*, i. 221.

* *Short Story*, 29.

† See *ante*, p. 59–60.

‡ "In the "*Short Story*," 45, the writer says this controversy "was the Masterpiece of the old serpent, that the leaders were scattered and the brood broken up. Mr. Wheelwright is gone to Pascal" [Pascataqua], &c. Mr. Wheelwright, in his Answer (he writes in the third person), says, "for him to go to Pascal : where is the wonder? I confesse it was marvellous he could get thither, when they expelled him, by reason of the deep snow in which he might have perished." — *Mercurius Americanus*, 24. He no doubt went by water to Pascataqua river. This was in the winter of 1637–8. In about four years he removed to Wells, because his territory had been annexed to Massachusetts. In 1647 he settled in Hampton. He went to England before the restoration, and did not return to New England till after that event. He was intimate with Oliver Cromwell, having been at the same University with him. After his return to N. England he settled at Salisbury, and succeeded the Rev. William Worcester in the ministry there. He died 15 Nov., 1679, "being then the oldest minister in New England." He left a will, dated 25 May, 1679. His posterity are numerous and respectable. His son, grandson, and great-grandson were Counsellors of Massachusetts. — *Eliot, Farmer.* The names of those dismissed from the Boston Church, and who went with Mr. Wheelwright to Exeter, were "Richard Merrys, Richard Bulgar, Philemon Purmot, Isaac Grosse, Christopher Marshall, George Baytes, Thomas Wardell, William Wardell." — *Belknap*, N. H., i. 37. See Hutchinson, *Coll. Papers*, 316. See *ante*, p. 219–20, *note.*

§ Winthrop, i. 244–5.

‖ Readers of the History of Boston will not be satisfied with the simple fact that a mere petition in favor of Mr. Wheelwright, had subjected its signers to banishment, without having the document laid before them. I therefore give the substance of it from the "*Short Story.*"

"We whose names are underwritten, have diligently observed this Honoured Court's proceedings against our dear and reverend Brother in Christ, Mr. Wheelwright, now under censure of the Court for the truth of Christ, we do humbly beseech this Honourable Court to accept this Remonstrance and Petition of ours, in all due submission tendered to your Worships." The Petitioners then "desire the Court to consider the sincere intention of their Brother," who, they say, by his Sermon on the Fast day, "did, to his best strength, labor to promote" the end for which that Fast was appointed, namely "the publick peace of the Churches ; and therefore deserves no such censure" as that bestowed upon him. *Secondly.* As to his "being culpable for Sedition," they could not see how such charge could be sustained, as there was no witness "of any seditious fact." *Thirdly.* His preaching "had not stirred up his hearers to commit any seditious act," "not so much as by accident, and none of them had drawn the sword, as sometimes Peter did, rashly ; neither had they rescued their innocent Brother, as sometimes the Israelites did Jonathan, and even they did not seditiously. The Covenant of Free Grace which he held forth, rather taught them to

Wheelwright's favor, which was presented to the same Court * that had declared him guilty of sedition. This Court, therefore, decided to proceed against them, as it "afforded a fair opportunity."

The name of William Aspinwall stood first upon the Petition. The same gentleman being a Member of the General Court, † "it was propounded whether he was fit to be a member;" and being called upon to say "whether he would justify the matter contained in the said writing," "peremptorily affirmed" that he did; whereupon he was presently expelled. Next, Mr. John Coggeshall, though he had not signed the writing, being a Deputy to the Court when it was promulgated, yet he "spake very boldly to the Court, and told them, that seeing they had put out Mr. Aspinwall they were best make one work of all; that though his hand were not to the Petition, yet he did approve of it; but his hand was to a Protestation which was to the same effect; whereupon he was dismissed," and word sent to Boston to choose two others. Then Mr. Coddington, by an order from the Town, moved that the censure against Mr. Wheelwright might be reversed; of course it did not prevail.

Nov. 6. These proceedings vexed the people of Boston, and they persisted at first in returning Mr. Aspinwall and Mr. Coggeshall to the General Court again. "But Mr. Cotton coming amongst them, and perceiving their rash and contemptuous behaviour, by his wisdom diverted them from that course;" ‡ and they chose "Mr. William Coulborne and John Olyvar."

The Court had Mr. Coggeshall and Mr. Aspinwall before it, soon after, and something of asperity was exhibited on both sides. Then Mr. "William Baulston" and Mr. Edward Hutchinson were called up. Mr. Baulston told the Court, "That he knew if such a petition had been made in any other place in the world, there would have been no fault found with it." Mr. Hutchinson said, "turning himself in a

give patiently their cheeks to the smighters." That, therefore, both Teacher and Hearers "were most free from Sedition." They then called upon the Court in a becoming, though supplicating manner, that it would, "for its own Honour, make it appear wherein the Sedition lay, or else acquit their Brother; for a knowledge of their proceeding would come to all the World." Further, that the Court would remember that "Satan was the ancient enemy to Free Grace;" that Elijah was called the troubler of Israel, 1 Kings 18: 17, 18; Amos was charged for conspiracy, Amos 7: 10. Paul was counted a pestilent fellow, a mover of Sedition, and a Ring-leader of a sect, Acts 24: 5, and Christ himself was charged with being a teacher of new doctrines. — "The danger of meddling against the Prophets" was also suggested, and the danger of giving offence to the followers of Jesus, citing to the Court Zech. 2: 8, and Mat. 18: 6.

Winthrop says that this "Remonstrance" charged "that the Court had condemned the truth of Christ, with divers other scandalous and seditious speeches." Upon which his Editor remarks: — "Unless my opinions be as much perverted by prejudice as those of the majority of the Court appear to me, this account of the remonstrance is very unjust."—*Journal*, i. 245.

* It will be borne in mind that all kinds of cases were tried in the General Court, and that Attorneys were unknown in it.

† The "Deputies or Committees" for this Court were chosen by the Town October 16th. They were "Mr. William Coddington, Mr. John Coggeshall and Mr. Willm. Aspernall." — *Town Records*. Mr. Aspinwall's autograph at this date is here copied: —



‡ Winthrop's *Short Story*, 26, which compare with his *Journal*, i. 246. See also p. 248–9.

scornful manner, that if they took away his estate, they must keep his wife and children." * The Court showed its exasperation by disfranchising both, and fining the first twenty and the other forty pounds. On another day were ordered before the Court Thomas Marshall, William Dynely, William Dyer and Richard Gridly, "four more of the principal stirring men, who had subscribed to the Petition. Thomas Marshal, the ferryman," would acknowledge no fault, and was disfranchised and turned out of his place. Dynely and Dyer "had little to say for themselves, and were disfranchised; likewise Richard Gridly, an honest poor man, but very apt to meddle in publick affairs, beyond his calling or skill."

"All these," says Winthrop, "except Mr. Wheelwright, were but young branches, sprung out of an old root. The Court had now to do with the head of all this faction.† A woman had been the breeder and nourisher of all these distempers, one Mistris Hutchison, the wife of Mr. William Hutchison of Boston, a very honest and peaceable man, of good estate, and the daughter of Mr. Marvary [Marbury] sometimes a preacher in Lincolnshire, after of London; a woman of haughty and fierce carriage, of a nimble wit and active spirit, a very voluble tongue, more bold than a man, though in understanding and judgment inferior to many women. This woman had learned her skill in England, and had discovered some of her opinions in the ship, as she came over, which had caused some jealousie of her, which gave occasion of some delay of her admission, when she first desired fellowship with the Church of Boston, but she cunningly dissembled and coloured her opinions, as she soon got over the block, and was admitted into the church; then she began to go to work, and being a woman very helpful in the time of child-birth, and other occasions of bodily infirmities, and well furnished with means for those purposes, she easily insinuated herself into the affections of many; and the rather, because she was much inquisitive of them about their spiritual estates." ‡

The Court having disposed of several of the men, as is above summarily stated, proceeded to "confute and confound" Mrs. Hutchinson, the account of which occupies many close quarto pages in the "Short

* Ibid, 32. Mr. Wheelwright gives a different coloring to Mr. Hutchinson's manner, in his "Answer" to the "*Short Story.*" He says, p. 4, "I wonder Mr. Edward Hutchinson is amongst the crowde, when as he did not use to be factious or opinionate: indeed the genius of that family hath not much inclined to subtilties, scarce any of the Hutchinsons have been sectaries, unlesse *à latere*, and indirectly, by reason of which, me thinks, he might have been placed more obliquely in this predicament of Familisme, &c., than he is. This man said in the Court (which through Christian libertie he thought he might very well say) that if the Court took away his means, he would not be able to maintain his wife and children." — *Mercurius Americanus.* What is here said of the Hutchinson family shows the writer to have had such a knowledge of it as Mr. Wheelwright must have had, having married a sister of Mr. Edward Hutchinson.

† And here the author interpolates a quotation from Virgil to give more force to his own forcible language — *Dux fœmina facti.*

‡ *Short Story*, 33. The above extract is made because it contains nearly all that is known of "the celebrated Mrs. Hutchinson," until her banishment from Boston. Making allowance for the writer's enmity against her, and his deep-seated prejudice, and the whole becomes very important to inquirers into the personal history of these times. Here seems to be a fitting place to introduce a brief

Story." An analysis of the strange notions advanced on both sides might afford entertainment, but perhaps no great instruction, in this age. It is equally unimportant to attempt to show which party had the advantage in the controversy; but for fluency and apt quotations of Scripture, Mrs. Hutchinson certainly seems to have held a decided superiority over the whole Court; and, when it had nothing further to say, Mr. Cotton was called upon "to deliver his judgment" upon the matter at issue. He may have enlightened the parties by what he delivered, though Moderns will not probably be able to discover in what way it was effected.*

pedigree of the Hutchinson family; by the connection with which of other families, a clue may be obtained to many otherwise unexplained circumstances.

The Christian name of the father of WILLIAM HUTCHINSON has not been ascertained. His widow came with her children to Boston, as before stated, from Alford in Lincolnshire. Arms the same as the Hutchinsons of Co. of Durham. Richard, 4th son of Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., living 1570.

= SUSANNAH, widow of . . . . . Hutchinson, was admitted to the 1st Church of Boston, 12 June, 1636. Dismissed with Rev. John Wheelwright and his wife to go to the Falls at Exeter, 3 March, 1639–40. She died at York, Maine, about 1640.

William arrived in Boston in the ship Griffin, 18 Sept., 1634, joined Ch. 26 Oct. freem. 4 March, 1634-5. Rep. Gen. Ct., rem'd to R. I., where he was its 1st Gov., d. at Newport, ab. 1642, —See *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Regr.* i., 302.

= Anne, da. of Rev. Edwd. Marbury of Lincolnshire & London, joined 1st Ch. in Boston 2d Nov., 1634, expelled 22 March, 1638-9, removed to R. I., thence to New Netherland, killed 1643.

Samuel, lived in Boston, unmar., d. 1667. —See *Mercu. Americanus*, p. 4-5.

Edward, Boston, joined 1st Ch. Oct., 1633, freeman Mar., 1633-4, wife Sarah, children, John, 1634, Ichabod, 1637. Returned to London.

Richard, London; had son Edward, oldest of 8 sons; Wm. of Jamaica; Eliakim, born 1640, d. in Boston, 1718, a. 77; wf. Mary, da. Henry Shrimpton, d. 13 Feb., 1720-1

Mary, wf. of Revd. John Wheelwright joined 1st ch. in Bos. 1636, dismissed to go to Exeter, 3 Mar., 1639-40.

1. Katherine Hamby of Ipswich, Eng., 1st Ch. Boston, 10 Feb., 1638.

= Edward, b. 1608, 1st Ch. Boston, and freeman, 1634, died 19 August, 1675, of wounds from the Indians.

= 2. Abigail, wid. of Rob. Button, & da. of Alice Fermase, d. 1689.

Francis, 1st Ch. & freeman, 1634; killed by Indians, 1643.

Richard, 1st Ch., 1634, fr. 1634-5.

Bridget, 1st Ch., 1634, m. Willis, Bridgewater.

Faith, 1st Ch., 1634, m. Thomas Savage, 1652, had 7 children.

Susannah, taken by Indians, 1643, redeemed after three yrs. captivity; m. Jno. Cole, Dec. 1651.

Zuryell, baptiz'd Boston, 1636.

A dau. m. Collins, both killed by Indians,

Samuel, had son Richard.

Elisha, bap. 5 Nov., 1637, d. young.

Elizabeth, bap. 10 Novemb., 1639, m. Edward Winslow, of Boston

Elisha, bap. 29 Novem., 1641, d. 10 Dec., 1717. Col. in the Port Royal Expedition, 1707.

= 1. Hannah, da. of Cap. Tho. Hawkins, d. ab. 1676.

= 2. Elizabeth, da. of Maj. Tho. Clarke, and wid. of Jno. Freake, d. 1712-13.

Anne, bap. 19 Novem., 1643; m. 1st, Dyer, 2d, Danl. Vernon.

William, bap. 18 Jan'y, 1645-6, died young.

Katherine, bap. 14 May, 1648, died young.

Susannah, bap. 10 June, 1649. m. Nat. Coddington of Newport.

Edward, born 30 January, 1650-1, d. 1692.

Mary, b. 11 Oct., 1666, d. young.

Elisha, b. 16 March, d. young.

Elizabeth, b. 24 Feb., 1669-70, m. . . . . Richardson.

Hannah, b. 20 Jan., 1671-2, m. John Ruck.

Katherine, b. 24 Feb., 1672-3.

Thomas, b. 30 Jan., 1674-5, d. 3 Dec., 1739, aged 65, leaving a great estate

= Sarah, da. Colonel Jn. Foster.—See *Hist. Mas.* ii., 190.

Mary, b. 1 Oct., 1676.

Edward, b. 18 June, 1678, Judge of Probate.

= Lydia Foster, sister of Sarah.

Mehitable, b. 6 Feb., 1679-80.

Elisha, b. 16 May, 1681, d. 1739.

Thomas, b. 9 Sept., 1711, H. C. 1727, Gov. & Historian of Mass. m. 16 May, 1734; d. at Brampton, Eng., 1780, a. 68.

= Margaret, da. of Wm., and gr. da. of Hon. Peleg Sanford, of Newport, R. I.

Foster, H. C. 1721.

Hannah, m. Rev. Saml Mather, son of Rev. Cotton Mather, D. D.

Sarah, wf. of Rev. Wm. Welsted. He d. 25 April, 1753.

Abigail, wf. of Davenport, son of Addington Davenport, m. 24 August, 1733.

John

Lydia, wf. of Geo. Rogers, merchant, of Boston, son of Nath. Rogers, of Portsmouth, N. H. He died before 20 Feb., 1748.

William, d. 1780, in Eng.

Thomas, d. at Heavitree, near Exeter, Eng., 1811, a. 71.

Elisha, d. at Blurton Parsonage, 1824, a. 80.

= A da. d. 1771.

Katherine, b. 13 Feb., 1652-3; m. Henry Bartholomew of Salem.

Benjamin, b. 2 June, 1656; d. before his father.

Hannah, b. 16 May, 1658; m. Peter Walker of Taunton.

Rev. John Hutchinson, of Blurton Parsonage, published the third vol. of his grandfather's History of Mass., 1828.

* "The Court saw now an inevitable necessity to rid her away, except we would be guilty, not only of our own ruin, but also of the Gospel. So, in the end, the sentence of banishment was pronounced against her, and she was committed to the Marshal till the Court should dispose of her." — *Short Story*, 43.

The trials and troubles which Mrs. Hutchinson met with, together with an over-exertion to fathom unfathomable mysteries, had unhinged her mind, and, in that state, incoherencies and contradictions could not but abound in her conversations. She thus became an object of pity, instead of legal severity.* But it was far otherwise. Governor Winthrop issued a warrant, early in 1638, ordering her "to depart this jurisdiction" without delay. She thought at first to have gone with her brother-in-law to New Hampshire, but her husband and some of his friends having in the mean time purchased lands on Rhode Island, she journeyed thence by land. Here she resided until after the death of her husband, about 1642. In the mean time her family had collected around her, and one or two of her daughters had married. In the summer of the year last named, Mrs. Hutchinson and her family removed into the Dutch territory of New Netherland, and settled near what is since called New Rochelle, a few miles to the eastward of Mr. Throgmorton's settlement, where a small river, separating her lands from the present town of East Chester, still bears the name of Hutchinson's River.† In the Dutch and Indian war, which raged the following year, she, and such of her family as happened to be with her, fell victims to the enraged Indians, who knew no difference, in their revengeful fury, between friend and foe.‡

After the Court had disposed of Mrs. Hutchinson by a sentence of banishment, § Captain Underhill, who had this year done such service

* Writers, even of modern times, have made the same mistake with respect to Mrs. Hutchinson as the Court of 1637 did, in one very important particular; namely, in that they treat her as one perfectly sane. Her mind was completely bewildered; and though she may have been able to attend to the ordinary occupations of life, yet no one, it is believed, can read even what her persecutors have recorded of her sayings, without unhesitatingly coming to the same judgment.

In condemning the proceedings against Mrs. Hutchinson, I am not prepared to go quite as far as Mr. Ellis does in his Life of that persecuted woman. There are some palliating circumstances on the side of the Court. And, while I cannot go quite so far as Mr. Ellis, I admire his impartiality, and thank him for the good service he has done in the cause of New England history. His justification of Winthrop, however, will not probably be adopted by future historians. Mr. Winthrop was, no doubt, sincere, and believed he was doing the will of God, for he plainly records his own actions. However much he may have been influenced or spurred on by others, one thing is certain, he seems willing to bear the whole, which is a pretty good evidence of his sincerity.

† See Bolton's *West Chester*, i. 514–15.

‡ For further particulars and authorities, see Book of the Indians, 132, *eleventh edition*. The author was misled there, however, as to the manner by which Mrs. Hutchinson's daughter was liberated. The maids obtained by reprisal were of another family, and their liberation at an earlier date.— See *ante*, p. 206.

§ The proceeding of the Court in passing the sentence of banishment was as follows. The question was put to the Court by Winthrop thus: "If it be the mind of the Court that Mrs. Hutchinson, for these things that appear before us, is unfit for our society, and if it be the mind of the Court that she shall be banished out of our Liberties, and imprisoned till she be sent away, let them hold up their hands." Hands were all up but *three*. "Those that are contrary minded, hold up yours." Two only held up their hands, namely, Mr. Coddington and Mr. Colburn. Mr. Jennison declined voting either way, and said he would give his reasons if required by the Court. Then Winthrop proceeded: "Mrs. Hutchinson, 'The sentence of the Court you hear is, that you are banished from out of our jurisdiction, as being a woman not fit for our society, and are to be imprisoned till the Court shall send you away.'" Mrs. Hutchinson then said: "I desire to know wherefore I am banished." To which Winthrop replied: "Say no more. The Court know wherefore, and is satisfied." She was thereupon put into the custody of Mr. Joseph Welde, of Roxbury, there to wait the further order of the Court. This Mr. Weld was brother of Thomas, who published the *Short Story*.

against the Pequots, was required to show cause why he had put his name to the obnoxious Petition. His defence was similar to that of others, namely, that he could not see wherein offence should be taken at the Petition.* "The Court pitied him much, and were grieved at his obstinacy." So he was disfranchised, and his commission taken from him.† The same sentence was passed upon "five or six more of the principal, whose hands were to the said petition." ‡ There were nearly twenty § of those who had signed it, who compromised by a sort of recantation; these, and some others who had been chief stirrers in these contentions, were ordered to be disarmed.

Thus, it would seem, the Government had become very uneasy, and did not consider itself safe while the other party had arms in their possession. This disarming operation was a very serious affair, and much blood has flowed from far less causes. The peaceable manner in which it was submitted to, ought to have convinced the Rulers of the sincerity of the motives of those to whom the indignity was offered. The names of the Boston men thus disarmed are as follows: "Captain John Underhill, Mr. Thomas Oliver, William Hutchinson,(r) ‖ William Aspinwall,(r) Samuel Cole, William Dyer,(r) Edward Rainsfoard, John Button, John Sanfoard,(r) Richard Cooke, Richard Fairbanks, Thomas Marshall, Oliver Mellows, Samuel Wilbore,(r) John Oliver, Hugh Gunnison, John Biggs, Richard Gridley, Edward Bates, William Dinely, William Litherland, Mathewe Iyans, Henry Elkins, Zaccheus Bosworth, Robert Rice, William Townsend, Robert Hull, William Pell, Richard Hutchinson, James Johnson, Thomas Savage,(r) John Davy, George Burden, John Odlin, Gamaliel Wayte, Edward Hutchinson,(r) William Wilson, Isaack Grosse, Richard Carder,(r) Robert Hardings, Richard Wayte, John Porter,(r) Jacob Eliot, James Penniman, Thomas Wardell, William Wardell, Thomas Matson, William Baulston,(r) John Compton, Mr. Parker, William Freeborne,(r) Henry Bull,(r) John Walker,(r) William Salter, Edward Bendall, Thomas Wheeler, Mr. Clarke,(r) Mr. John Coggeshall.(r)" ¶

* "He urged the libertie allowed to souldiers, instanced in the freedome of speech he had to Count Nassau." —Wheelwright's *Mercurius Americanus*, p. 4. There is a copy of this curious book in H. Col. Library. Mr. Ellis thinks our Mr. John Wheelwright could not have written it, while I must profess the opposite opinion, namely, that he could, and very probably did, write it. It is true there is the circumstance that it is "by John Wheelwright, junior," in its title-page, but its dedication is signed I. W., and the Preface by "*John Wheelwright*." Why "junior" is used in one case, and not in the others, I shall not undertake to explain.

† *Short Story*, 43–4.

‡ *Winthrop*, i. 247.

§ This is Winthrop's statement, but Savage says he does not find but *ten* names on the Court records of that session. He therefore thinks "the Governour" may have "enlarged the number of the converts." — *Winthrop*, i. 247.

‖ The (r) designates those who fled to Rhode Island, and they constituted the Colony of the Island. There were two others in the company which "incorporated themselves a Body Politick," namely, Philip Sherman and Edward Hutchinson, jun., being in number eighteen; every one of Boston, except Sherman, who was among the disarmed, and lived in Roxbury. This little Colony was organized on the 7th of March, 1637–8, and chose for their Governor Mr. William Hutchinson, who had hitherto been one of the most prominent men in the town affairs of Boston. — See Callender's *Hist. Disc.*, p. 30. Their enemies in the Bay said, sneeringly, that they had gone to the "Island of Errors." — See *Short Story* (*Preface*).

¶ These were not all who signed in favor of Mr. Wheelwright; a few, who were not so

Nov. 30. All these were ordered to deliver their arms "at Mr. Cane's [Keayne's] house at Boston, before the thirtieth of November, under penalty of ten pounds "for every default to bee made thereof." The order extended to "guns, pistols, swords, powder, shot and match;" and that none of those men above named should buy or borrow any guns, swords, pistols, powder, shot or match; otherwise they would be subjected to the same penalty.*

The Church of Boston were highly offended at the course taken by Governor Winthrop, in thus carrying the warfare with an exterminating hand, until the homes of many of their most beloved friends had been made desolate; and there was danger that serious trouble might in consequence ensue. It was proposed to call him to account for what he had done; and, had he not been a most skilful manager, and possessed of a mind of singular flexibility, he would hardly have escaped universal censure. And, although he finally gained Mr. Cotton over to his measures, yet so strong was the Church of Boston attached to Mr. Wheelwright and his doctrines, that a vote for his expulsion from it could never be obtained, and he was in due time regularly dismissed from it, as has been before stated.

From the following very sensible remark of Mr. Callender,† one hundred years after these troubles, few will dissent probably at this day. "Mr. Wheelwright was banished for what was then called sedition, by the same rule which will make every dissent from, or opposition to, a majority, in any religious affairs, to be sedition, and an iniquity to be punished by the Judge. The minor part must always be seditious, if it be sedition to defend their own religious opinions, and endeavor to confute the contrary."

strong in the faith, and having "repented of their sin," were not disarmed; as William Larnet, Ralph Mousall, Ezekiel Richardson, Richard Sprague, Edward Caring, Thomas Ewar, Benjamin Hubbard, William Baker, Edward Mellows, and William Frothingham. And Mr. Ellis, who has taken much pains in this matter in his Life of Mrs. Hutchinson, and to good purpose, very justly remarks, that "even with these additional names we have not all the adherents of Mrs. Hutchinson and Mr. Wheelwright." He then adds: Mr. Philemon Pormont, the first schoolmaster of Boston, accompanied Mr. Wheelwright to Exeter in 1638. The Rev. Daniel Maud went to Dover. He was also a schoolmaster here. These are at the head of the catalogue of the Masters of the Boston Latin School.

* It may be well to append here a list of the members which composed the memorable Court of Nov. 1637. Concerning which Court Mr. Backus remarks, "It was customary to elect their deputies twice a year, namely, in the spring and fall; but to choose them twice in one fall was an unprecedented act, of which, I believe, no parallel can be found from the foundation of the country to this day."—*Hist. of New Eng.*, i., 84. This remark is in connection with an account of the dissolution of the Court, which met in September preceding; which Court, after Mr. Wheelwright was ordered to appear at the next Court, was "dissolved," because, as Mr. Backus says, a vote could not be obtained in this Court to execute the decrees of the Synod. — *Ibid.* These were the members for November: — Boston, *Wm. Coddington*, *Wm. Colborne;* Roxbury, *Joseph Welde*, *George Alcock*, *Wm. Parks;* Dorchester, *Nathl. Duncan*, *Richard Callicott*, *John Glover;* Weymouth, *Thos. White*, *Richard Adams;* Concord, *Simon Willard*, *Thos. Underwood;* Sagus, *Saml. Ward;* Watertown, *Richd. Brown*, *Capt. Wm. Jennison*, *Thos. Mayhew;* Cambridge, *Joseph Cooke*, *Richd. Jackson*, *John Bridge;* Charlestown, *Capt. Robt. Sedgwick*, *Lt. Ralph Sprague*, *Ens. Abraham Palmer;* Lynn, *Lt. Daniel Howe*, *Timothy Tomlins;* Salem, *Wm. Hathorne*, *Townsend Bishop*, *Edwd. Batter;* Ipswich, *Capt. Danl. Dennison*, *Wm. Bartholomew;* Newbury, *Lt. Edwd. Woodman*, *John Woodbridge.* In all, 31. Gov. and Deputy, *Winthrop and Dudley;* Assistants, *Endicott*, *Humfrey*, *Bellingham*, *Harlakenden*, *Stoughton*, *Bradstreet*, *Nowell.*

† *Century Sermon*, 27.

CHAPTER XXV.

Gibbon's Voyage. — Arrival of Ships. — Davenport, Eaton, Hopkins, Lord Ley. — Governor Vane returns to England. — The People show him great Respect. — Governor Winthrop and Lord Ley. — Other Arrivals. — Execution of Murderers. — Allotments of Lands. — Women forbidden to hold Meetings for expounding Scripture. — An Indian Deputation. — Accident at Spectacle Island. — Ammunition removed from Boston. — Origin of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. — Tribute received from the Indians of Block Island. — Mr. Davenport and others proceed to settle New Haven. — A Fast. — Mohegan Indian Deputation. — Mr. Coddington removes to Rhode Island. — Sickness of the Governor. — Arrival of many Ships and Passengers. — Mr. John Josselyn. — His Account of Boston. — Captain Underhill banished. — Extravagance in Dress a cause of Trouble. — An Execution. — A Fast.



CAPTAIN Edward Gibbons returned to Boston. He had been gone so long upon a voyage to Bermuda, that he was supposed to have been lost. His vessel was a pinnace of thirty tons. Among the commodities which he brought home was an alligator, probably the first ever seen here. The Captain made a present of it to the Governor.

June. June 20. Three ships arrived from Ipswich, having in them three hundred and sixty passengers. As one of the ships passed the Castle, she was carelessly fired into by the gunner, by which an honest passenger was killed.* Within a week after, three other ships came in from London. In one of them, named the Hector, came June 26. Mr. John Davenport, Mr. Theophilus Eaton, Mr. Edward Hopkins, son-in-law of Mr. Eaton, and Lord James Ley, a young man about nineteen years of age, who had come to see the country.†

Aug. 3. The time having now arrived which Mr. Vane had set for his departure for England, the people assembled to show him respect upon the occasion. The ship in which he was to sail was riding at Long Island, in the harbor. Many accompanied him in boats to the ship with their arms, and saluted his departure with "divers vollies,"

* *Winthrop*, i. 227.

† For an exceedingly interesting account of this young man, I must refer the reader to Mr. W. T. Harris' edition of Hubbard's *New England*, p. 695, &c. Though his name stands out in bold relief on the pages of history afterwards, I cannot forbear extracting a few words of what the noble historian Clarendon says of him. He observes: "The Earl of Marlborough [that being Lord Ley's title] was a man of wonderful parts in all kinds of learning, which he took more delight in than his title; and, having no great estate descended to him, he brought down his mind to his fortune, and lived very retired, but with more reputation than any fortune could have given him." Such is the character of that modest young gentleman, who came so early to Boston, drawn by the hand of a master. But his end, however glorious it was then considered, was one to be lamented with myriads of others. It was his fate to be sacrificed on the altar of blind ambition. He became an eminent naval commander, and perished in that almost unparalleled battle off Lowestoft, on the 3d of June, 1665, in which it is said the Dutch lost 4000 men. Then also perished the Earls of Falmouth and Portland, Lord Muskerry, Admiral Lawson. The Duke of York led the English, and Admiral Opdam the Dutch.

while others on the shore gave him five discharges from a piece of artillery, "and he had five more at the Castle." Mr. Winthrop did not honor his departure with his presence, though "he left order with the Captain [of the Castle] for their honorable dismission." * Lord Ley went with Mr. Vane for England. Of this young nobleman Governor Winthrop became jealous soon after his arrival, occasioned by his preferring the society of Mr. Vane and his friends to his. The time of his arrival was unfortunate, as then the agitation was extremely great, occasioned by the proceedings against Mr. Wheelwright and others, as has before been narrated. It was usual for distinguished strangers to be entertained at the Governor's house; and no doubt Lord Ley would have been entertained there on his first coming to Boston, but Mr. Winthrop was then on a journey to Lynn and Salem, and did not return to Boston till two days after. In the mean time his Lordship was entertained at Mr. Cole's inn,† and this Mr. Cole was one of Mr. Wheelwright's friends. On the Governor's return to town, however, Lord Ley politely called upon him, and "the Governor offered him lodging, &c.; but he refused, saying he came not to be troublesome to any, and the house where he was was so well governed that he could be as private there as elsewhere." ‡

July. An incident occurred a few days after, which shows the feeling between the late Governor and Mr. Winthrop, which caused the latter to make an entry in his journal, which is as follows: "The differences grew so much here," referring to the religious troubles, "as tended fast to a separation; so as Mr. Vane, being, among others, invited by the Governor to accompany the Lord Ley at dinner, not only refused to come, alleging by letter that his conscience withheld him, but also, at the same hour, he went over to Noddle's Island to dine with Mr. Maverick, and carried the Lord Ley with him." §

July 12. There now "came over a brother of Mrs. Hutchinson, and some other of Mr. Wheelwright's friends;" but Governor Winthrop would not allow of their "sitting down" in Boston, excepting

* Governor Vane, while in Boston, resided but a few rods from where I now write. On his arrival he went to the house of Mr. Cotton, in which, or an addition which he made to it, he continued to reside during his stay here. When he went away, he gave that addition to Mr. Cotton. The house, or the body of it, was standing within the memory of the writer, though with its exterior much modernized. It stood on the westerly side of what is now Tremont-street, a few rods to the south-west of the passage thence to Pemberton Square. To those who remember the venerable mansion of Lieutenant-governor Phillips, it will be easy to fix the spot in their imaginations, as it was next, north-easterly, to that.

Governor Vane came no more to New England, and henceforth he becomes a prominent character in English history. Joining the Parliament against the King, he was, with many others, declared a traitor at the Restoration, and executed on Tower Hill, June 14th, 1662, aged about 50 years, and all his estates were confiscated. These, however, were restored to his family by the *restored* King, he fearing its popularity might cause him trouble. Sir Henry Vane left ten children, four sons and six daughters. The family is now represented by his lineal descendant, HENRY VANE DUKE OF CLEVELAND.

† This inn stood "on the west side of Merchants' Row, midway from State street to Faneuil Hall." — *Hist. Ancient and Hon. Art. Co.*, p. 45, 2d ed.

‡ *Winthrop*, i. 230–1.

§ *Ibid.* 232.

upon a trial of four months, to see which party in the controversy they would join.* This gave much offence to their friends.

The business of allotting out the lands to the inhabitants was a great and important concern of the Town.† Captain John Underhill had
Jan. 9. one hundred acres at Muddy River. Mr. John Oliver had "his great allotment" of forty acres at Pullen Point. Mr. William Hutchinson had six hundred acres between Dorchester bounds and Mount Wollaston. Mr. Isaac Grosse to have a great allotment at Muddy River, and "brother Hugh Gunnyson" at the Mount "for three heads." Mr. William Brenton, in lieu of his land at Hog Island, "to have twenty acres more added to his at Pullen Point Neck." Mr. Edward Gibbon eighty acres at Pullen Point, "if there to be had." John Oliver fifty acres there, "and y^e^ rather in regard of his father's resigning his right at Hog Island to y^e^ Towne."

Jan. 23. ——— Bushnall, widow, George Harwood and John Lowe, the wheelwright, to have lots and gardens, "vpon y^e^ vsuall condition of inoffensive carryage." Thomas Alcock, "a great lot" at
Feb. 2. Muddy River. Mr. John Wheelwright two hundred and fifty at Mount Wollaston, "where may be most convenient, without preiudice to setting vp a Towne there," to be laid out by "Mr. Coddington and Mr. brother Wright." "Willyam Wardall, Willyam Coale, and Sampson Shelton," two acres each there for present planting. The same to Nicholas Needham. "Brother Thomas Savage seaven acres of the Marsh" at Muddy River, to keep his five cattle on. Thomas Joyes had leave to buy a piece of ground of "brother Robert Turner, provided his carryage was inoffensive."

Mar. 6. "Thomas Scottoe y^e^ sonne of our sister Thomasine Scottoe," has leave to build a house on his mother's ground. William Balstone to have the "remayning swampe on y^e^ backside of Mr. Coddington's swampe, vnto y^e^ widdow Purton's Corner payle, leaving out two rodde and a half, for eyther of y^e^ high ways y^t^ are aganst it; y^e^ one being y^e^ way to y^e^ milne, and y^e^ other to y^e^ Cove next vnto Mr. Coddington's."

Mar. 20. The men chosen for the "Townes occasions as formerly hath been," at this time were "Mr. Thomas Olyvar, Thomas Leveritt, Mr. Willyam Hutchinson, Mr. Willyam Coulbourne, Mr. John Coggeshall, Mr. Robert Harding, Mr. John Sanford, Mr. William Brenton, Mr. Willyam Balstone, James Penne and Jacob Ellyot, for these next six monethes."‡ Thomas Grubbe and Jonathan Negoose were

* Winthrop does not tell who they were, or where they went to.

† Those chosen at this time by the town to assign the lots to the settlers were "Thomas Olyvar, Thomas Leveritt, William Hutchinson, Robert Keayne, John Coggeshall, William Brenton, John Sanford and William Balstone." — *Town Records*, p. 11.

‡ The next election of officers for the "Towne's occasions" was on the 16th Oct. following, when the same gentlemen were chosen, excepting William Brenton, instead of whom William Aspinwall came in. As before, they were chosen for six months, or "vntill new ones be made choise of. Their charges at theire meetings to be borne by the Towne in generall."

April 3. — Alexander Winchester to have a garden plot next Wm. Dyneley's and William Wilson's gardens, on the condition that he build a house on it "when it shall come to lye in a streete-way." Those authorized to lay out lands for Mr. Wheelwright at Mount Wollaston, reported that they had laid out for him

chosen surveyors for the Highways towards Roxbury, and Thomas Marshall and John Button for the part towards the mill.*

Aug. 31. A union of the Colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut was first talked of at Boston this year, but as Plymouth could not attend it was deferred.†

Sept. 28. Two men were hanged here for murder, — John Williams and William Schooler. The murders were both of an aggravated character, but that in a special manner by Schooler, of a helpless female. Though he was convicted upon circumstantial evidence, and died protesting his innocence, posterity will hardly reverse the decision.‡

Meetings of women, for "expounding scripture in a prophetical way," as "some sixty or more" now did, was by the Authorities "agreed to be disorderly and without rule."§

Nov. 9. Miantonimo came to Boston, agreeably to former treaty stipulations, and preferred a complaint against the Niantick Sachem and another Chief. The government gave him liberty to "right himself," and in return he "acknowledged that all the Pequod country and Block Island belonged to Massachusetts.

Jan. 13. About thirty persons of Boston having gone to Spectacle Island for wood, "the town being in great want," there came

40 acres "in the Sunke Marsh," south-east of Mr. Wm. Coddington, 5 acres for his house lot and 205 at the end of it. Stephen Kinsley, laborer, to have a house plot next Alex^r Winchester.

April 17. — "All the field fences and gates to be made up; Sergeant Hutchinson and Richard Gridley to look after the Fort Field; John Button, James Everitt and Isaac Grosse, the Mill Field; Wm. Coulborne and Jacob Ellyott the field next Roxburie. Richard Sherman's wife to have a house plot next Stephen Kinsley's or Mr. Daniel Mawd's garden. Also, Mr. Daniel Mawd, schoolmaster, to have a garden plot next said Kinsley's on condition of building as above. Edmund [Edward?] Hutchinson to have a garden at the south end of Mr. Robert Keayne's great garden."

May 13. — Richard Fairebancke to be Pound Keeper "for the residue of this our half year time."

June 2. — James Penniman to have the Hilsteade and marsh under it at Charles River, he giving 7 acres at Mount Wollaston for five. Thomas Flint, 24 acres of Marsh at Muddy River.

June 12. — George Woodward, "sope boylar," for "vnlawfull entry upon some of the Towne's ground, and for digging holes and annoying the High Way with fish," is fined iij lb. vj s. viij d. Mr. William Peirce to have one hundred acres at Pullen Point neck. Mr. Edward Gibbon four-score acres; John Olyvar 50; Mr. William Brenton 60; Edward Bayts 14, all at the same place. George Ruggle a house lot near the new mill.

* The lists of Town officers will hereafter be given, but not generally in the text. The allotments of lands, though of exceeding great interest, must be introduced in a condensed form.

† *July* 1. — Ralph Hudson to have a garden at the end of Thomas Mekin's garden; Samuel Wilbore a garden at the side of Barnabie Dorryfalls house and garden.

August 7. — Richd. Fairbanke, allowed to sell his shop to ——— Saunders, "a bookebynder;" probably the first in the Town.

August 28. — Richd. Hull, carpenter, may sell his house and ground near John Galloppe to Philip Sherman of Roxbury.

Sept. 25. — Thomas Makepeace to have a house lot; Edward Dennys a house lot and gardenstead towards the new mill; Richd. Wayte "the like thereabout;" Robert Gillam, mariner, may buy a house lot where he can; Henry Webbe may buy the house where he now lives; James Penne, a garden towards the new mill, "to lay to the house that was widdowe Shelley's; Valentine Hill a garden there also; Wm. Cheesbrough 2½ rods square, of the marsh next Mr. Bellingham's, to build on; John Lowe, wheelwright, the same, next to bro. Cheesbrough."

Oct. 30. — John Hansett has granted a great lot at the Mount "for 3 heads."

Dec. 4. — John Bibbles has a house lot next Richd. Woodhouse.

Dec. 18. — John and Robert Woodward, the sons of Nathaniel W., allowed house lots. Edward Bendall to "keepe a sufficient ferryboate to carry to Noddle's Island, and to the shippe ryding before the Towne; taking for a single person ij d., and for two 3 d."

‡ See Winthrop, i., 241–3.

§ The Authorities were probably apprehensive that another Mrs. Hutchinson might rise up among them. — See *Ibid.*, 240.

on such severe weather, that in two days the bay was all frozen up except a little channel. In this twelve of the men succeeded in reaching Governor's Island, but seven others in a small skiff were carried into the outer Bay. Falling among Bruster's Rocks, they were kept two days without food or fire. The wind then abated, so that they were able to recover Pullen Point, where they found shelter in a little house of Mr. Aspinwall. Three of them got to Boston the next day, on the ice, with their feet and hands frozen. The rest reached Spectacle Island. One man died, and several lost their fingers and toes.*

Jan. 16. The same causes which led to the disarming of certain residents of Boston, now operated probably to cause the powder and arms belonging to "the country," to be removed from Boston to Roxbury and Newtown.†

Feb. An association of Boston men requested to be incorporated into a military Company. They were allowed to be a Company, but subordinate to all authority. This was the origin of the "Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company," which, with various changes of name and regulations, continues to this time. The associates were at first denied part of what they asked for; having, it may be inferred, requested to be made independent of the civil authority. However,

* *Jan.* 8. — John Martyn, shipcarpenter, allowed a house lot; Thomas Pettit, having served bro. Olyver Mellowes three years and a half, to have a house lot toward the new mill. Erasmus Bullocke, "having been this 5 years in Towne," the same. At the same time, the following persons had their lots bounded at Muddy River: — Edward Browne, Rich^{d} Bulgar, Benj^{n} Ward, John Cramme, Rob^{t} Houlton, Jarrat Bourne, John Bigge, W^{m} Beamsly, Thomasyne Scottua, widow, Alex^{r} Becke, Raphe Route, laborer, Robert Reade, Mathew Ines, Jn. Pemmerton, Anthony Harker, Geo. Griggs, James Fitch, Richard Fitch, Edward Jackson, Anne Ormesby, widow, Nath^{l} Woodward the elder, James Johnson, Nath^{l} Heaton, Elizabeth Purton, widow, W^{m} Salter, W^{m} Wilson, W^{m} Townsend, W^{m} Dyneley, Rich^{d} Tappin, Francis Bushnall, Henry Elkyn, Rich^{d} Fairbancke, John Mylam, Rob^{t} Walker, James Davisse, William Pell, Rob^{t} Reynolds, John Cranwell, Geo. Baytes, Philemon Pormont, Rob^{t} Meare, Edw^{d} Bendall, Tho^{s} Wardall, Mr. W^{m} Blackstone, Rob^{t} Tytus, W^{m} Courser, Alex^{r} Winchester, Henry Burchall, Rob^{t} Turner, W^{m} Denning, Joseph Arratt, John Arratt, Capt. John Underhill, W^{m} Talmage, Tho^{s} Snow, Isaac Grosse, s^{r}, W^{m} Coulborne, Mr. John Cotton, Mr. Tho^{s} Leveritt, Mr. Tho^{s} Oliver.

Those who had "great allotments at Rumley Marsh and Pullen Point," now had their bounds described: — Mr. Henry Vane, Esq., Mr. John Winthropp the elder, James Penn, Mr. John Newgate, Mr. John Sanford, Thomas Marshall, Thomas Matson, Benj^{n} Gillam, John Gallopp, Mr. Bob^{t} Keine, Mr. John Coggeshall, Mr. John Cogan, Mr. Rob^{t} Harding, Nicholas Willys, John Odlin, W^{m} Stidson, Edw^{d} Bayts, Thomas Matson, Mr. Edw^{d} Gibones, Mr. Rich^{d} Tuttell, Mr. —— Glover, Mr. W^{m} Dyar, Mr Samuel Cole, Mr. W^{m} Brenton, Mr. W^{m} Aspinwall, Tho^{s} Buttalph, Elias Mavericke, Raph Hudson, Tho^{s} Fayreweather, W^{m} Peirce.

† *Jan.* 29. — These are named as having lots at Mount Wollaston: — Isaacke Cullymore, for four heads, Francis East, for two heads, Francis Ellyott, for four heads, Rich^{d} Wayte, for five heads, Mr. Henry Webb, for ten heads, Samuel Wayte for four heads, George Hunne, for five heads.

Feb. 12. — Mr. John Clarke, for ten heads; John Love, for a house lot at Muddy River; Abel Porter, same at the Mount, "having served our bro. Tho^{s} Grubbe foure yeares;" Richard Award, same (place not mentioned) condition, inoffensive carriage; Tho^{s} Scottoe, a great lot at Muddy River, for three heads; W^{m} Mawer, lot at the Mount, for nine heads; Henry Gray, tailor, house lot on east side Samuel Wilbore — condition as above; James Hawkins, for four heads at the Mount; Thomas Hawkins for four; Martha Mushnall, for five; Edw^{d} Dennys, for three, all at the same place; Isaac Perry, a house lot near Rob^{t} Walkins, at Muddy River, for three heads; Tho^{s} Bell, at the Mount, for three; John Jackson, carpenter, for three; John Crabtree, for two; Silvester Saunders, at Muddy R., for two; Samuel Howard, tailor, at the Mount, for three; Geo. Burdon, for 5; W^{m} Wardall, for 3; William Browne, for three; Edw^{d} Hutchinson, the younger, for six head, all at the Mount; Rob^{t} Scott for 12; Anthony Stannyon, for 11; John Lowe, for 4; Steven Kinsley, for 9; Mathew Chafey, for 4, all at the Mount also; Raph Mason, for 6, at Muddy River.

Mar. 17. "the Military Company of Boston" had the liberty soon after "to present two or three of their number to the Council to choose a Captain out of them," and Robert Keayne received the appointment of Captain. The Court was jealous of some of those which composed the Company, because they had been followers of Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson; but, with Keayne for their Captain, not much was to be apprehended from them, as he had been appointed keeper of the arms taken from that faction.

The Court ordered that "Robert Keayne, Nathaniel Duncan, Robert Sedgwick, William Spencer, gentlemen, and such others as are already joined with them, and such as they shall from time to time take into their Company, shall be called "the Military Company of Massachusetts;" that they should have liberty to choose their officers, but the Captain and Lieutenant to be subject to the approval of the Court. The Company were to meet on the first Monday of every month, and it was ordered that no other training in the particular towns "nor other ordinary Town Meetings should be appointed on that day." It was also ordered that this company should have a thousand acres of land "for providing necessaries for their military exercises, and defraying of other charges." The first Monday in June following, the Company was regularly organized; Daniel Hough was chosen Lieutenant, and Joseph Welde, Ensign, under Captain Keayne.

This was not originally an Artillery Company; but, in 1657, the General Court recognized it by that name, as about that time, probably, they used a field-piece in their exercises. The title "Ancient and Honorable" first occurs in their records on the second of September, 1700. It doubtless assumed the distinction "Honorable," from the circumstance that its Captain had belonged to "The Honorable Artillery Company" of London, and time naturally gave the addition "Ancient." The Company was dispersed by the Revolution, but revived in 1789, and the Legislature confirmed its name and privileges.*

* *Hist. Ancient and Hon. Artillery Co.*, by Z. G. Whitman, 2d edition, 1842. The following is a list of the original, or charter members of the company, as found in that work: —

Cakebread, Thomas	Oliver, John
Cole, Samuel	Pendleton, Joseph
Collecott, Richard	Savage, Thomas
Gibbons, Edward	Sedgwick, Robert
Hardinge, Robert	Spencer, William
Haugh, Daniel	Stoughton, Israel
Holman, John	Tomlins, Edward
Hucken, Thomas	Turner, Nathaniel
Jennison, William	Underhill, John
Johnson, Edward	Upshall, Nicholas
Keayne, Robert	Weld, Joseph.
Morris, Richard	

Sermons do not appear to have been regularly preached before the Company till 1659; and the first record as printed was that by Urian Oakes in 1672. John Norton preached that of 1659; Samuel Whiting, sen., 1660, Saml. Ward, 1661; Jn. Higginson, 1662; Thos. Shepard, 1663; James Allen, 1664; Increase Mather, 1665; Edmund Brown, 1666; Samuel Danforth, 1667; John Wilson, 1668; Samuel Torrey, 1669; John Oxenbridge, 1670; Thomas Thatcher, 1671; Seaborn Cotton, 1673; Joshua Moody, 1674; Samuel Phillips, 1675; Samuel Willard,* 1676; Josiah Flint, 1677; Samuel Nowell,* 1678; Edward Bulkley, 1679; William Adams, 1680; John Richardson,* 1681; Samuel Whiting, 1682; John Hales, 1683; Samuel Cheever, 1684; Joshua Moody, 1685; *then there were none for five years — under Andros' government.* Cotton Mather,* 1691; John Bailey, 1692; John Danforth, 1693; Moses Fiske, 1694; Peter Thatcher, 1695; Michael Wigglesworth, 1696; Nehemiah Walter, 1697; Joseph Belcher,* 1698; Samuel Willard,* 1699; Benjamin Wadsworth,* 1700; Eben'r Pemberton,* 1701; Benj. Colman, 1702. Those with a * were printed. — See Lothrop's *Artillery Election Ser.* for 1838.

March 27. The Indians of Block Island sent three men to Boston, with ten fathoms of wampum, as a part of the yearly tribute which they had formerly promised to pay.

Not long after the arrival of Mr. Davenport at Boston, a favorable account was brought by the soldiers who had been pursuing the Pequots, of a fine country for settlement beyond Connecticut River. This was Quinnipiak, explored toward the end of the last year, and possession taken of it by a few persons. Accordingly, this spring, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Prudden, Theophilus Eaton, Esquire, and Samuel Eaton, sailed from Boston for that region, and this was the beginning of another Colony, by Boston people, or people who would no doubt have continued here, or in this vicinity, had it not been for the religious perplexities which they had witnessed, and in which they could not well avoid being somewhat implicated.*

Mar. 30.

April 12. Being in continual fear that they should be called to an account by the Government in England, the Fathers now appointed a Fast "for seeking the Lord to prevent the evil, and for the safe arrival of many friends soon expected."

April 21 A deputation of Indians came from Mohegan. The Chief of it was named Owsamekin, who was Sachem of Acoemeck. They had heard that the people here were angry with them, and they came to learn whether it were so, and if so, the occasion of it. They appear to have been imposed upon by some mischievous persons, for there was nothing alleged against them. They brought a present of eighteen beaver-skins, which the Governor took, telling them that if they had done nothing they had nothing to fear; and, giving them a letter to this effect to the Magistrates of Connecticut, dismissed them.

April 26. Mr. Coddington removed with his family to Rhode Island. He had been an Assistant from the first coming over of the Boston Colony. Thus another excellent and valuable man was lost to Boston.

May 2. Mr. Winthrop is again chosen Governor. The night following "he was taken with a sharp fever, which brought him near death." His sickness continued for a month. To this General Court, Boston sent Mr. Atherton Hough, Mr. Robert Keayne and John Oliver. At the March term preceding, Mr. John Newgate was in the place of Captain Keayne, the others were the same as at this time.

June 1. Between three and four of the clock, in the afternoon of the first day of June, being clear, warm weather, and the wind westerly, there was a great Earthquake. It came with a noise like continued thunder, or the rattling of coaches in London, but was presently gone. It extended to Connecticut, Narraganset, Pascataqua, "and all

* *April* 2. — "Mr. Atherton Haulgh, Mr. Robte Keayne, and Mr. John Olyvar" are chosen deputies to the General Court. And "for y^e^ Towne's occasions," Thomas Olyvar, Thomas Leveritt, Mr. Rob^t^ Keayne, Mr. W^m^ Coulborne, Mr. John Newgate, James Penne and Jacob Elyott.

Aug. 20. — The same Deputies were again chosen to the General Court, excepting Mr. Oliver, and Mr. Newgate was chosen in his stead.

the parts round about." It shook the ships which rode in the harbor, and all the Islands. The noise and the shakings continued about four minutes, and the earth was unquiet at times for twenty days after.* "It came from the westerne and uninhabited parts of this wildernesse." †

June 5. Uncas, Chief of the Mohegans, comes to Boston, accompanied by thirty-seven men. He was in trouble about harboring Pequods. He tendered the Governor twenty fathoms of wampum, but the Council decided that it should not be received till he had given satisfaction about the fugitives. This apparently disturbed him exceedingly, and in this state he desired they would kill him. He made the request in perfect safety, and he knew it, or he would not have made it, for he was one of the most unprincipled Indians with whom the white people had any concern. He was at this time accompanied by Mr. Haynes. After making great promises and the most impressive protestations to keep them, "he was dismissed with a fair red coat given him by the Governor, and corn to relieve them homeward, and a letter of protection to all men."

Governor Winthrop at this date records in his Journal the arrival of "many ships this year, with people of good quality and estate," but he makes no mention of the names of persons or ships. In one of the ships here referred to, no doubt, came "John Josselyn, Gen.," a name well known in New England history. The ship in which he came was called the "New Supply, alias the Nicholas of London, Robert Taylor, Master, the merchant or undertaker, Mr. Edward Tinge, with one hundred and sixty-four passengers, men, women and children." Several of the passengers died during the voyage, chiefly of the Small Pox.‡ The Nicholas came to anchor in the inner Bay before Boston. On the tenth of July, Mr. Josselyn says he went on shore upon Noddle's Island to Mr. Samuel Mavereck, who was "the only hospitable man in all the country; giving entertainment to all comers gratis." He then describes his visit to Boston in these words: — "Having refreshed myself for a day or two upon Noddle's Island, I crossed the Bay in a small boat to Boston; which then was rather a

July 3.

* Winthrop, *Journal*, i., 265. — See also Josselyn, *New Eng. Rarities*, 109. — In 1755, this was reckoned one of the five great earthquakes which had shaken New England. The other four were 1658, 1663, 1727 and 1755. Prof. Winthrop's *Lect. on Earthquakes*, p. 16, 4to. 1755. Morton says, "it came from the northward, that people were afraid of their houses; and it was so, as that some, being without doors, could not stand, but were fain to catch hold of posts and poles to prevent them from falling." — *N. E. Memorial*, 209.

† Johnson, *Wond. Work. Prov.*, 131, who adds, "the motion of the earth was such, that it caused divers men that had never knowne an earthquake before (being at worke in the fields), to cast down their working-tooles, and run, with ghastly terrified lookes, to the next company they could meet withall." — *Ibid.*

‡ "Two ships, which came over this year, much pestered, lost many passengers, and some principal men, and many fell sick after they were landed, and many of them died." — Winthrop's *Journal*, i. 267. The ship in which Mr. Josselyn came was probably one of these. A little further on he makes this entry. There came over this summer twenty ships, and at least 3000 persons, so as they were forced to look out new plantations. One was begun at Merrimack [Salisbury] and another four or five miles above Concord, and another at Winnicowett [Hampton, N. H.] — *Ibid.*, 268.

village than a town, there being not above twenty or thirty houses. And presenting my respects to Mr. Winthrope the Governor, and to Mr. Cotton the Teacher of Boston Church, to whom I delivered, from Mr. Francis Quarles the poet, the translation of the Psalms into English meeter, for his approbation ; being civilly treated by all I had occasion to converse with. I returned in the evening to my lodging."

Mr. Henry Josselyn was at this time living at Black Point. He was the only brother of John, and it was, no doubt, one object of the latter, by this voyage, to pay a visit to his brother. Therefore he sailed for the Eastern Coast on the twentieth of July. There he continued rambling about the country to his infinite amusement and admiration ; clambering up precipitous rocks "upon all four," with his gun hung to his back, shooting wolves which had been killing goats worth five pounds apiece, breaking up nests of great snakes, some of which snakes being as big as the small of his leg, and three yards long, with a sharp horn two inches long on the end of their tail ; until the twenty-fourth of September, when he sailed for Boston again. He arrived on the twenty-seventh following, it being Friday. After going on board a ship of 500 tons, of which Mr. Hinderson was master, and another called the Queen of Bohemia, a privateer, Captain Jackson, lying in the harbor, he landed in the town, and refreshed himself at the ordinary. The next morning he went by invitation to a fisherman's house, somewhat lower within the Bay. There the fisherman's wife gave him a "handfull of small pearl, but none of them bored nor orient." Thence he crossed to Charlestown. There, in "one Long's ordinary," he found Captain Jackson and some others. They concluded to take a stroll ; and "walking on the back side" they soon came upon more snakes. One, a rattle-snake, "was a yard and a half long," though its "neck seemed no bigger than one's thumb," and yet it "swallowed a live chicken, as big as one they give fourpence for in England."

Being on board his ship in the afternoon, he had "the sight of an Indian pinnace, sailing by, made of birch bark, sewed together with roots of spruce and white cedar (drawn out into threads), with a deck, and trimmed with sails, top and top gallant, very sumptuously." On the thirtieth of September he went on shore at Noddle's Island again. Here Mr. Maverick made him welcome, and kept him till his ship was ready to sail for England. Meantime, in rambling about in the woods, "on the back side of the house," he discovered a wasps' nest ; and, mistaking it for "a fruit like a pine apple," though it was "plated with scales, and as big as the crown of a woman's hat," he proceeded to gather it ; but no sooner had he touched it, than hundreds of wasps were about his head. He escaped, however, with being stung but by one of them in his upper lip. This caused such a swelling in his face, that when he returned to the house the people did not know him except by his clothes ; and yet he thought he escaped remarkably well. In a few days he sailed for England. The ship laid at Nantasket some days, as she proceeded to sea, and the Master, Captain Luxon, having

been on shore at Governor's Island, returned with a quantity of pippins, of which he gave Mr. Josselyn half a score. At this time he remarks, "There is not one apple-tree, nor pear-tree yet planted in no part of the country, but upon that island." *

Sept. 17. Captain Underhill had lately returned from England, and was making preparations to remove to Mr. Wheelwright's settlement. He therefore petitioned the Court now in session to fulfil a promise it had formerly made him, which was, that for his services he should have three hundred acres of land. The Court, however, having learned from a "godly" female that he had spoken against some of them, he was called before the Court and charged with saying, when he was "in the ship lately," that "they were as zealous here as the Scribes and Pharisees were," &c. To this and other words quite as inoffensive in themselves, the female before mentioned testified. He was then questioned about signing the remonstrance in favor of Mr. Wheelwright formerly, and, not being satisfied with his answers, the Court sent him to jail first, and afterwards banished him.

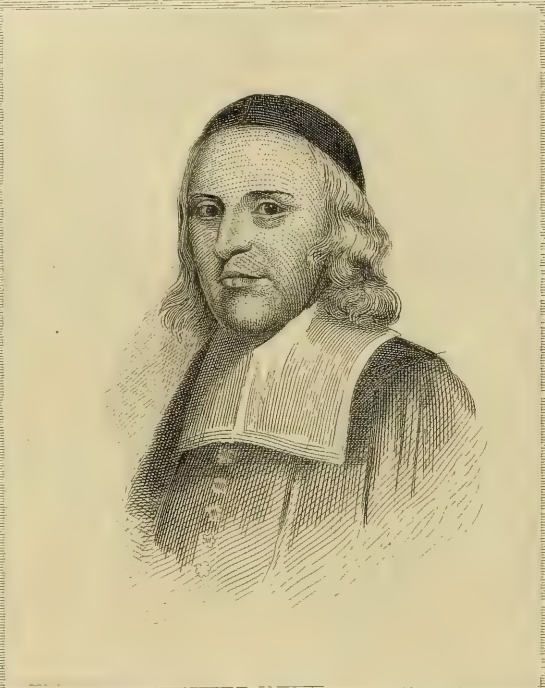
Sept. 21. There now arrived a ship from Barnstaple, having on board about eighty passengers, nearly all of whom were from the western coast † of England. In this ship came Mr. Marmaduke Matthews.

Sept. 25. Among the many troubles with which the Country in common with Boston was disturbed at this period, were the "costliness of apparel," and the "new fashions." The Court undertook to interfere in these matters, and sent for "the Elders of the Churches," and laid the subject before them. The Elders were told by the Court that it was their business to redress the evil, and they promised to do so. But neither the preaching nor the practice of the Elders could eradicate the difficulty, "for divers of their own wives," says Winthrop, "were in some measure partners in this general disorder."

Dec. 10. A woman was hanged at Boston for the murder of her own child, a daughter, about three years of age. This was a deeply affecting and deplorable case, as the act was unquestionably committed

* An Account of Two Voyages to New England. The account above extracted is from his First Voyage. His Second was not made till 1663. In that he again takes notice of Boston. They were published in a volume together in 1675. Second edition. From Dr. Snow's notice of the visit of Josselyn, it would be inferred that he derived *his* information from "New England's Rarities," a work by the same "John Josselyn, Gent.," printed in 1672. I shall notice the "Rarities" hereafter. In the details of the second voyage, he speaks of Boston in connection with the date 1637, from which he is generally understood to say that at that date there were two Inns or Ordinaries in Boston; when as, in the records there is nothing to show that there was more than one. Winthrop speaks of "the Inn." If Josselyn meant that there were two Inns in 1637, he probably included the one in Charlestown. He says, "In 1637 there were not many houses in the Town of Boston, amongst which were two houses of entertainment, called Ordinaries, into which if a stranger went, he was presently followed by one appointed to that office, who would thrust himself into his company uninvited, and if he called for more drink than the officer thought in his judgment he could soberly bear away, he would presently countermand it, and appoint the proportion, beyond which he could not get one drop." — Pages 172–3.

† What was understood by the "West Country" has been explained in the early pages of this History. The people about London thus denominated the country about Plymouth. — See page 22, *ante*.



D. Kimberly Sc.

JOHN LEVERETT.

Gov^r of Mass. from 1673 to 1679

when the mother was deranged. She confessed what she had done, and said she killed the child to prevent its being miserable hereafter. But it was believed that the Devil had caused her to do it, and that by taking away her life a punishment would be indirectly inflicted upon him. Mr. Peters and Mr. Wilson went with her to the place of execution, "but could do no good with her." The name of the wretched woman was Dorothy Talbye.

Dec. 13. Soon after this a Fast was kept, on the request of the Elders to the Governor and Council, for "the apparent decay of the power of religion, the general declining of professors to the world, and the much sickness throughout the country." Things had gone on so badly, as the Fathers then really believed, that they daily expressed their convictions, "that the Devil would never cease to disturb their peace;" that "at Providence he was not idle," and was stirring up the people of Connecticut against the people here; and that he had really carried off, from a place near Rhode Island, five Indians alive.*

This is generally regarded as the year in which Harvard College was founded, although the General Court had about two years before taken some order about a "Public School," and the next year directed that it should be at Newtown; at the same time appointing a Committee to carry the order into effect. This School might, and very probably would have remained without being dignified by the name of a College

* *March* 12. — Waters Sinnott, fisherman, to have a house lot. Olyvar Mellowes, Nathaniell Chappell, and William Hudson, eldest son of bro. Wm. H., have leave to take in the corner between the last year's new impaled planting ground and the N. E. corner of Mr. Wm. Blackstone's pales.

April 2. — James Johnson, John Davisse, Geo. Burden and Nath. Chappell, to have gardens "on the back side of the lotts in ye long streete." To Mr. John Mansfield a house lot, he having served his bro. Mr. Robt. Keayne; Wm. Hudson to be cow-keeper this year; Thos. Sellen, a house at the Mount; Edmund Oremsby, one at Muddy R. for 3 heads; Thomas Wheeler, the same for 3 heads; Jacob Wilson, same; Maudit Inge, the same; Wm. Coursar, a garden, when a place can be found; John Cranwell and Wm. Salter to see to the fences of the field "by them," Richd. Gridley and Benjamin Gillam the Fort field, and Olyvar Mellowes, Thos. Marshall and Jona. Negoose, the Mill field and the New field; Geo. Grigge may "sell his house and garding vnder it, and 20 acress of his great lott to Mr. Tuttell of Ipswich and Mr. Tuttell of Charlestowne for his redeeming out of theire debts." Geo. Harwood, carpenter, a lot at the Mount for 3 heads; Wm. Hudson, the younger, one at Muddy R. for 3; Wm. Davisse, "ye locksmyth," a house lot near the new mill, condition, inoffensive carriage.

June 1. — Richard Brockett may sell his house and garden next Wm. Hudson the younger to "one Jacob Legar;" Saml. Wilbore may sell his to "one Mr. Offley," and his (house and ground) next Roxbury to Saml. Sherman; John Spoore, late of Clapton [near Portbury], in Somersetshire, may buy Mr. Wilkes' house and ground, and that his bro. James Mattocke, a cooper, may live with him, or in some other place in this town, and that he may also buy a little house of Geo. Burdon near the Cove next Edward Bendalls.

Aug. 7. — Leave is granted Francis Lyall to become an inhabitant.

Aug. 20. — Thomas Cornnell may buy bro. Wm. Balstone's house and become an inhabitant.

Sept. 17. — "A stray sow that had been often taken in ye corne," and no owner found, is prized and sold for 40*s.*, of which "Samuell Gryme is to have 30*s.* towards his losses in his corne." The residue to go to Richd. Fairbank for the charges of her keeping.

Nov. 2. — Richd. Rawlings, plasterer, may buy Peter Johnson the Dutchman's house, and inhabit.

Nov. 5. — Mr. John Cogan and Richard Tuttle, constables for this year. Geo. Barrill, cooper, bought house and land of Thos. Painter, and is admitted to inhabit.

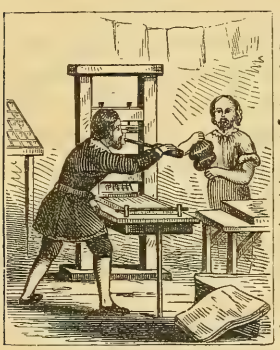
Dec. 10. — Arthur Perrye to have allowed him yearly "for drumming to ye Company vpon all occasions," £5.

Dec. 24. — William Teffe, a tailor, admitted to inhabit, and to buy Jacob Wilson's house; Esdras Reade, tailor, admitted to inhabit, and allowed a lot at Muddy River for 4 heads.

for some years, but for the liberality of Mr. John Harvard, who, dying this year, gave a large sum "to the Public School at Newtown." Thus endowed, it took the name of its benefactor, and this was the origin of Harvard College.* Mr. Henry Dunster was its first President.†

CHAPTER XXVI.

Quiet Restored. — First Printing Press. — New Meeting-house Agitation. — Committee appointed to select a Location. — Proceedings thereupon. — Population of Boston. — Case of Capt. Keayne. — Absurd Legislation. — Stocks. — Rev. William Tompson. — Church gathered at Braintree. — First Post Office. — Number of Ships and People Arrived from the Beginning. — Apprehension from the Indians. — Thomas Georges. — Ship blown up in the Harbor. — Capt. Underhill Banished. — Miantonimo. — Hugh Bewit Banished. — Ships Built. — Mission to England. — To Rhode Island. — Hanserd Knollys.



EARLY PRINTING PRESS.

MANY of the people who had disturbed the peace of Boston by daring to express their opinions, were, by the beginning of the year 1639, gone out of its jurisdiction, so that tranquillity was in a measure restored, and it was a year of general quiet. It is a noted year, however, on several accounts. March. A printing press was established at Cambridge. The first thing printed was the Freeman's Oath, the next was an Almanack for New England, made by Captain William Peirce, the mariner, the next was the Psalms, "newly turned into meter." ‡

In the course of the year there was a good deal said about erecting a new Meeting-house. The old one was far from being suitable, or capable of accommodating the inhabitants. This occasioned much difficulty; not that the people differed about the necessity of having a

* In 1640, the General Court granted the income of the Ferry between Boston and Charlestown as a perpetual revenue to the College; and the Magistrates with the Ministers of the Colony chose the Rev. Henry Dunster "to be the President of their New Harvard College." — *Magnalia*, iv. 127.

† Mr. Lechford, writing of New England in 1642, having just left Boston, says, "Master Dunster, at Cambridge, had divers young scholars there under him, to the number of almost twenty." — *Plain Dealing, or News from New England*, p. 37.

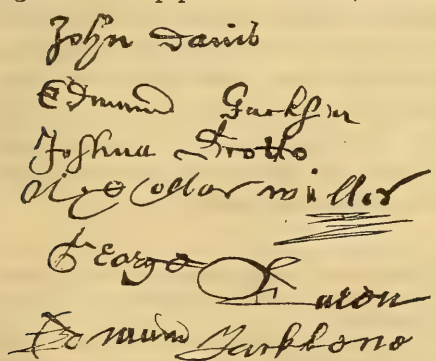
‡ Winthrop's *Journal*, i. 289. — The "printing-house was begun by one Daye, at the charge of Mr. [Joseph] Glover, who died on sea hitherward." — *Ibid.* See Thomas, *Hist. Printing*, i. 227. Quincy, *Hist. H. U.*, i. 187. Timperley's *Encyclop. of Printers and Printing*, 586, &c. — The Psalm-book "newly turned into meter" was printed in 1640. Copies of it are to be met with, at this day, only in the libraries of the curious. Daye continued to print until 1649, though he was a poor printer. In 1641, the General Court ordered that, "Steeven Day, being the first that sett vpon printing, is granted 300 acres of land." — Thomas, *Hist. Printing*, i. 227. See *Boston Courier*, 15th and 29th July, 1847. Mr. Thomas made the very easy and natural conjecture, that Stephen Day might be a descendant of the then hitherto most famous printer of London, whose Christian name was John. Certainly it is reasonable, for the said John Day had by two wives 26 children, as his last wife herself says, who had 13 of them; thus equally dividing the honor with the first. This is learned from a monument to his memory, erected by this dutiful widow. It would have been lamentable, indeed, if the man, who was the cause that moved JOHN FOXE to erect such a monument to the Martyrs, had lain without one himself. He died 23d July, 1584. — See Johnson, *Typographia*, i. 534.

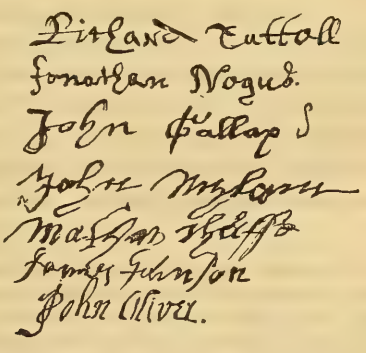
new and more commodious house, but the place on which to build it caused some delay in the proceedings. Then the chief business of the town was transacted in the vicinity of the Meeting-house, as it is in many country towns at the present day. Traders had located themselves about it, at much cost in building, and they of course were strenuous that the new building should be on or very near the site of the old one; it was also the vicinity of the Market.

At length the Church chose a Committee of five of their number, and gave them power to fix upon a location as they saw fit. The Committee consisted of Governor Winthrop, Mr. [William] Colborne, Mr. [Edward] Gibbons, Mr. [Robert] Keayne, and Mr. [William] Ting. While these gentlemen had the matter in charge, a paper * was drawn up and signed by a considerable number of the influential inhabitants, strongly urging that the most preferable site for the new house was at the Green. This place is pretty clearly designated in this document, and is very nearly that on a part of which the Old South now stands.

The paper containing the argument for this locality is a very able performance, and it is difficult now to understand how the Committee could come to a decision adverse to it.† The signers of the document say, the Green "hath singular accommodation to the ayre, the want of the free accesse whereof hath bin deeply found in the Ould Meeting-house, making burdensome the ordinances to many, specially weake hearers, by faynting their spirits in the summer time, when there is most concurse of people. And we feare a greater defect hereof if the house stand in Mr. Harding's‡ ground, where the easterly and south-

* This instrument would be very properly entitled, "Arguments showing the Advantages of locating the Meeting-house at the Green." The following are the most exact copies of the signatures to the paper that our artists, Messrs. Baker, Smith & Andrew, can make. The original is in the hands of the Author, and has never been published. It is dated December 10th, 1639.





† Perhaps it was thought quite too far from the town or main settlement. It may be remembered that there were not at this time scarcely any houses so far south as the present Milk Street.

‡ This gentleman, I presume, was Mr. Richard Harding. Hence the lot which he owned in Boston was on Cornhill Square, where the Meeting-house was finally built; presuming that the "Mr. Harding's ground" was improved for the purpose. He was one of the "disarmed," and went to Rhode Island, and was a prominent man in that Colony. The name is one of respectability there and elsewhere at this day.

east wind is much more debarred. If it is said Mr. Harding's is higher ground than the Greene, and so more obvious to the ayre, it is answered, though it be higher (which is but little), yet this hath a farre greater advantage, for the aire by reason of the sudden descents of the earth neare to it, and it standeth open, ready to entertayne every coole breath of aire in the summer, whereas the other place is so muffled, and overtopped with chimnyes on every side almost, that it playnly confesseth its own disadvantage." *

Notwithstanding these and many other arguments, the house was finally erected in what was afterwards Cornhill; the account of which and its erection have been given.† The opposition to that site appears to have ceased when the decision was made known, and the idea of having a new house at once, seems to have quieted all parties, and the work went on with harmony and activity the next year. And, besides, Mr. Cotton, whose reputation had been a little obscured by the cloud of Antinomianism, but who now had, by his great tact and prudence, dispelled that cloud, and regained, in a great measure, his former splendor, came forward in favor of the spot in Cornhill; arguing that it would be unjust to those who had purchased estates in that vicinity, because they were situated near the Meeting-house. But this argument of Mr. Cotton was met by those in favor of the Green in a most conclusive manner, as was another, the import of which was, that a house would be exposed to the cold winds more in the winter at the Green, and therefore very uncomfortable. The Petitioners answered, that the cold in a house was easily obviated,‡ — while there was no remedy for the suffocating heat of summer in a location near the Market, but at the Green the cool breezes would come in from all parts unobstructed. However, the decision was in favor of the other locality, as before stated, and there was in a little time a general acquiescence. §

May 6. Some idea of the populousness of Boston and its vicinity at this time may be had from the following facts recorded by Governor Winthrop: — "The two regiments in the Bay were mustered at Boston, to the number of one thousand soldiers, able men, and well armed and exercised." At the head of these Winthrop appeared as General, and Deputy-Governor Dudley as Colonel. The captains and other officers "showed themselves very skilful and ready in divers sorts of skirmishes and other military actions, wherein they spent the whole day." ‖

* It is more difficult to reconcile Mr. Josselyn's statement of "twenty or thirty houses" with this, than anything else I have seen. Dr. Savage inclines to the opinion that Josselyn must have dropped a cipher from his figures, somehow, and so instead of writing 200 he wrote 20. But how Josselyn or anybody else could drop ciphers out of that number when they were spelling it out and not using figures to express it, is rather a hard question.

† See *ante*, pages 141 and 142.

‡ By this it would seem that fires in Meeting-houses in cold weather were not unknown at this time, though they be in many places in our day, as the writer has had painful experience.

§ It was finished the next year, 1640; "its cost about £1000, which was raised out of the weekly voluntary contribution without any noise or complaint." — *Winthrop*, ii. 24.

‖ The following items are from the Town Records; in which names are generally spelled as they are recorded, and so of what has gone before.

Jan. 21. — John Odlyn allowed a piece of marsh at Muddy River, until otherwise ordered

May 22. At the General Election, Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Dudley were reëlected, and Boston sent two deputies instead of three as formerly. These were Captain Keayne and Major Gibbons. The

by the Town. Nicholas Willys * sold (27 : 10 : 1638) his great lot of 49 acres at "Romely Marsh" to Richard Tuttell * of this town for £30, 13*s.* 6*d.* James Hawkings sold (9 Nov 1638) for £15, one dwelling in this Town, wherein Geo. Ruggle lived, which he bo't of Mr. Brenton, to one Henry Garrold, tanner. Jacob Wilson, sawyer, sold (24 Dec. last) to Wm. Teffe, tailor, a house and lot, now in the use of said Teffe. Richard Tuttell to be responsible to the Town for "one Dorothie Bill, widdowe, a soiourner in his house," and "for anything about her." Robert Scott sold land at Muddy River that was Richard Fairebanck's to Thos. Savage. William Hyrick allowed to be an inhabitant. The "owners of the Wharfe and Crayne" are granted 100 acres of land at Mount Wollaston towards keeping them in repair.

Feb. 18. — Richard Wright to have a narrow piece of land at the Mount, "to y^e^ furtherence of a water mylne building there, in regard of his redy serviceablenesse to the Townes occasions." Same Richard W., fined the sum of £6 for selling land at the Mount "to one Mr. Pane, of Concord," without license. Brother Henry Pease may mow the marsh against his house. Bro. Edward Jackson * may mow the marsh bro. Balstone formerly mowed. Bro. James Pennyman may mow the marsh in the New field as heretofore. Sister widow Purton may mow the marsh in the same field under bro. Robert Turner's garden pales. William Balstone sold (5 Aug. last) his house, yards, gardens, and one close on the backside of Mr. Coddington's (one acre more or lesse), and two acres more or less in the Mill field, bordering on Water Merryall's house, and three acres at Hogg Island, and 80 at the Mount, to Thomas Connell. Ordered that Edward Hutchinson, Samuel Cole, Robert Turner, Mr. Robert Harding, Mr. Wm. Parker, and Richard Brackett, make a cart-way against Mr. Hutchinson's house, under which they drayne their gardens, before the 11th of the next 1st month. Thomas Scottow, joiner, sold all his 6 acres at Muddy River to Thos. Grubbe, and said G. resigned his right to his three acres in the New field in Boston; it having Isaac Grosse's lot on one side, and widow Purton's on the other. Mr. Benjamin Keayne, son of bro. Mr. Robt. K., to have a great lot at Monottinott river in Mount Wollaston.

March 25. — Brother Mr. Gryffen Bowen to have a great lot at Muddy River, also bro. Richard Holledge a great lot there for three heads. Bro. Valentine Hill may build a house and shop on the lot he bo't of bro. Mr. W^m^ Aspinwall, and let it to Francis Lysle, barber. John Hord, tailor, having served Mr. W^m^ Hutchinson in this Town divers years, is allowed to be an inhabitant. Bro. Henry Pease having promised to fence out a highway thro' his ground, where he dwelleth, 25 feet broad, from against the Cove near his house, unto the cross highway, by bro. James Everills, must do it before the 1st of April, 1640, or pay £5. Mr. John Underhill, 1st Aug. last, surrendered to Mr. Thos. Makepeace of Dorchester his house in Boston, his land at Muddy River, and woodland in the islands, "with garding and house, and another behind Mr. Parker's house, and neare half an aker upon the Fort Hill, for £100." Bro. Robert Walker to be cow-keeper this year. No goat to go on the Neck without a keeper; and "old Wing to looke to this order." Hogs running at large after the 8th of April to be impounded; "in case any shall take y^m^ vp into their yard, then forthwith eyther lett y^e^ owners knowe of y^m^, or to sett a note of y^m^ vpon y^e^ whipping-post." Henry Shrimpton, brasier, allowed to be an inhabitant.

April 29. — With the consent of Mr. William Peirce there is to be a passage way of 7 feet wide, from the lower part of Mr. Keayne's garden, at his mud-wall house, to the Creek near Edward Bendall's new house. Samuel Graine allowed to be an inhabitant.

May 13. — Mr. Robert Keayne and Capt. Edward Gibbons were chosen deputies to the General Court.

May 27. — Mr. William Hibbins is admitted an inhabitant.

July 2. — William Needham, cooper, to have a house plot at the Little Island at Mount Wollaston, and Stephen Kinsley, husbandman, to have the rest of the Island for his house plot. John Jepson, shoemaker, a great lot at the Mount for three heads. Richard Carter, carpenter, may buy a house and ground of W^m^ Hudson the younger, next Thos. Oliver's new house plot; condition, inoffensive carriage. "Gabryell Fallowell may sell his house and ground in the New field to one Richard Bidggood, late of London, cloth-worker, on same condition."

July 29. — Bro. John Smith to have a lot at Muddy River for three heads. Bro. Edw^d^ Hutchinson the younger, in behalf of his father, W^m^ H., may sell his house in this town to Mr. Richard Hutchinson of London, linendraper. John Hurd to have a lot for three heads at the Mount. John Leverett a lot for ten heads at Muddy River.

Aug. 6. — Capt. Edward Gibbons and Mr. W^m^ Tyng are chosen for Deputies to the General Court.

Aug. 26. — Mr. Anthony Stoddard, linendraper, allowed to become a townsman; also John Seaborne, tailor, having served three years in town, is allowed to be an inhabitant.

* See his autograph, p. 243 *ante*. Willis' is the fourth.

number of Deputies had been reduced to two in each town. This was to prevent the Court's consisting of too large a number, in the growing state of the country.*

Captain Robert Keayne was an industrious and wealthy merchant, and, being more prosperous than many of his neighbors, their envy was excited in consequence.

Nov. A complaint was preferred against him in the General Court at Boston for excessive charges on his foreign goods. And being convicted "hereof, he was fined two hundred pounds." He was finally let off with half the amount; the other half "respited to farther consideration of the next General Court." It appears to be true that Mr. Keayne had broken certain laws previously made, regulating the prices of commodities, though it is quite probable others were equally guilty of the same offence, and that they were passed unnoticed, owing to their business being smaller. It appeared at his trial that he had been known to take "above six pence in the shilling profit, and even eight pence; and in some small things, above two for one." After the Court had censured him, he was handed over to the Church, in which there was an attempt made to excommunicate him; he escaped, however, with an admonition.†

From all that can be learned of Captain Keayne it does not appear that he was a bad man, but that on the contrary he was a very good man; yet he was one of that peculiar mind and temperament, which rather invited than repelled the insults from a class common in all com-

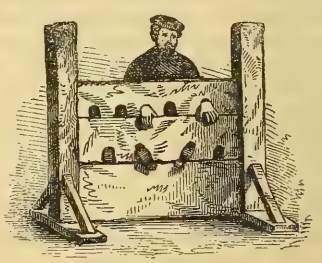
Bro. Nath[l] Williams to have a lot at the Mount for four heads. Bro. John Leverett a house lot and gardenstead next bro. Robt. Hull's. Alex[r] Plumley, who was Mr. Colbourne's man, a lot at the Mount for three heads.

Sept. 30.—Thomas Foster, the gunner at the Castle, a lot at the Mount for six heads. Cleoment Cole, who served with Mr. Robert Keayne four years, a lot for seven heads at same place. Thomas Millard, husbandman, a lot for five heads, at same place. Mr. David Offley a great lot at Muddy River for 15 heads. Mr. Richard Parker and Mr. Thomas Fowle admitted inhabitants.

Oct. 28.—Samuel Sherman may let his cow-house stand till spring-time, on the Common by the gates next Roxbury. Bro. Nath[l] Woodward to have a lot at Muddy River for three heads. John Robinson, late servant to bro. M[r] Newgate, a house lot where it may be had.

Nov. 25.—Bro. Thomas Wheeler to have a house lot and gardenstead next bro. Saving. Mr. Edward Tinge allowed to be an inhabitant. Francis Lysle a lot for five heads at the Mount. John Seaberry, seaman, with leave bought bro. Water Merry's house and lot in the Mylne field, so is allowed for an inhabitant.

* Among other acts of the General Court, to warn people against excessive charges for wages and commodities, there is this example:



THE STOCKS.

Edward Palmer had been employed to erect Stocks in which to punish offenders. Having brought in his bill for the woodwork, amounting to £1, 13*s.* & 7*d.*, the Court decided that it was exorbitant; and, instead of drawing an order on the Treasurer for its payment, they ordered him to be set in said Stocks for an hour, and to pay a fine of £5. It is difficult at this day to understand on what ground Edward Palmer was subjected to an ignominious punishment. He probably found the materials for the Stocks, and not less than two days must have been taken up in making them.—Hubbard, *Hist. N. Eng.*, 248; Winthrop, *Savage's Note*, ii. 85.

† The Rulers had not yet learned the absurdity of endeavoring to bring compulsory laws to bear upon what a man should ask for his goods, or his time, when either was under-

munities. He was deeply religious, but, like nearly all men who buy and sell, his interest in his business was so strong, that he could not well help losing sight of his conscientious scruples at times. But when abstracted from his business he relented and condemned himself. He appears to have been of a forgiving disposition, and more ready to receive an injury than to give one, and could be oppressed with impunity.

Notwithstanding Captain Keayne's fines, losses, trials and perplexities, he died leaving a considerable estate.* In his will, which is probably the longest one on record, he enters into a defence of the conduct for which he had suffered in reputation as well as estate, which renders it an object of considerable curiosity.

Sept. 17. Mount Wollaston yet remained a part of Boston, "and many poor men having lots assigned them there, and not able to use those lands and dwell still in Boston," and Mr. Wheelwright having been driven away from them, petitioned to have a Minister there, which being granted, the Reverend Mr. William Tompson is ordained Pastor, and, in March following, Mr. Henry Flynt is ordained Teacher.†

Nov. 5. What arrangements there had been in Boston previous to this for the safe conveyance and delivery of letters does not appear. But the General Court having the business in charge, the following record is made of its proceedings: — "For the preventing the miscarriage of letters, it is ordered, that notice bee given, that Richard Fairbanks his house in Boston is the place appointed for all letters, which are brought from beyond seas, or to be sent thither; are to bee brought unto him, and he is to take care that they bee delivered, or sent according to their directions; and hee is alowed for every such letter one penny, and must answer all miscarriages through his own neglect in this kind; provided that no man shall bee compelled to bring his letters thither except hee please."‡ There is nothing met with for several years to show what succeeding regulations were, if any.

stood to be in the market, or subject to negotiation. And notwithstanding the light and experience of two hundred years, some of the same kind of legislation remains on our statute books, and finds as strenuous supporters as those were who enforced the laws against witchcraft. The evil of a law setting a price on a man's time, or wages, which is the same in this case, was now first cured. The lawmakers, finding that men could withhold their services altogether, could remove to other places, and engage in planting and other employments, in due time left the subject to its natural course.

* He died 23 March, 1655–6. His will, or an historical and genealogical abstract of it, may be seen printed in the *Genealogical Reg. and Antiqu. Journal*, vol. vi. 89–92, 152–8. It occupies 158 pages in the folio volume in which it is recorded, being the longest I have ever heard of.

† See Mr. Hancock's *Century Sermon*, 20. — Mr. Tompson was the father of Benjamin Tompson, one of the best scholars in New England in his time. Another of his sons was named Samuel, who was ordained Deacon of the same church, 2 Nov. 1679, and he was the father of the Rev. Edward Tompson of Marshfield. — See *ibid.* and the *Antiq. Journal*,* vii. 278. The Rev. William Tompson was a native of Winwick in Lincolnshire, and graduate of Oxford, came to N. Eng. before 1637, died 10 Dec. 1666, aged 68. In connection with Mr. Richard Mather he published "An Answer to Mr. Charles Herle his Book against the Independency of Churches," &c., 4to. 1664. His first wife, Abigail ——, died in 1643, during his absence in Virginia; he married, secondly, Anna, widow of Simon Crosby of Cambridge. By his first wife he had all his children except one, which was a daughter by the second.

‡ *Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, xxvii. 48.

* The *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Regr.* will be thus designated, for brevity.

Dec. 3. Boston is complained of "for defect of their ways, between Powderhorn Hill and the Written Tree, and is fined twenty shillings and enjoined to mend them."*

May 13. The Court of Election was held in Boston, and Thomas Dudley, Esq., elected Governor, and Richard Bellingham, Esq., Deputy Governor.† Mr. Winthrop took his place among the Assistants, somewhat disturbed by the result. He had held the place of Governor so long that he was regarded by many as holding it by inheritance. "Some trouble there had been," he writes in his journal, "in making way for this election, and it was obtained with some difficulty; that many of the Elders labored much in it, fearing lest the long continuance of one man in the place should bring it to be for life." But he was consulted before the election by the leaders, and agreed with them that it might be well to choose another in his stead. Especially as his "outward estate" had suffered much of late, owing to the management of an unfaithful steward, named Luxford, and consequently required more of his attention than he could well bestow upon it, with the weight of the Government upon him also.

Mr. Winthrop soon after had a substantial proof of the attachment of the people to himself, in their coming forward to relieve him in his embarrassments. Even the General Court would have voted him money if there had been any in their treasury; but as it was, it voted Mrs. Winthrop 3000 acres of land, "and some of the towns sent in liberally" for his relief. However, of about five hundred pounds so contributed, "near half came from Boston." One individual, Mr. Richard Dummer‡ of Newbury, gave him one hundred pounds.

There came over this year provisions in large quantities, both from

* *Nov.* 25. — Richard Storer, son of Elizabeth Hull, wife of bro. Robert Hull, allowed to be an inhabitant, and a lot at the Mount for three heads. Bro. Arthur Perry may sell his house to Silvester Saunders, long a servant in this Town. Nicholis Baxter, fisherman, admitted an inhabitant. Bro. John Milles sold 4 acres at Hogg Island to Tho. Savidge, and all his planted ground in the Newfield. Thos. Clarke, locksmith, allowed to be an inhabitant.

Dec. 30. — Richard Sherman to have a lot at Muddy R. for seven heads; Gregory Belchar 52 acres at the Mount for 13 heads; William Potter 44 acres for 11 heads; bro. John Kenricke a great lot at Muddy R. for four heads; bro. Geo. Curtys a lot for two heads; Wm. Blanton, carpenter, admitted an inhabitant; also Leonard Buttle and Edmund Grosse. Richard Wooddas, fisherman, a lot at the Mount for three heads. The Town has 300 acres set apart at Muddy R. for "perpetual commonage." Francis Dowse, servant to bro. George Burdon, allowed to be an inhabitant. Mr. Edward Tinge 250 acres at the Mount. John Crabtree a lot at the Mount for five heads, instead of two as formerly. Bro. Arthur Perry a lot at the Mount for seven heads.

† The Boston Deputies were Capt. Gibbons and Mr. W^m^ Tinge. They were chosen 20 April, and on 28 Sept. Tyng and Hibbins were chosen for the remainder of the year as usual. At the May term of the Court, the inhabitants of Mount Wollaston petitioned to become a Town, and their request was granted, "according to the agreement with Boston," and that the Town be called Bramtree. — Hancock, *Cent. Ser.* 19.

‡ It is singularly remarkable that the very men who had been driven from Boston through Mr. Winthrop's agency, more than by any other, still remained his friends and benefactors. Nothing can exceed the kindness of Roger Williams to him, and Mr. Dummer proved himself a friend in time of need. It is true the cases of these two gentlemen were very different; Mr. Dummer retired because he would not enter into the Antinomian controversy, being himself one of the fast friends of Mr. Vane; whereas Mr. Williams was forced to fly to the wilderness to escape a worse fate. Mr. Dummer was the grandfather of Jeremiah Dummer, who wrote and published the able "Defence of the New England Charters," 1721.

England and Ireland, but as to passengers or settlers but few came; and according to some, emigration entirely ceased during the year.* And above one hundred years later it was observed, that more people had removed out of New England to other parts of the world, than had come from other parts to it.† And now it may be said, at another hundred years' distance, that, notwithstanding the immense emigration from all parts of Europe to New England, far more go from than emigrate to it.

So great had been the importation of provisions and other things, that people before the close of the year found themselves almost entirely without money, and the Authorities were obliged to pass a law making corn receivable in payment for all new debts; Indian at four shillings the bushel, rye at five, and wheat six; for old debts the creditor might take goods or land, at a value to be fixed by three men.

Sept. By letters from some of Plymouth, who had had advices from Connecticut, disturbances were apprehended from the Indians. Miantonimo was believed to be in treaty with the Mohawks, with evil intentions towards the English. The Government here did not think the fears of Plymouth and Connecticut very well grounded; however, Captain Jennison was sent from Boston, with only three men besides an Indian interpreter, to the Narragansets, to ascertain the truth with regard to the rumors. The messengers were kindly entertained, and they returned well satisfied that no mischief was intended. It was a part of the business of Captain Jennison to invite Miantonimo to Boston. He said he would come provided Mr. Williams might come with him; and as to remaining at peace with the English, the Narragansets, he said, had no other purpose, unless the English begun first. The English thought it rather strange that Miantonimo would not communicate through their Pequot interpreter, while they refused to allow Roger Williams to accompany him to Boston.

Some time this summer Mr. Thomas Gorges‡ arrived at Boston, on his way to his Government of New Somersetshire; "a young gentle-

* Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 93. — "They," observes the same Author, "who then professed to be able to give the best account, say, that in 298 ships, which were the whole number from the begining of the Collony, there arrived 21,200 passingers, men women and children, perhaps about 4000 familes." — *Ibid.* "This sudden stop to emigration had a surprising effect upon the price of cattle, the demand for which increased as the inhabitants multiplied, and the price of a milch cow had kept from 25 to £30, but fell at once this year to 5 or £6. A farmer who could spare but one cow in a year out of his stock, used to clothe his family with the price of it at the expense of the new comers; when this failed they were put to difficulties, although they judged they had 12,000 neat cattle, yet they had but about 3000 sheep in the Colony." — *Ibid.* See also Johnson's *Wonder Work. Prov.*, 31, Stiles' *Christian Union*, 110, Dummer's *Defence of the New Eng. Charters*, 9.

† Dr. Franklin said before 1760, "There has not gone from Britain to our Colonies these twenty years past to settle there, so many as ten families a year." — Stiles' *Christian Union*, 111.

‡ Probably son of Capt. William Gorges, and had a son, Henry, living in Barbadoes in 1686. He had also a son, Ferdinando, residing in Maine the same year, as agent for his father, who leased to John Littlefield for 21 years certain lands, mills, &c., on Oguncot river. If Ferdinando Gorges, Esquire, the Author of "America Painted to the Life," printed in 1659, be the same Ferdinando in Maine, 1686, said Ferdinando was grand-son of Sir Ferdinando. However, the Ferdinando of Maine, 1686, was son of Thomas and brother of Henry of Barbadoes, as original papers under his own hand in my possession certify. Ferdinando, Esquire, speaks of his "uncle Capt. Robert Gorges," and of his "couzen, Captaine William Gorges, who had been his grand-father's Lief-

man of the Inns of Court, kinsman" of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. His stay was short, and he left a very favorable impression on the minds of the best people here.

One of the ships that arrived this season met with an accident which came near occasioning its loss. She was struck by a whale, the wind blowing heavy, which stove in her bows above water, breaking "the planks, six timbers and a beam, and staved two hogsheads of vinegar."

Aug. 27. Something of terror overspread the town on this day, caused by a great explosion of gun-powder in a ship lying in the harbor, the Mary Rose of Bristol. There were twenty-one barrels of

tenant in the fort of Plymouth." — See "*America Painted to the Life*," p. 24. There was living at Wraxall, C° of Somerset, in 1673, Edward Gorges, Esq. In Hazard's *Collections*, i. 392, there is a petition of "Edward Lord Gorges," 1635, concerning lands in New England. By Lechford's *Plain Dealing*, it appears, that "Master Thomas Gorges" was the "sonne of Capt. Gorges of Batcombe, by Chedder in Somersetshire." Hence, I suppose, Thomas Gorges was a son of Capt. William Gorges, as before stated. The note of Hutchinson, that he was *son* of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, was an error easily made. — See Burke, *Extinct and Dorment Baronetcies*.

Jan. 27. — William Needham is granted a lot for two heads at the Mount; Robert Hewstead for 8 heads; Geo. Wright for 3; bro. Henry Shrimpton for 3; bro. Richard Hogge for 5; bro. John Spoor for 5; Edmund Grosse "ye square peece" next William Letherland's; Richard Critchley for 5 heads; bro. John Gallopp* the meadow on Long Island; Thomas Clarke, smith, for 8 heads at the Mount; bro. Edward Bendall to bestow all goods without owners; Samuel Grame a great lot at the Mount for 4 heads; Robert Mears sold to Dorothy Bill, widow, and her son James Bill, his house and garden, "where they now live;" Robert Bradford, tailor, allowed to inhabit; bro. Anthony Stoddard a lot of 100 acres; Thos. Foule 600 acres; Saml. Mavericke 600; Henry Messenger for 2 heads at Muddy River; bro. Joshua Scotto* a lot there for 3 heads; Thos. Painter, joiner, for 4 heads; bro. Robert Hull 6 acres at Hog Island; Benj. Negoose allowed to inhabit; Mr. W^m^ Tompson 120 acres at the Mount; Mr. Henry Flint 80; John Lugg a lot for 9 heads; John Uyall [Viall] weaver, allowed to inhabit; Mr. Benj. Keayne 200 acres at the Mount; to the Canoneer of Boston 500, and 2000 to the Town.

Feb. 24. — Mr. Richard Parker 400 acres at the Mount; to Lewys Kidby a house lot next John Lowes two rods towards the sea; W^m^ Blanton, carpenter, a lot for 3 heads at Muddy R., and a house lot on the Neck; Leonard Buttles, bricklayer, lot for 4 at Mud. R.; Edward Fletcher may be an inhabitant, and have a house lot; bro. Rich^d^ Bracket may mow the marsh in the New field; bros. Arthur Perry, Rich^d^ Hogg and John Hurd, each a house lot; W^m^ Briscoe, tailor, may inhabit, and have a lot at the Mount for 8 heads; John Marshall, husbandman, having served bro. Edward Hutchinson, is allowed to inhabit; Robt. Wing a lot at Mud. R. for 4; Lewys Kidby, fisherman, same for 2; John Moore, the Governor's servant, same for 3; bro. Tho. Mekyns, the younger, for 7; Geo. Barrell, cooper, for 9; W^m^ Kirkby, fisherman, for 3; John Arnould, plasterer, for 2; Rich^d^ Carter, sawyer, for 3; Waters Sinnott, fisherman, 3; Thos. Jewell, of the Mount, miller, 12 acres; the like to Mr. Daniel Welles for 20 heads, 80 acres; Peter Brackett for 12 heads, 48 acres; Saml. Allen, 28 acres for 7 heads; to W^m^ Allyce 12 acres for 3 heads; Jacob Wilson 16 acres for 4; John Reade 44 acres for 11; Robt. Stephens 12 acres for 3; Geo. Rose 20 acres for 5; Henry Addams 40 acres for 10; Thos. Place 20 acres for 5; John Harbar 12 acres for 3; Benj. Albye 12 do. for 3; Thos. Simons 40 do. for 10; John Marchant 8 do. for 2; Geo. Poffer 20 do. for 5; John Pafflyn 8 do for 2; Robt. Sharpe 16 do. for 4; John Dassett 28 do. for 7; Thos. Blysse, 36 for 9; Thos. Gilbert 28 for 7; Henry Neal 12 for 3; Henry Maudsley 12 for 3; James Covey 16 for 4; Saml. Bitfeild 20 for 5; James Clarke 8 for 2; James Wiseman 12 for 3; John Collyns, of Monanticott, 12 for 3; Christopher Collyns 8 for 2; Geo. Aldrich 20 for 5; Anthony Newton 12 for 3; Matthew Smith 20 for 5; John French, of Monoticott, 40 for 5; John Mills, of the same, 44 for 6; Rich^d^ Rockett, of same, 40 for 5; Nicholas Hathway, of the same, 36 for 4; Thos. Bird 36 for 4; Geo. Sheppard 18 for 2; Thomas Tayer 40 for 9; Danyell Lovell and his mother 12 for 3; David Rogers 8 for 2; John Onyon 8 for 2. All these at Mount Wollaston. From Lewys Kidby to Waters Sinnott, all probably resided in Boston proper. Those from Thos. Jewell to John Onyon resided already at the Mount, or in that part of it called Monoticott, or Monanticott. William Mawer, late of Boston, husbandman, sold Capt. Edward Gibbon a house and garden, now occupied by W^m^ Teffe, tailor; date of sale 12 Feb. 1640. Brethren Edward Randsford and Wm. Hudson ordered to accompany the surveyor to lay out the planting ground at Long Island.

* See his autograph, p. 243 *ante*.

powder, and all on board lost their lives, being fourteen or fifteen persons, excepting one man, whose preservation was very remarkable; "being carried up in the scuttle, and so let fall in the same into the water, and being taken up in the ferry boat, near dead, he came to himself the next morning, but could not tell anything of the blowing up of the ship, or how he came there." Some of the goods were saved, but the loss was estimated at two thousand pounds.

Sept. 3. Captain Underhill who had been banished, and since lived at Pascataqua, was, at his request, allowed to come to Boston for the purpose of making confessions of faults and miscarriages, to the Church. He was a man of strong passions, and, though a firm believer in religion, had been carried away by them on many occasions, and had committed great improprieties. Now the firmness of the soldier seems to have forsaken him, and he appeared before the Church more like an ignorant, simple child than like a man. "He came in his worst clothes," says Winthrop, though usually "accustomed to take great pride in his bravery and neatness. Without a band, in a foul linen cap pulled close to his eyes, and standing upon a form, he did, with many deep sighs and abundance of tears," confess his wicked course. Such was the man who, so lately, was not "afraid to meet the enemy in the gates," and to carry fire and sword into the midst of the strong holds of the Indians.*

Nov. The next distinguished visitor in Boston was Miantonimo, who had been invited by Captain Jennison as previously stated. Governor Dudley gave him entertainment at Roxbury, but being displeased at the Governor's employment of a Pequot interpreter, he came off abruptly to Boston. He, no doubt, thought the English intended him an insult. He had assisted in destroying that nation, and the English themselves had been a means of causing the Narragansets to look upon a Pequot as too vile a being to be allowed to occupy a place among the

* About the time of his banishment, Underhill wrote to the Governor of New Netherland for permission to settle in his province. Gov. Kieft at once granted his request, on condition of his taking the oath of allegiance to the States General. — Brodhead's *N. York*, 291. However, in the time of the government of Thomas Gorges, Esq., at Pascataqua, he left Dover and settled at Stamford, in Connecticut, near the residence of Capt. Patrick, another of the Captains who had served against the Pequots. Here, at the head of 50 other Englishmen, Underhill was gladly taken into the service of the Dutch, whose total annihilation was then threatened by the Indians. This was in September, 1643. To the employment of Underhill and his company of English, the Dutch probably owed their preservation, but it was not in time to save the unfortunate Mrs. Hutchinson; she and her family were cut off a little before Underhill took the field. After fighting valiantly for the Dutch until the Indians were subdued, he settled on Long Island, and here he got up a rebellion against the Dutch Authorities, and they banished him. The difficulty was in time settled, and he purchased a large tract of land of the Indians on Long Island, a part of which remained in his family nearly 200 years. He died at his estate called Killingworth, in 1672, in the town of Oyster Bay, and there lies buried, but whether any monument marks the spot, I am not informed. He left a will, witnessed the 18 Sept. 1671. There is a very elaborate pedigree of his descendants in Mr. Bolton's *Hist. of Westchester*, ii. 228. His will is a curiosity, of which there is a copy in Thompson's *Long Island*, ii. 361. His first wife was Mary Mosely, who came over from Holland with him; and his second was Elizabeth Feeks, who survived him. In his will he names "my brother John Browne, Henry Townsend, Matthew Pryer, son John Underhill, son Nathaniel to live with his mother till 21." Nathaniel settled in Westchester, and thus the family became the historical property of Mr. Bolton.

living. The same insult had been lately offered him in his own country, and he probably regarded the new Governor as one of doubtful authority, which may account for his conduct at Roxbury. But at Boston he found no better regard paid him, the Authorities refusing to have any conference with him till he had submitted to their way of proceeding. He very justly complained that he should be subjected to the English customs, when they were allowed to use their own when they came to his country. The interview did not give much satisfaction to either party. Miantonimo had received an insult, and the English were in some doubt what the return might be to them.

Dec. 9. One Hugh Bewett was banished for maintaining that he was free from original sin, and that true Christians could live without committing any sin. By the order of the Court, he was to be gone in fifteen days upon pain of death, and if he returned he should be hanged.

There was a mode of punishment, practised at this period, which may be mentioned for its peculiarity; it was by inserting the tongue of certain offenders in a cleft stick, and was probably employed chiefly upon the tongues of females. One Mrs. Oliver was whipped for reproaching the Magistrates. "She stood without tying, and bare her punishment with a masculine spirit, glorying in her suffering." Some time after "she had a cleft stick put on her tongue half an hour for reproaching the Elders." This kind of punishment was soon abandoned, the cases doubtless becoming too numerous to be attended to.*

Affairs had taken such a turn in England, that a general want of foreign commodities began to be felt here, and the people saw that they must build their own ships and do their own business at sea. Mr. Hugh Peters stirred up some to join him at Salem in building a ship of three hundred tons, and this example was followed at Boston, and one of half the dimensions was built here. The work was accomplished with difficulty, owing to the want of money, but the ship-wrights received for their wages such articles as the country produced.

The King of England having been driven to relinquish much of his arbitrary power over the Parliament, some friends there wrote over that it was now thought a favorable time for the Colony to apply to the Parliament for privileges, and that by applying they might gain much; but the nature of what was to be gained is not mentioned. But the Government did not think very favorably of an application at first, and their view taken of it should be added by way of a note to the Declaration of Independence of the American Congress of 1776. It was said, though indirectly, that they were now free, but if they put themselves

* Among the First Church excommunicants in 1638, is mentioned Anne Walker, wife of Richard Walker, who was "cast out" for "sundry scandals." Brother Richard Wayte is "cast out" for "purloyning buckskin leather" out of some entrusted to him, so much as would make three men's gloves, "to the scandal of many without, as well as of his brethren; and being dealt withal, did deny and forsware the same." Sister Temperance Jewett is admonished for having "entertained disorderly company, and ministring unto them wine and strong waters even unto drunkenness, and that not without some iniquity in the measure and practice thereof." This was in 1640. — See Shaw's *Descript.*, &c., 239–40.

under the protection of Parliament, they might be subjected to any laws Parliament might make.

Notwithstanding these scruples, the Court of Assistants being assembled, the advice of the Elders was sought, and in the end it was determined that the providence of God seemed to favor the sending Agents to England, for a ship belonging to Boston and bound thither was then ready to sail. Accordingly, Mr. Peters of Salem, Mr. Welde of Roxbury, and Mr. Hibbins of Boston, were fixed upon for the service; but the Church of Salem would not allow Mr. Peters, their Pastor, to leave them, and so for the present the mission was laid aside. The next year, however, encouraged by the continued success of Parliament, the Church of Salem consented, though with reluctance, for Mr. Peters to go. But there was no ship bound from these parts for England, and the Commissioners were obliged to go to Newfoundland, to seek passages among the returning fishermen, and in this way accomplished their journey, at a great expense of time. Mr. Peters and Mr. Welde did not return to New England, but Mr. Hibbins came back in 1642, "with divers others who went over" with him. It does not appear that anything of immediate importance was effected by the Commissioners, with the exception of the procurement of some valuable presents.*

* *Mar.* 30. — Edward Gibbon sold the house which he bot of Mawer (some time W^m^ Hudson's the elder) to Teffe the occupant; John Freind, carpenter, now dwelling here, allowed to remain and inhabit; John Palmer the same, if he can get a house, or land to set one on — "it being not ppr. to allow a man an inhabitant without a habitation." — Ordered that no more land be granted in the Town, out of the open ground, or common field, which is left between Sentry Hill and Mr. Colborn's end, except 3 or 4 lots to make up the street from bro. Robt. Walker's to the Round Marsh; Edward Baytes being at Isle Sables, shall have 6 months to build on his lot. Ordered that the street from Mr. Atherton Haulghe's to Sentry Hill be laid out, "and soe be kept open forever;" W^m^ Davis, gunsmith, to have 20 acres at the Mount; W^m^ Hudson recommended to keep an Ordinary; W^m^ Briscoe, tailor, to have a lot between Robt. Walker's and the Round Marsh; to look to the fences; Rich^d^ Fairbanks and W^m^ Salter, the field towards Roxbury; Benjn. Gillam and Edmd. Jacklyn,* the Fort field; W^m^ Hudson and Edwd. Bendall, the New field; Mr. Valentine Hill and John Button, the Mill field.

April 27. — Saml. Sherman allowed a lot at the Mount for 15 heads; John Scarlett and Ed. Goodwine for 2 each; Saml. Sherman may let his house stand near Roxbury Gate, where it now is, but must set his fence straight "as he do not incroch vpon the High-way;" goodman Marshall, and goodm. Raynolds, and B. Gridley may buy the marsh at Hogg Island; Peter the Dutchman allowed one acre at Long Island; John Robertsonne to have the lot granted to Bibble, which he forfeited by not building on it; John Woodward a house lot next Henry Gray, if he build on it in 5 months; Ed. Goodwine a lot next W. Briscoe's, same conditions; Natha. Willis is spared clearing half an acre at Spectacle Island, "in regard his servant did scald his legg;" W^m^ Hibbins chosen Treasurer, except of the taxes; Ben. Gillum to have the ungranted land at Long Island.

May 25. — Ed. Ting may dig turf on the island among the flats by Mill Field, going to Charlestown; Christopher Stanley may buy 6 acres on Hog Island, "yf it be here to be sould."

June 29. — Cotton Flack a house lot in the way from Mr. Colborn's to the sea, next goodm. Briscoe's; Robt. Howen a great lot near Braintree for 4 heads; John Riall a lot at the Mount for 4 also; Geo. Barrell may have that acre at Spectacle Island passed over to him by goodm. Smith.

Aug. 31. — W^m^ Douglas may be a townsman, "he behaving himself as becometh a Christian man." Theodore Atkinson a great lot at Mud. R. for 2 heads, if to be had.

Sept. 28. — The townsmen chosen for the next 6 months were, Mr. Bellingham, Winthrop, senr., Ting, Gibbons, Colburn, Eliot, Newgate, Atherton, "Hough," and W^m^ Hibbins; Mr. Newgate and bro. Jona. Negus,† surveyors of Highways, and W^m^ Courser, Town Crier. Henry Webb to have 200 acres at the Mount, beyond Monotocott river, adjoining the farms of Mr. Edwd. Ting and Edwd. Hutchin-

* See his autograph, *ante*, p. 243.

† See his autograph. *ante*, p. 243.

Whatever difficulties happened about the country, Boston was the point where they were to be settled; and though the people of this Town are accused of minding other people's business as well as their own, there is generally some grounds, on which a pretty good defence may be set up for their seeming officiousness. They had given themselves a great deal of trouble about the religious aberrations of the people of Rhode Island, ever since a part of the Church of Boston had been settled there.* It was very unsatisfactory to some here, to know that many members of the Church, who had not been excommunicated, were in full communion with others who were under that anathema.

At this time the case of Mr. Hanserd Knollys was under special notice. This gentleman, according to his own account, had been persecuted and prosecuted in the High Commission Court, about five years before, and, being apprehended in Boston in Lincolnshire, was for some time kept a prisoner in the house of the warrant officer. At length he so terrified the conscience of that officer, that he set open his doors and let him escape. Proceeding immediately to London, he there waited to find a ship to take him to New England. But it was so long before an opportunity offered, that he had "neither silver nor gold left," but only "six brass farthings." His wife, more provident than himself, however, had, unknown to him, five pounds, which she gave him. Thus embarking in want and dis-



HANSERD KNOLLYS.

son; bro. Robt. Scott 200 do., next bro. Webb's — no allowance for "rockieness or swampe."

Oct. 26. — Bro. Peter Oliver may have 60 acres at Mud. R., if to be had; bro. Jas Oliver 40 there. Mr. Colburn, Mr. Eliot, and Mr. Peter Oliver, to see that a bridge be made at Mud. R. as ordered; Mr. Cogan to see that the bridge ordered to be built at Romney Marsh be "donne with all speede." John Biggs sold 4 acres at Mud. R. at 4*s.* the acre; Bro. W^m^ Talmage to have 5 acres added to his at same place, a former grant conferred to bro. Ed. Fletcher; Euan Thomas to be considered of for a resident; Leonard Buttall asks leave to set up a lime kiln at Fox hill.

Nov. 30. — Bro. Edmond Jackline to mowe the marsh formerly mowed by bro. Pease.

Dec. 28. — Miles Tarne to have land at Long Island, and to be considered in regard to a lot for 5 heads at Mud. R. "Bro. Day" to be considered on the same request. Bro. Alexr. Beck to mow marsh in the New field near where "Mr. Hough takes boat."

The rate this year made by the Townsmen, amounting to £179, "for the discharge of the country levy, was delivered to Mr. Henry Webb, constable."

Bro. John Button chosen Constable in place of Mr. John Cogan.

* *March 1st*, 1640. — "The Church of Boston sent three brethren, viz. — Capt. Edward Gibbons, Mr. [William] Hibbins, and Mr. Oliver, with letters to Mr. Coddington and the rest of our Members at Aquiday, to understand their judgments in divers points of religion, formerly maintained by all, or divers of them, and to require them to give account to the Church of their unwarrantable practice in communicating with excommunicated persons, &c. When

tress, sickness and death, and a protracted voyage of twelve weeks, all conspired to try the fortitude of this conscientious Puritan. In the midst of the ocean their water became nauseous, their bread rotten, and other provisions were in a like condition. They sailed from Gravesend on the twenty-sixth of April, 1638, in a ship commanded by a Captain Goodlad, in company with the Nicholas of London, and several others.* From this ship they were separated in a very dark and stormy night, after they had kept company twenty-one days. They, however, arrived at Boston about the twentieth of July following, having lost one child on the voyage, which died of convulsion fits. "But," says Mr. Knollys, "God was gracious to us, and led us through those great deeps, and ere we went on shore, came one and enquired for me, and told me a friend that was gone from Boston to Rhode Island had left me his house to sojourn in; to which we went and two families more with us, who went suddenly to their friends and other relations in the country; and I, being poor, was necessitated to work daily with my hoe, for the space of almost three weeks. The Magistrates were told by the Ministers that I was an Antinomian, and desired they would not suffer me to abide in their district. But, within the time limited by their law in that case, two strangers coming to Boston from Piscattuah, hearing of me by a mere accident, got me to go with them to that plantation, and to preach there, where I remained about four years. Being sent for back to England by my aged father, I returned with my wife and one child about three years old, and she was then great with another; we came safe to London on the twenty-fourth of December, 1641." †

People should be cautious in passing judgment condemnatory of the actions of those who for conscience sake endured such hardships, and suffered so many privations, even though cotemporary evidence may seem to favor such judgment. The intolerance of the Rulers of those times, as in all other times, doubtless, warped their decisions, and caused them to lend a willing ear to scandals of doubtful foundation, when they tended to degrade the objects of their suspicion. Mr. Knollys went to reside in a part of the country where the people were

they came, they found that those of them who dwell at Newport, had joined themselves to a church there newly constituted, and thereupon they refused to hear them as messengers of our Church, or to receive the Church's letter." —*Winthrop*, i. 329. Thus this Author dispatches the result of the Mission in a very summary manner. He adds that, "the Elders and most of the Church [of Boston] would have cast them [of Rhode Island] out, but all being not agreed, it was deferred."—*Ibid.*

* The time of his sailing, the name of the captain with whom he sailed, and several other facts here stated, are not found in Mr. Knolly's Life, cited in the next note, but are derived from a comparison of Josselyn and Winthrop with Knolly's own account.

† "The Life and Death of that Old Disciple of Jesus Christ, and Eminent Minister of the Gospel, Mr. HANSERD KNOLLYS, who died in the 93d year of his age," 19th Sept., 1691. "Written with his own hand to the year 1672, and continued in general, in an Epistle by Mr. WILLIAM KIFFIN." 12mo.: London, 1812.—Concerning this curious book I will just remark, that the author probably had not the remotest idea when he wrote his "Life and Death," that ever anybody would consult it for anything but the edification they might derive in a purely spiritual point of view; nor does "Mr. William Kiffin" enter at all into the *prophane* history of Mr. Knollys, though he pretends to have done so "in general." Notwithstanding what I have here said of this book, should any of my readers consult it, they will not probably complain that I have over-estimated it. But one copy of it is known by me to be in this country.

in a very unsettled state, for the want of a due administration of good government.* In such a community, under such circumstances, it is very difficult for a person, however well-disposed he may be, to escape entirely all causes of censure. Such was Mr. Knollys' case at Dover, the place over which Captain Underhill was Governor. The latter had been a means of giving him a place which provided him support, and he thus became under obligation to him. This led him into difficulty with the Authorities at Boston; for, at his instigation, he had written letters into England unfavorable to them, in one of which he said, "they were more arbitrary than the High Commission Court, and that there was no real religion in the country." But before he left New England he came to Boston, and openly confessed himself in error, and this was supposed to have been one cause which moved Captain Underhill to come and do likewise afterwards, as previously related.

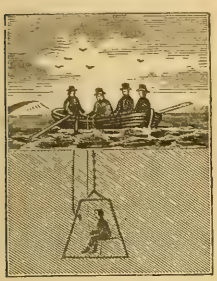
Whatever may have been the acts of Mr. Knollys in New England, certain it is he became a man of distinction in his own country after his return there; and his memory is held in the greatest esteem to this day, by a highly respected class of people, who have honored it by instituting a learned society bearing the name of HANSERD KNOLLYS.†

* The Court at Boston, taking advantage of this situation of affairs, had intimated its intention to extend its jurisdiction beyond the Merrimack — "three miles to the northward of it and every part thereof," by a line to be drawn from the most eastern to the most western point. This put in execution would have swallowed up the whole of New Hampshire, and no inconsiderable part of Maine; thus leaving Gorges' and Mason's Patents "nowhere." The pretensions of this government were strengthened, owing to the unsettled state of the settlements on the Pascataqua. These settlements, which were four in number, had each its Governor, and were under no instructions from the Government in England; hence the continual feuds and contentions among them. And, owing to the internal distractions in that country, present relief could not be expected; therefore, some of the most considerate among them applied to the Government at Boston to be annexed to Massachusetts. After about a year's negotiation, Articles, dated in April, 1641, were agreed upon, and "signed in the presence of the General Court, by Geo. Willys, Robt. Saltonstall, William Whiting, Edwd. Holiock and Thomas Makepeace, in behalf of themselves and the other partners of the two Patents." — See Belknap, *N. H.*, i. 52–6.

† I had completed thus far this History, when a new edition of Winthrop's Journal made its appearance. It had been looked for with some anxiety, presuming its notes would be greatly improved, and that by their aid I might make my work more valuable. Suffice it to say, that my anticipations of advantage from the new edition will be but very partially realized. The Editor, so far as I can discover, from not a very thorough examination, has been content to issue the work without much additional matter, and with very slight corrections. It was thought proper thus specially to notice Winthrop's Journal at this time (July, 1853), as it has been, and will yet be, one of my best authorities, for the period it covers; and its notes are often appropriate, and the result of great research.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Expedition to the Isle of Sable. — Some Families emigrate to the West Indies. — Disaster and Return. — Death of Capt. Peirce. — Rhode Island People taken and imprisoned. — Great Training. — Thanksgiving. — Destructive Tempest. — Proceedings against Mr. Maverick. — Body of Liberties. — Accident from Lightning. — Severe Winter. — Remarkable Hog Case. — Capt. Keayne. — Mrs. Sherman. — George Story. — A Fast. — Osamekin visits Boston. — Edward Bendall. — A Diving Bell successfully employed. — Cotton's Seven Vials. — Alarm from the Indians. — Proceedings against them. — They are Disarmed. — Miantonimo. — Comes to Boston to repel Charges against him. — His magnanimous Conduct. — How entertained.

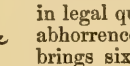


DIVING BELL.

June 2. AT the General Election Mr. Bellingham * is chosen Governor, and Mr. Endicott Deputy-Governor. Mr. Nathaniel Ward preached the Sermon.† Among other things the Court ordered, "that the Elders should be desired to agree upon a form of catechism which might be put forth in print."

A very successful business is carried on to the Isle of Sable this summer, by some of the enterprising men of Boston. A vessel with twelve men went there provided to continue a year. Their return was in oil and the teeth of the morse, or walrus. "One John Webb, alias Evered," was the conductor of the enterprise. ‡

Some families went from Boston to settle at Providence in the West Indies. They went in two small vessels, to the number of thirty men, five women, and eight children. Captain William Peirce conducted the enterprise — the same gentleman who had been of such service to the Colony from its beginning; but in this expedition he fell a sacrifice to Spanish barbarity, being killed by a cannon shot as he was entering the port of his destination. No explanation is given for the outrage.

* See *ante*, p. 176. The autograph of Gov. Bellingham at this period is here represented. 

† Winthrop has an agreeable criticism upon that performance, but whether a just one or not, is a matter of not much consequence now. Winthrop was displeased, because "some of the Freemen" had chosen Mr. Ward without asking leave "of the Magistrates or Governor," and "seeing he had cast off his pastor's place at Ipswich, and was now no minister by the received determination of our Churches; and, among other things, he advised the people to keep all their Magistrates in an equal rank, and not give more honor or power to one than to another." — *Journal*, ii. 35. Mr. Ward recommended also, "that Magistrates should not give private advice, and take knowledge of any man's cause before it came to public hearing." — *Ibid.*, 36. This was taken as indirect advice for the employment of Attorneys in legal questions. But Lawyers were held in abhorrence by the Puritan fathers. Winthrop brings six arguments against receiving that advice. A little later than this, Mr. John Rogers, the famous Puritan preacher of London, thus speaks of the "incredible wickednesse of that profession, their guiltinesse of all manner of sinnes which the nation lyes under, as blood, theft, oppression, injustice, contentions, hatred, cozenage, and fraud, rebellion, lying, perjury, and what not." — *Heavenly Nymph*, &c. 4to, 1653, p. 221. This being the current opinion of those days, it is no wonder the people of Boston were determined to exclude them from a footing here. Indeed, up to the time of our great Revolution, Lawyers were looked upon as a class unsuited to good society, by a considerable portion of the community!

‡ Lechford, *Plain Dealing*, 45.

At the time the vessel was fired upon, "the deck was full of passengers," yet none were hurt except Captain Peirce and one Samuel Wakeman. The latter was mortally wounded. He belonged to Hartford, and may have been the same who was a Freeman of Massachusetts, 1632, and three years later a Deputy to the General Court from Roxbury. He was upon a trading design, and did not belong to those who intended to settle on the island. The others returned to New England soon after this calamitous outrage.

In the course of the summer very unfavorable accounts were brought from Rhode Island; that Mrs. Hutchinson was constantly broaching new heresies; that many were turned Anabaptists, would not wear any arms, denied all magistracy among Christians, and "divers" other opinions quite as alarming as these. So that the conscientious Rulers of Boston were much grieved, if not angry, at what they considered bold presumption. And why an armed expedition was not dispatched into that Colony to break up the obnoxious nursery of errors, it is difficult to imagine. Perhaps they had too much business to attend to at home. However, they soon had an opportunity of showing the Islanders that it was not very safe for any of them to make their appearance in Boston; for Mr. William Collins, the same before noticed,* and Francis Hutchinson, son of Mrs. Hutchinson, coming here on business, were taken up, imprisoned and fined.† They would not pay the fine, however, and were eventually discharged.‡

Sept. 7.

A "great training" commenced in Boston, which continued two days. The number of the trainers is set down at 1200, and it was remarked "that there was no man drunk," though liquors abounded; and that no man swore an oath, nor was there any fighting. This certainly was remarkable, but there may be those who will question the fact, presuming that the Governor and Council might not hear all that was said during those two days of trainings.§

Sept. 15.

Notwithstanding the harsh usage dealt out here to those who differed from them in opinions, the Rulers appointed a thanksgiving to be kept in all the Churches "for the good success of the Parliament in England," which was kept accordingly, on the second of September.

* *Ante*, page 227.

† Mr. Collins was fined £100, and Hutchinson £50. "We assessed the fines the higher," says Winthrop, "partly that by occasion thereof they might be the longer kept in from doing harm (for they were kept close prisoners), and also because that family had put the country to so much charge in the Synod and other occasions, to the value of £500 at least." Upon this proceeding, Winthrop's commentator remarks: — "Such arbitrary conduct cannot be overlooked by faithful history in silence; yet nothing can be more clear than that our Magistrates thought they were doing God service." — *Journal*, ii. 40.

‡ Winthrop makes this excuse for the conduct of the Government: — "Because the winter drew on, and the prison was inconvenient, we abated them [their fines] to £40, and to £20. At last we took their own bonds for their fine, and so dismissed them. They refused to come to the church assemblies, except they were led, and so they came duly." — *Journal*, ib. I suppose? "coming duly" means that they were forced *duly* to the attendance at meetings. This was a practice in other cases. Backus, from the *Colony Records*, says they were "banished upon pain of death."

§ Lechford says, "Profane swearing, drunkenness, and beggers, are but rare in the compasse of this Patent." — *Plain Dealing*, 29.

Nov. 12. There was a remarkable tempest of above two days' continuance. It was "as fierce as a hurricane." "Divers boats and a bark were cast away in the harbor," but fortunately no houses were blown down nor lives lost. The tide rose to a fearful height, higher than it had been known since the Town was settled.

About this time Mr. Samuel Maverick was put to some trouble on account of his having shown hospitality to some accused persons. One Thomas Owen, and Sarah, wife of William Hale, had been imprisoned under the charge of illicit conduct. They found means to escape from custody, and it was ascertained that Mr. Maverick had admitted them to his house. Nothing appears to show why he harbored them. He may have allowed them refuge as any other humane person would have done, seeing them in great distress. Whatever the circumstances may have been, he was fined one hundred pounds for such benevolent hospitality, but it was remitted in part afterwards. Several other persons were fined in small sums for being accessory to the escape of those persons, as Mr. Chedley, Mr. Ducket, Mr. Wollaston, Mr. Oateley, William Cope, and Mary Wilbee. Mr. Dutchfield, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Hale, "were admonished to take heed of the like concealment."

A code of laws, called "The Body of Liberties," was adopted by the General Court this year.* It consisted of one hundred laws, and was originally drawn up by Mr. Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich, the Author of that curious book entitled "The Simple Cobler of Agawam."†

The winter of the years 1641–2 was exceedingly severe. From their own observations and the accounts of the Indians, the people of

* These laws are printed in Hutchinson's *Collection of Orig. Papers*, 161, &c.

† *Jan.* 25. — The Townsmen chosen were Bellingham, Winthrop, Hough, Ting, Gibbons, Newgate, Colburne, Eliot and Hibbins. Abraham Warren had formerly a grant at Hogg Island. Evan Thomas and Henry Dawson admitted inhabitants. Mr. Bworne [Bourne?] desires a place next his house "for building the ship." Edward Arnoll proposed for a resident. Richd. Bennett and Thomas Stanburie admitted inhabitants.

Feb. 22. — Abraham Hagburne and Richd. Sanford admitted residents; Abra. Perrie sells his house. Philip Rice admitted an inhabitant.

Mar. 29. — Bro. John Leveret to have a little plot of marsh in the New field — about 3 rods. A street to "go up to the New field by Sentry Hill," for the Town's use.

April 26. — Bro. Wentworth Day to have 100 acres at Mud. R. Bro. James Johnson,* bro. Buttoll and Goodm. Tarne, may use a rod a piece "adjoining Mr. Hibbins his garden pale, and so over towards Elder Oliver's little house, and down to the Creek eastward, and up to the Highway westward, for dressing his leather."

May 3. — John Search admitted an inhab. Bro. John Davis * and bro. Thos. Buttolph to agree with a cowkeeper for the summer. Bro. Everill and bro. Burden may sink a pit at the upper end of the wharf before bro. Burden's house, and put a vessel therein to water their leather; and if it be found an annoyance they are to fill it up again.

July 26. — Robt. Wing to have 20 bushels of Indian corn for looking to the low water mark in Sentry Field this year. Anthony Stanyan admitted an inhabitant. Bro. John Oliver* chosen Treasurer, and to keep the "Towne's bookes." Thus a Town Clerk was chosen. Henry Stevens to have a lot for 5 heads at "Brayntry."

Sept. 27. — David Phippen admitted a townsman, and may have a house lot if he can find one. Job Judkin a lot for 5 heads at the Mount "als Braintry." John Search a house lot near Robt. Walker. John Bigs, for work "done about the Magistrates seat," to have the marsh in Sentinel-hill Field, about one and a half acres, for 40*s*.

Nov. 29. — Sampson Shore admitted a townsman, also Edwd. Arnold. Granted to Valentine Hill, merchant of Boston, and his associates, all the waste ground from the point of the marsh between Wm. Ting's pale and John Lowe's house, &c., for a term of years, for wharfing and warehousing purposes.

* See his autograph, *ante*, p. 243.

* See his autograph, *ante*, p. 243.

Boston judged that the cold had not been so intense for forty years. The ice was so strong in the harbor that "horses and carts went over in many places where ships had sailed," and it extended "to sea so far as one could well discern.* Captain Gibbons and his wife, with divers on foot by them, came riding from his farm at Pullen Point, right over to Boston, when it had thawed so much as the water was above the ice half a foot in some places; and they passed with loads of wood and six oxen from Muddy River to Boston. When it thawed it removed great rocks, of above a ton or more weight, and brought them on shore. The snow was likewise very deep."

Feb. 17.

There came many letters by a ship from England which arrived at the Isle of Shoals this winter. These letters were dispatched to Boston by a footman, who remarkably escaped drowning at Salem. The person who piloted him across the river upon the ice, fell in and was drowned, while the bearer of the letters extricated himself as the ice gave way under his feet. The letters of which he was the bearer, it may be inferred, were of great moment to the people of Boston, for Winthrop says, God preserved the bearer of them more on account of the letters "than for any goodness of the man" who had them in charge!†

June 22. The wind-mill at the north end of the Town was struck by lightning, shattering the "upper sail in many pieces, and, missing the stones, entered the standard, rived it down in three parts to the bottom, and one of the spars; and the main standard being bound about with a great iron hoop, fastened with many long spikes, it was plucked off, broken in the middle, and thrown upon the floor, and the boards upon the sides of the mill rived off, the sacks in the mill set on fire, and the miller, being under the mill upon the ground chopping a piece of board, was struck dead; but company coming in found him to breathe, and within an hour or two he began to stir, and strove with such force, as six men could scarce hold him down. The next day he came to his senses, but knew nothing of what had befallen him, but found himself very sore. His hair on one side of his head and beard was singed, one of his shoes torn off his foot, but his foot not hurt."

At the General Court now in session, there fell out, says Winthrop, "a great business upon a very small occasion." This "great business" had its beginning as far back as 1636,‡ and may be thus briefly stated. A hog had been found running at large, contrary to a Town order. It

* "To end this year 1641," says Johnson, "the Lord was pleased to send a very sharp winter, insomuch that the harbor, where ships ordinarily anchor, was frozen over of such a thickness that it became passable both for horse, carts, and oxen, for the space of five weeks." — *Wonder-Work. Prov.*, 170.

† His name is not mentioned, nor is the name of the ship given. See *Journal*, ii. 60.

‡ Dr. Snow refers the origin of the hog controversy to 1638, but Winthrop, whom I follow, says expressly that it had its rise in 1636. — See his *Journal*, ii. 69. There was a hog taken up in 1638, as has been noticed in an extract from the Town records, *ante*, page 241, but nothing appears in the original records authorizing a belief that it was the same hog about which this difficulty arose. It is true that in both cases the animals were of the feminine gender, but this is hardly sufficient evidence that the cases are identical.

was taken up and delivered to Captain Keayne, and the Captain used the prescribed means to find its owner, but none appeared. He put it into an enclosure with one of his own, and there it remained many months. Meantime, having occasion, he killed his own hog. Not long after, a woman appeared, wife of one Sherman, her husband being in England, who, having lost a hog, averred that the one killed was the hog she had lost; her claim not being sustainable upon the one left, because it had other marks than those she alleged were upon hers. Whereupon Mrs. Sherman* immediately noised it abroad that Captain Keayne had thus deprived her of her real property. In such cases, as has been heretofore intimated, Captain Keayne stood a poor chance for justice, however good his cause might prove to be; for the common people were prejudiced against him because he had been, as was commonly reported, a sharp dealer with them. However, the accusation against the Captain was soon made a Church matter of; but upon investigation, in which "many witnesses were examined," he was fully acquitted; the Church being satisfied no doubt that the charge was made through a mistake, if it were not a piece of knavery.

In all probability the affair would have rested here, but for the popular clamor, of which one George Story, a young merchant from London, was a leader. He lodged in the house with Mrs. Sherman, and may have been the prime mover in the first instance; but of this there does not appear to be any evidence. Story had a grudge against Captain Keayne, because he had been ordered before the Governor, at some previous period, to answer to a charge of living in the house of Mrs. Sherman under suspicious circumstances, and that it was Captain Keayne who was the cause of his being thus dealt with. However this may have been, Story caused an action to be brought in the Superior Court, where, upon a full hearing, Captain Keayne was again cleared, and costs allowed him. He also recovered twenty pounds damages, for having been falsely, as the Court believed, accused of stealing a hog.†

Story became exceedingly exasperated at this decision, and sought revenge in the most persevering manner. In "searching town and country to find matter against Captain Keayne about this stray" hog, he at length procured a witness, who had testified at the late trial in favor of Keayne, who now pretended that he had on that trial forsworn himself. Upon this discovery, Story petitioned the General Court, in the woman's name, for a rehearing of the cause. This being granted, the "best part of seven days" was spent in the new trial. Even then it was not determined, for there were nine Magistrates and thirty Deputies, and a verdict could not be obtained without the greater number of

* She did not belong to that class of females authorizing the significant prefix Mrs. to her name, but I have lent it to her on the present occasion, to avoid a harshness of language.

† In the progress of this "sow business," as Winthrop calls it, the next year, for the sake of peace, Captain Keayne relinquished his claim to the fine of £20, which, though awarded him, had not been paid, excepting perhaps £3 for the charges of witnesses. He was at any time ready to remit the whole, if Mrs. Sherman would acknowledge her error of falsely accusing him. — Winthrop, *Journal*, ii. 117.

both, which neither had. The present state of the case was partly owing to "cross witnesses," and "some prejudices which blinded some men's judgments that they could not attend the true nature and course of the evidence." Notwithstanding, it was finally determined in favor of Captain Keayne, there being for him seven of the Magistrates and eight Deputies, and against him two Magistrates and fifteen Deputies, and there were seven Deputies "which stood doubtful." Things standing thus in a clear case, there was somewhat of contention among the members of the Court. This contention did not cease until 1644, and then the General Court was divided into two branches; and thus originated the present Senate and House of Representatives;* and thus truly did "a great business grow out of a very small occasion."†

In the case of Captain Keayne it is strikingly manifest how men of narrow minds and vindictive spirits were ready to show themselves as soon as he was accused. It was sufficient for their wicked purposes that he was accused, and their prejudiced judgments were ready to pervert all circumstances to his disadvantage. Unfortunately, the existence of people with such minds did not cease with the trial of Captain Keayne.

This singular trial must have perplexed and mortified all the better part of the community, and the expense accruing was no small item at that day.‡

July 21. There was a general Fast kept, occasioned principally for the danger England was conceived to be in, and the "foul sins" of this country.

July 23. Massasoit, the "great Sachem of Pokanoket," now called Osamekin, came to Boston, accompanied by many men and other Sagamores. Winthrop says he entertained them kindly; but the nature of his business is not mentioned.

By the enterprise and skill of Edward Bendall, the hull of the Mary Rose, which was blown up in August of the last year and sunk, was raised, and the harbor cleared of the obstruction which it occasioned. The owners had been allowed a year by the Court to weigh the wreck, but they had made no effort to do so. Bendall was encouraged to undertake the labor, having been offered all he could realize if he fully succeeded, and half of what he could get if he succeeded but partially.

* Though the case of Captain Keayne was one of great vexation to him in its time, it has often since afforded lyceum orators and their auditors much amusement. One said recently, when the General Court was in session, that "Mrs. Sherman's pig was the origin of the present Senate, and he hoped the members of it would not disgrace their *progenitor*."

† See Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 142–3, who, under date 1645, has reference probably to this case. He says, "About this time there was a struggle for power between the Assistants, or Magistrates, and the Deputies. The latter could not bear their votes should lose their effect by the non-concurrence of the former, who were so much fewer in number; but, by the firmness of Mr. Winthrop, the Assistants maintained their right at this time, and the Deputies not being able to prevail, moved that the two houses might sit apart." For a most lucid and excellent view of the Government and Laws of Massachusetts, see its *Judicial History* by the able hand of Judge Washburn, 8vo. Boston, 1840.

‡ The next year the Town "allowed Wm. Courser 20*s.* for his service about the swine, which tooke him up (as he sayeth) about three weekes time."

He made use of the Diving Bell, which was probably the first ever used in the harbor of Boston,* though it does not appear to have been known by that name until long after.† The knowledge of its principle, however, is coeval with the first and simplest branches of mechanics.‡

Two ships arrived from England about this time "but brought not above five or six passengers. There came in one of them some copies of Mr. Cotton's book entitled the Seven Vials. It was printed from notes taken in characters, without the author's consent, and he was displeased that it should appear not having a proper revision by himself." §

Sept. 1. The people of Connecticut were greatly alarmed by a discovery which they had made, that the Indians, "all over the country," had entered into a conspiracy to cut off the English throughout New England. A message to this effect being received at Boston, measures for security were at once taken. Kutshamokin was visited by an armed force, at Braintree, and ordered to appear at Boston, which he did without hesitation, and his men were disarmed. But, on examination, nothing suspicious could be found against the chief or his men, and he was dismissed. Notwithstanding, orders were sent to Newbury, Ipswich, and Rowley, to disarm Pasaconaway and other Indians on the Merrimac; and yet it did not appear that there was any evil design intended by the Indians towards the English at all. But the proceeding had the bad effect of vexing the Indians, and serving the undertakers of it no good purpose whatever. It was probably the case that some of the evil-disposed Indians had circulated the report to annoy some of their own countrymen; for they always had feuds among themselves.‖ Their history, like that of the white people, is full of similar examples.

* Beckman, in his *History of Inventions*, tells us of a Diving Bell successfully employed at Toledo in the presence of the Emperor Charles V. Hence its use is carried back prior to 1558, the year of that Emperor's death. They were employed at various times not long after the destruction of the "Invincible Armada," but with what success is not known.

† I think it is not to be found in Dictionaries before the time of Dr. Noah Webster.

‡ Winthrop's description of Bendall's contrivance for submarine operations is worth extracting. "He made two great tubs, bigger than a butt, very tight, and open at one end, upon which were hanged so many weights as would sink it to the ground (600 feet). It was let down, the diver sitting in it, a cord in his hand to give notice when they should draw him up, and another cord to show when they should remove it from place to place, so he could continue in his tub near half an hour, and fasten ropes to the ordnance, and put the lead, &c., into a net or tub. When the tub was drawn up, one knocked upon the head of it, and thrust a long pole under water, which the diver laid hold of, and so was drawn up by it; for they might not draw the open end out of water for endangering him, &c." — *Journal*, ii. 73.

§ A copy of this is in the library of the writer. Mr. Humfrey caused it to be printed, for the copy of which he received 300 of the books. He wrote the preface to it, from which it appears he viewed it to be of great importance that it should be circulated at that time in England. This was his apology for printing it "before the author had afforded him more liberty and leisure to have fyled over his owne notions." In the close of his preface Mr. Humfrey prays "for the most desired ruine and speedy begunne downefall of that most cursed kingdome of Antichrist, according to the scope and drift of that Prophisie, expressed in the pouring out of these Seven Vials."

‖ According to the account received from the authorities of Connecticut, the people of that colony had some cause of alarm. It was stated that three different Indians, "near about the same time, and in the same manner, one to Mr. Eaton, of New Haven, another to Mr. Ludlow, and the third to Mr. Haynes;" that this last named Indian "being hurt near to death by a cart, &c., sent after Mr. Haynes, and told him that Englishman's God was

However, messengers were sent to Miantonimo to acquaint him with what was suspected of the Indians, and to request him to come to Boston. The messengers, as on all former occasions, found him above suspicion, and he soon after came to Boston, as he was requested.

Sept. 8. There is no record of any New England Indian superior to Miantonimo. Indeed there is none which will compare with him for wisdom, magnanimity and justice; and, had not a mistaken and wicked policy been adopted towards him by his English neighbors, his biography would, ere this, have shone as one of the brightest gems in the annals of New England. But in this history, he can only be spoken of incidentally. His memory claims a special treatise, which, one day, it will no doubt receive. May it be worthy of him.

When he came to Boston agreeably to the request before stated, the court was assembled, "and before his admission," says Governor Winthrop, "we considered how to treat with him, for we knew him to be a very subtile man, and agreed upon the points and order, and that none should propound anything to him but the Governor, and if any other of the Court had anything material to suggest, he should impart it to the Governor."

Such were the precautions taken by the wisest and most learned men in the country, to enter into a negotiation with a single Indian who never knew schools nor courts of law — nothing but the school of nature and the natural laws of man, as taught by his own native genius. Here was truly a Nobleman of Nature, in the presence of men who would have been great in any age — men supported by all the learning afforded by the Universities of England, and the experience of years. These were taking counsel how they should proceed in a treaty with a single unlettered Savage from the depths of the wilderness! Where can there be found an instance parallel to this? Who is there that would not be proud of this position of Miantonimo?

All things being arranged, Miantonimo was assigned a place at the foot of the Council table, "over against the Governor;" but he would not proceed on any business excepting in the presence of some of his own Counsellors, observing, that they should bear witness on their return to his people of all his sayings. And it was noted by the English, that in all his answers he was very deliberate, and showed a good understanding in the principles of justice and equity, and great ingenuity. He called upon the English to produce his accusers, but they could bring nothing but vague rumors and hearsay statements, and they thus found themselves in a most awkward and unpleasant predicament. He had come to Boston to answer to a capital charge, and he probably believed that the authorities stood in the light of accusers if they did not produce others; and he remarked, that if the charge

angry with him, and had set Englishman's cow [oxen] to kill him, because he had concealed such a conspiracy." These Indians may have believed there was such a plot on foot, but they were doubtless abused by some of their mischievous countrymen, whose aim it was to bring about a war. — See Winthrop's *Journal*, ii. 79.

were proved against him, he came prepared to suffer the consequences; and now if he had been accused falsely, he expected that the authors of such accusation would be subjected to the same penalty.* He thought it a strange course for the English to pursue upon a mere rumor, for they acknowledged they knew none of the parties who had accused the Narragansets, and he asked why they had taken away the arms of the Indians upon such an occasion. The Governor excused the English as well as he could, and the chief relieved his embarrassment by expressing himself satisfied with his explanation. He gave the Court to understand that he believed Uncas to be at the root of all the mischief, for it was evident he was in an underhand manner using every wile he could to discredit the Narragansets with the English.

This was the most important negotiation which had ever been held with the Indians in New England.† It lasted two days. Miantonimo said he had been dissuaded from going to Boston, for that the English would put him to death; he replied that, inasmuch as he had done them no wrong, he did not in the least fear to come here; and, moreover, that he would come at any time to meet Uncas face to face, and that he would prove his treachery if he durst come.

While in Boston the Indians were furnished with their meals at a table by themselves. Miantonimo did not seem pleased with thus being denied the Governor's table, and did not readily partake his food in this way, but on the Governor's sending him meat from his own table, he accepted it, and made no farther objection. When he was ready to leave the town, a coat was given him, and one to each of his counsellors. After taking his leave of the Governor and such of the magistrates as were present, he took a second leave for those magistrates which were not present, by returning and giving his hand to the Governor again, saying that was for the absent ones.

Notwithstanding, the Connecticut people reiterated their complaints and suspicions, and had some new grounds for them, yet the authorities at Boston wisely refused to make war upon the Indians. They kept up watches and guards, however, until near the end of October, and meantime returned the Indians all their arms.

* Had he studied in the same schools with Michael Servetus he could not have employed arguments more like those made use of by that martyr than he did. — "*Pourquoy Messeigneurs, je demande que mon faulx accusateur soit* puni pœna talionis," et cet. — Rosco, Leo X. iv. 437.

† On some accounts, perhaps, that of Roger Williams with the Narragansets may be thought to be of as great moment. — See *ante*, p. 204. In the next chapter the story of the melancholy sacrifice of Miantonimo to envy and interest will be given — to the envy of the Mohegans and the interest of the English.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Few Emigrants from England. — Mr. Humfrey and Others leave New England. — Commercial Enterprise. — Thomas Lechford. — Some Account of him and his Stay in Boston. — His "Plain Dealing" about it. — Appalling News from England. — Raging of the Civil War. — Capt. Coytmore's Voyage to Fayal. — An Endeavor to defeat Winthrop's Reëlection as Governor. — Union of the Colonies. — Arrival of emigrant Children. — Arrival of a French armed Ship. — Mons. La Tour. — His Entertainment at Boston. — Receives Aid to go against D'Aulnay. — Government censured for allowing it. — Inhabitants begin to manufacture Cotton Goods. — Censurable Conduct of the Rulers towards the Indians. — They cause a War between the Mohegans and Narragansets. — Case of Miantonimo. — Adjudged to die by the English. — His Execution. — Interference with the Shawmut Settlers. — Case of Samuel Gosten and Others.



ANCIENT SPINNING-WHEEL.

SO few people had come over from England, of late, that there was very little demand for land; cattle had fallen in value; the present season was unfavorable to crops; all of which, added to the fears from the Indians, caused several gentlemen to leave the country and return to their native land. Among them were Mr. Humfrey, four ministers, and a schoolmaster. Under these circumstances, a fast was ordered to be kept. Among Sept. 22. the occasions for its appointment, was the ill news out of England, concerning the breach between the King and Parliament, and the unseasonableness of the weather, which changed, says Winthrop, "so soon as the fast was agreed upon."

A little before this, ten ships had sailed from Boston, laden with pipe staves and other produce of the country. Four of these ships were built hereabouts the present year. Soon after, there arrived a small ship from Madeira with wine and sugar. She belonged to a Mr. Nov. 22. Parish, who came in her. He exchanged his cargo for pipe staves, and thus the commerce of Boston begun to advance in a small and almost imperceptible way.

In the course of the present year, Mr. Thomas Lechford published a book about this country, which he entitled "Plain Dealing, or, Newes from New England." * He returned to England about the close of last year, "having been forth of his native country," as he expresses it, "almost for the space of foure yeeres last past." He appears to have left Boston on the third of August, 1641, in company with the commissioners who went for England by the way of Newfoundland.† He probably came over with the intention of taking up his residence here in Boston, and to introduce the practice of law, that being his pro-

* Mr. Savage, I suppose, has reference to this work in his notes to Winthrop's *Journal*, though he calls it *News from England*. It is so in both of his editions of that work. If Lechford made a book of this title I have never met with it. He says Lechford was a *poor* lawyer. Perhaps he had evidence of his poverty; if so he has kept it to himself. He probably did not have reference to his abilities. But little is known of Mr. Lechford.

† See *ante*, p. 253. Mr. John Winthrop, Jr. went in the same company.

fession. He was the first lawyer that made the attempt, and he failed in it, owing to the circumstances already stated.* The time for tolerating lawyers had not yet arrived. The governor and magistrates thought themselves competent to decide all matters of difference between man and man.

Mr. Lechford was a man of good understanding, and his book upon the institutions of the Country is of great value, inasmuch as it gives an insight into many things which could not otherwise be obtained. His statements are honestly and accurately made, and must ever be consulted by all who desire minute and authentic information upon the civil and religious state of the country at the time he was here. He appears to have known many of the prominent men of Boston and the neighboring country before they came over; mentions his "old acquaintance, Master Roger Ludlow, Mr. Frost, sometime of Nottingham, and his sonnes, John and Henry Grey." Bailey cited Lechford's work in his "Disswasive," against Cotton, which occasioned the latter to censure the Plain Dealing. From Cotton, it appears that Lechford died soon after he had published his work, and that he had defended the celebrated Prynne in his trials. While in Boston he was employed in a cause between William Cole and Francis Doughty, but whether he was allowed to appear in Court as Counsel, there is some uncertainty.† When he was here, he says "the Generall and great Quarter Courts, were kept in the great Church Meeting-house at Boston, which is as faire a Meeting-house as they can provide; to which every Sabbath or Lord's Day they come by wringing of a bell, about nine of the clock, or before." ‡

Mr. Lechford at this time says, "Master Bellingham" is Governor, Mr. Endicot Deputy Governor, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Humfrey, Mr. Saltonstall, Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Stoughton, Mr. Winthrop, Jr., Mr. Nowell, Assistants; Mr. Nowell, Secretary; Mr. Stephen Winthrop, Recorder, whose office is to record all judgments, marriages, births, deaths, wills and testaments, bargains and sales, gifts, grants, and mortgages. There is a Marshall who is a Sheriff or Bailiff, and his deputy is the Jailer and Executioner." §

* See *ante*, p. 257.

† Possibly it was in the case of Cole vs. Doughty (3 : 7 : 1640) to which the Colony records refer, 1 Dec. 1640. The words of the record are — "Mr. Thomas Lechford, acknowledging he had overshot himselfe, and is sorry for it, promising to attend his calling, and not to meddle with controversies, was dismissed." — *Savage's Extract.* What "calling" he had assumed does not fully appear.

‡ Whether the bell were hung in the Meeting-house may admit of a question.

§ *Jan.* 10. — Deer Island ordered to be improved for the maintenance of a Free School for the Town, and "such other occasions as the Townsmen shall think meet." No more land to be granted to new inhabitants, "unlesse at a generall Towne-meeting." Capt. Gibbons, Val. Hill, Henry Webb and Anthony Stodder appointed to trade with the Indians.

Jan. 31. — John Gutteridge, Richd. Taylour, Edwd. Weeden, Richd. Knight, and James Hudson, admitted townsmen.

Feb. 12. — The high-way from John Lowe's house by the Cove to Geo. Burden's house, to continue as "this day laid out."

Feb. 28. — Hugh Gunnison proposes to keep an "Ordinary with a cook's shop." John Peirce and Richd. Dexter admitted inhabitants. Dorchester men "forwarned" not to cut timber on any of the hills of upland in the marsh beyond Naponset river, and to make satisfaction for what they had cut already.

Mar. 4. — The remaining Town's land to be

It was remarked that the winter of 1642–3, though there fell more snow than had fallen in any winter since the settlement of the country, was not so hard and frosty as some others had been.

Feb. 12. Early in the year, news was received from England, of a character which caused the people of Boston great uneasiness; that the Parliament had lost 500 men at Brentford, and yet it had 24,000 men completely equipped in the field; that the King had fled to Reading and set the 500 prisoners free, they having taken an oath not to serve against him, and yet they had been absolved from that oath by those two Puritan Divines, Dr. Downing and Mr. Marshall; these, with many other items of intelligence of battles and contests in which their friends and kinsmen were engaged, caused the Churches to keep "Diuers days of humiliation."

Mar. 30. The ship Trial, which had made a voyage to Fayal, Captain Coytmore, now arrived. He took out pipe-staves and fish, and found an excellent market for them; thence he went to St. Christopher,* where he not only had a successful trade, but he recovered considerable valuable property from some ships which had been cast away there. In this last business he employed the diving-bell with good success. He had license to prosecute this enterprise by the Governor of the Island, Sir Thomas Warner, and to have half of what he could get. By this voyage of Captain Coytmore, wine, sugar, and cotton were "made very plentiful and cheap" at Boston. Several other vessels returned soon after, making successful voyages also, "though some of them went among the Turks."

divided among the present inhabitants, and such as shall be admitted in two months.

Mar. 28. — Ralph Gulthorp, Jacob Chapman, Wm. Fay, Benj. Thwing, John Baker, Wm. Burnell, James Hudson, Robt. Williams, Wm. Franklin, Jr., Daniel Briscoe, and Thos. Blott, admitted townsmen. — Robert Turner to be paid 18*s.* for diet, beer and fire, for the selectmen.

Apl. 25. — Wm. Philpot and Robt. Turner admitted inhabitants. — John Ruggle cow-keeper in the Town.

May 2. — Mr. Wm. Ting and Capt. Gibbons chosen Deputies to the General Court. — Simon Rogers admitted a townsman.

Aug. 29. — The constables ordered to take care for building a "salt-peter house in the prison yard," 30 feet long and 14 wide, "set upon posts 7 foot high above ground, with a covering of thatch, and the walls clapboarded tight."

Oct. 31. — Edwd. Fletcher may finish his porch which he hath begun to set up 3 ft. into y^e^ street, but must take it away if found inconvenient. — Widow Tuthill may remove her windmill into the Fort, which must be placed as Capt. Gibbon directs.

The Constable to notify Robert Nash, butcher, to remove his garbage out of his yard near the street, and to provide some other remote place for the slaughter of beasts, that such loathsome smells might be avoided. — Goodm. Basse and goodm. Backster, both of Braintrey, may buy the overplus in the Three Hill-marsh there.

Dec. 26. — Thomas Joy, carpenter, may set up a house by the water side, by his dwelling-house in the Mill Field. — Harman Atwood admitted a townsman.

All parents are ordered to bring in a note of the names and date of births of all their children "unto the Clarke of the Writs, within a week after their birth, under the pœnaelty of 6*d.* for every" neglect; burials ordered to be returned, also.

* Winthrop is my authority, ii. 94, but he calls the Island, *Christophers*. Casual readers of his *Journal* might suppose some other island was meant by him, and it was the duty of his Editor to have told his readers the reason that Winthrop so changes the name, which, in point of fact, is giving a false name. The reason of the misnomer is this: all places bearing the name of a Saint of the Catholics, were considered by our fathers here at that time, to be wickedly so named; or, in other words, that the persons for whom such places were named were no *saints;* and therefore it was impious to use the prefix *saint* after the example of the Catholics.

May 13. At the May election this year, Mr. Winthrop was again elected Governor, notwithstanding Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, who preached the sermon, discoursed very pointedly against the same individual being so often re-chosen. Winthrop expected he would take that course in his sermon, and he therefore tried to prevent his being employed to perform the service; and hence it turned out that Winthrop could not prevent the choice of Rogers, nor could Rogers defeat the election of Winthrop. The Deputy Governor, Mr. Endicott, was also re-chosen. There were two new Magistrates chosen, Mr. William Hibbins and Mr. Samuel Simonds. At this court, Commissioners appeared from Connecticut, New Haven, and Plymouth, duly authorized to form an alliance for their mutual benefit, and thus originated the celebrated Confederation of the "United Colonies of New England." Roger Williams' Colony, or Rhode Island, and Sir Ferdinando Gorge's Colony, were not invited to come into the confederation; the former being composed of excommunicants, and the latter had called "a poor village" a city, and elected "a tailor its mayor, and had entertained one Hull, an excommunicated person, for their minister."

June 23. One John Cook, "an honest young man," is accidentally killed from the bursting of a gun which he had overcharged to salute a ship.

A ship owned here, called the Seabridge, arrived from England, bringing twenty children "and some other passengers," and three hundred pounds' worth of goods; this outlay was the contribution of friends to New England, given last year. The "children, with many more to come after, were sent by money given on a fast day in London, and allowed by the Parliament and City for the purpose."

There came, by the Seabridge, probably, the highly gratifying intelligence, that Parliament had passed an order allowing all commodities to or from New England to be free of duties in both countries. It came in the form of a State Paper, attested by Henry Elsynge, Clerk to the Parliament.*

June 12. In the mean time, the inhabitants of Boston experienced some alarm, but more mortification, in having their weakness exposed to the observation of a foreign power at a very unexpected time. This was caused by the arrival of a French armed ship, named the Clement, in which were one hundred and forty people. The town was completely surprised; the ship having passed the Castle, her salute not being even answered, there being none there to answer it; "for the last Court had given order to have the Castle Island deserted, and a great part of the work being fallen down." It was observed, that had this been a hostile ship, it might have carried off the guns of the Fort,

* The date of the document is "Veneris, 10 Martii, 1642;" simply, Friday, March 10th, 1643; from which, and the date of the arrival in the text, it is evident that the important paper did not remain long in England after it was issued. An erroneous date to the above document has gone into several respectable works by their authors' mistaking 1642 for 1642–3. Elsynge became disaffected to the Parliament, and resigned his place soon after.

taken away two ships then in the harbor, and even sacked the town at will. But it was the ship of friends, and not enemies. It was a ship of one hundred and forty tons, from Rochelle, under the command of Monsieur Charles de la Tour; the master and his company being French Protestants. He had come, not to give offence, but to ask assistance to enable him to dispossess D'Aulnay* of the territories which he claimed in the eastern coasts. As the French ship came into the harbor, Mrs. Gibbons, the wife of Captain Edward Gibbons, with her children, were met in a boat going to their farm. One of La Tour's gentlemen knew her, and, informing him who she was, Monsieur immediately had a boat manned and proceeded after her. Mrs. Gibbons not knowing the strangers, hastened from them as fast as she could, and landed on Governor's Island, where the Governor himself and some of his family then happened to be. La Tour met Governor Winthrop very cordially, and opened his business to him. Here he continued and supped with him. Meantime Mrs. Gibbons returned to the town in the Governor's boat, by which means the news of the strangers spread with great rapidity. After supper La Tour took Governor Winthrop to Boston in his own boat. They were met on the way by three shallops of armed men, who came out to escort them into the town. Monsieur was lodged at Captain Gibbons'. This was proof that he came on no hostile design, "because he voluntarily put himself in the power of the English."

June 13. The next day an answer was given relative to his business; namely, that the Government could not afford him any assistance; but that if any of their people would enlist under him of their own free will, the Government would make no objection; they being satisfied that La Tour, and not D'Aulnay,† was the rightful proprietor of the territories in dispute. This was satisfactory to La Tour. He then requested the privilege of landing and exercising his men on shore, which was granted, only he was desired to land them in small companies, "so as not to alarm the women and children."

The following week the people of Boston had a training, in which the Frenchmen took a part. All things passed off to the mutual satisfaction of both parties. The Boston officers entertained the French officers, and the soldiers entertained the soldiers at their houses in a brotherly manner. The English were surprised to see the exact discipline of the Frenchmen, and La Tour expressed his admiration of the English; saying he should not have believed, had he not with his own eyes seen it. He attended the Governor at church, "all the time of his abode here," and the Governor did not fail to appear as important as he could before the

* The best source whence to derive information respecting Acadia (the French wrote l'Acadie), and the difficulties between D'Aulnay and La Tour, is Charlevoix, *Histoire et Descript. Gen. de la Nouvelle France.* It is very strange this work has not been translated into English, and found an editor capable of rendering justice to that learned and valuable Author. Several parts of it were translated by the writer for his works upon the Indians; enough to satisfy him that the value of Charlevoix is not generally understood.

† His name, as given by Charlevoix, is "M. d'Aunay de Charnisé," who, in the use of the name in his narrative, drops all except the last part of it, namely, *Charnisé*.

French General, being regularly attended "with a good guard of halberts and musketeers."

There was a good deal said through the country towns against this entertainment of La Tour. Endicott thought it was very unwise to let the Frenchmen see the Forts, or to allow them any accommodations. La Tour's wife being attended by two Friars,* gave Mr. Endicott sufficient reason to denounce the whole of them as "idolatrous French." In this the ex-Governor did not seem to consider that it would be ill policy to attempt to exercise authority and deny privileges that the situation of the Town could not enforce or refuse. But there was one view of the affair which placed Mr. Winthrop in a very unfavorable light; and that was a connivance at any assistance that might be afforded in men, ships, and munitions, by the people under his Government. The present Government of the United States would stand in the same reprehensible attitude before the world, were it to say the same to its citizens, if applied to for assistance by any adventurer under similar circumstances.

June 30. Captain Gibbons and Thomas Hawkins entered into Articles of Agreement with "Mounseir Latour, Knight of the Orders of the King, Leftenant Generall of New France," by which they were to furnish four ships for his expedition; namely, the Seabridge, Philip and Mary, Increase, and Greyhound. Said ships were to be ready by the tenth of the following month, with sixty-eight men, and to continue in the service two months, at two hundred pounds per month.†

July 14. All things being ready, the armament sailed from Long Island, proceeding through Broad Sound with the tide at half flood, "where no ships of such burthen had gone out before, or not more than one." D'Aulnay fled on their approach, and after committing Aug. 20. several depredations, and taking some plunder, the English vessels returned to Boston, about the twentieth of August, without the loss of a man. Of D'Aulnay's men, three were killed. Thus terminated this mistaken and inglorious expedition.

The course of affairs in England continued adverse to emigration, and hence the usual supplies of goods became so much lessened, that the people here begun to see the necessity of setting about manufacturing their own goods; therefore this year "they fell to a manufacture of cotton, whereof they had store from Barbadoes, and hemp and flax," in which Rowley exceeded all other towns.‡

* "One was a very learned, acute man. Divers of our elders who had conference with him, reported so. They came into the town but once, lest they should give offence, being brought to see Mr. Cotton and confer with him." — *Winthrop*, ii. 153.

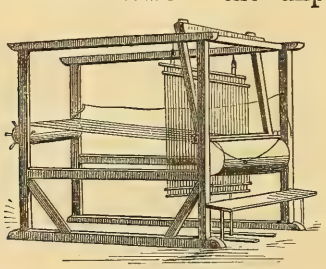
† The Articles were witnessed by William Ting, Robt. Keajne, and Estienne Dupru. — See Hazard, *Hist. Colls.* i. 499, &c.

‡ In the engraving commencing this chapter, an old-fashioned spinning-wheel is represented, and the annexed cut is designed to represent the ancient loom. Few implements of husbandry changed less, probably, than the spinning-wheel and loom for 200 years. They are remembered by thousands of this age, and it is not 40 years since they were to be found in nearly every industrious family throughout the country towns of New England, — not even excepting the families of the clergymen. But they are, owing to the great improvement in spinning and weaving, fast dropping into dis-

Owing to the undue interference of the Government with the affairs of Rhode Island, serious trouble was given to the Indians. They were constantly harassed and annoyed by orders of which they knew not the purport, and requests for their attendance upon courts at Boston, which must have appeared to them either as childish, or the occasion of some hidden motives to deprive them of their lands or freedom or both. Now, two chiefs, Socononoco and Pumpam, subjects of Miantonimo, had, by the influence of the English, declared themselves independent of the latter, and came to Boston to assert their independence before the Governor. This, when once maintained, or backed up by the English, would authorize them to dispose of whatever lands they could claim under any plausible pretext. The present case was indeed a little different. Miantonimo had sold to the people of Warwick a tract of land, doubtless with the full consent of the sub-chiefs; but these, or one of them, had been influenced to deny all consent to such sale, by those settlers in that country who had put themselves under the protection of Boston, or Massachusetts. Consequently, Miantonimo was summoned to appear here to show on what ground he claimed jurisdiction over the Indians before mentioned. Nothing could be more absurd than to require an Indian Chief of that day to substantiate any of his wilderness claims in an English Court. However, Miantonimo came to Boston as requested; "in the begining of the Court," and "before the whole Court," was questioned as to his having "any interest" in the Sachems Socononico and Pumpam. At the conclusion of this mockery of a trial, it was triumphantly recorded that "he could prove no claim." Such treatment of a man of a magnanimous mind, who was above any petty connivances, was calculated to give any impression but a favorable one of English justice.

Out of this interference, on the part of the Government here, grew a cloud of troubles, both to the English and the Indians. It thickened and gathered darkness, and eventually burst upon the heads of the Narragansets, completely deluging them in ruin.

The conduct of the settlers towards the Indians does not, in a large majority of cases, bear scrutiny. It was thought warrantable to set one tribe against another, that they might be diverted from thoughts of hostilities against themselves.* Connecticut had been the means of a war between the Mohegans and Narragansets; they took the part of the Chief of that tribe — the unprincipled Uncas — because he could be



use, and few are to be found at this day, except in the garrets and outhouses of the farmers. They will soon all disappear, and be known only from prints of them and their accompanying descriptions.

* Abundance of authorities might be cited in proof of this statement, and all from the Colonists' own accounts. Great allowance, however, is to be made for their circumstances, and the light of the age in which they lived.

made to conform to their wishes. On the other hand, a portion of the Narragansets had revolted under the influence of the people here, as already stated. And thus stood Miantonimo and the true Narragansets, surrounded by a power which it was useless to resist. At length, driven by insults and injuries to repel force by force, their great Chief fell accidentally into the hands of Uncas, who, but for fear of retaliation, would at once have put him to death. He however led his prisoner to Hartford, and there the Government took him in charge.* Not knowing what to do with him, it was finally determined to submit the matter to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, who were soon to meet at Boston, that they might take the responsibility of disposing of him. The Commissioners being met,† the disposition of Miantonimo was debated, and although this Court had no jurisdiction over the case, nor any just grounds‡ of complaint of any kind against the Sachem, they came to the conclusion that Uncas would not be safe if he were suffered to live; yet they acknowledged a want of any grounds by which he could be put to death, though the arts of casuistry had been pretty severely tasked to justify the proceedings relative to him thus far. Strange, however, as it seems, and as it will seem in after times, it was, with the advice of the Elders of the Churches§ determined, that Uncas might put Miantonimo to death, "that so execucon may be donn according to justice and prudence, Vncas carrying him into the next part of his own Government!"‖

Aug.

Sept. 7.

This decision was not made known to Uncas until the return of the

* It appears that, as soon as the Mr. Gorton at Shaomet heard of the capture of Miantonimo, he sent a messenger to Uncas to demand his liberation. This caused Uncas to convey him to Hartford; no doubt fearing he would be rescued by the Narragansets if he should endeavor to keep him a prisoner.

† They were John Winthrop and Thomas Dudley, for Massachusetts; Edward Winslow and William Collier, for Plymouth; George Fenwick and Theophilus Eaton, for Connecticut; Edward Hopkins and Thomas Gregson, for New Haven. *Hazard*, ii. 11.—Dr. Holmes, usually fair and candid, seems a little biassed in his account of the affair of Miantonimo. He evidently thought that it was presumptuous in people of these times to question the acts of the Commissioners; and thus he gently rapped the skirts of Judge Davis and Mr. Savage. "The pleading of an Advocate may be seen in a note upon Winthrop, and the opinion of a Judge in another upon Morton."—*Annals*, i. 272.

‡ The words of the Commissioners are that "they had not sufficient grounds," &c.—Mr. Bancroft, in his *Hist. of the U. States*, does not take the part of the Indians in his account of these troubles. On the other hand, he rather inclines to justify their enemies, whose works certainly do not warrant any such justification.

It would indeed be pleasant to us, descendants of the people whose acts we are reviewing, could we give a picture of them without a blemish in any part of it, but no people have yet lived who have left materials for such a picture behind them. Our Fathers acknowledged and felt that they had great imperfections. Did they believe that their posterity would by any false coloring misrepresent them? They would have spurned such an idea. They were ofttimes mistaken, erred in judgment, and had the same prejudices to contend with as are common to all men. Had they lived to this day, they would have seen and acknowledged them. They were men of truth, and sought to do righteously, and they would have spurned the sycophant apologist for what was really wrong, as they spurned all iniquitous attempts at deception. They have, though in other words, said to us, as the noble-minded Cromwell said to him who undertook to paint his portrait, "Paint me as I am." Would not our Fathers have made the same reply to us?

§ "In this difficulty," says Winthrop, "we called in five of the most judicious Elders (it being in the time of the General Assembly of the Elders) [at Boston], and propounding the case to them, they all agreed that he ought to be put to death."—*Journal*, ii 131.

‖ Records of the United Colonies in Hazard, ii. 13.

Connecticut Commissioners.



DEATH OF MIANTONIMO.

When it was communicated to him, it is said he "readily undertook the execution" of his victim. With a guard of English soldiers Miantonimo was led away into the dominions of the Mohegans. When he had arrived at a place appointed, a brother * of Uncas who followed close behind him, at a signal given, "clave his head with an hatchet." † Thus inhumanly and unjustly perished the greatest Indian Chief of whom any account is to be found in New England's annals.

Before Miantonimo was finally disposed of, the people of Shaomet ‡ or Warwick were considerably exasperated at the conduct of the Rulers of Boston for the course they had taken respecting jurisdiction in that country, § and especially as they had assumed the management of affairs there which interfered with their rights. They had undertaken to dictate to the people of Shaomet, and to decide what they should do in certain difficulties which they had with their neighbors at Patuxet. ‖ Mr. Samuel Gorton ¶ was at the head of the Shaomet settlement; a

* Some doubt exists as to the real name of this brother of Uncas. It probably was Oneko. See BOOK OF THE INDIANS, ii. 130, 11*th Edition*. The same individual is meant by Wowequa, Nowequa, Owaneco, &c.

† There is near Norwich a place called Sachem's Plain, a beautiful piece of level ground not far from the banks of the wild and romantic Shetucket. Here it is said the battle was fought; here it is said Miantonimo was brought to die; and here he did die and was buried. Upon the place of his interment a heap of stones were piled, which for many years pointed out to the traveller the place of the wretched tragedy. But more than fifteen years ago this simple monument was removed by the neighboring cultivators, and used in the construction of their fences. The writer, in traversing this plain many years since, could find no indication of the place where Miantonimo once lay, and on inquiry of a resident near the place, could learn nothing, only that "he had heard there was once an old Indian buried there." Since then, by the exertions of my worthy friend, WM. C. GILMAN, Esq. of Norwich, there has been a durable monument, in the shape of a square block of granite, "erected on a mound" in Sachem's Plain, in memory of the brave Chief, bearing the simple and appropriate inscription in capitals — "MIANTONOMO. 1643." This was done July 3d, 1841.

‡ Often written Shawomet, and sometimes Mishawomet, which it appears was its original name. This in 1648 received the name of Warwick, in honor of the Earl of that name, who granted it to Gorton and his company, as will be found mentioned hereafter.

§ The people of Patuxit (then a part of Providence) falling into a quarrel with Gorton and his friends, who were seated here on coming from Newport, the latter purchased Shaomet of Miantonimo, and removed thither. The troubles continuing, those of Patuxit, viz. "Wm. Arnold, Robt. Coale, Wm. Carpenter, Benedict Arnold and his Companie, vppon their petition, were taken vnder our gouerment and pteccon." Thus they submitted to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. They at first applied for military aid against those of Shaomet, when the Government told them they could not interfere without they submitted to its jurisdiction. See *Hutchinson*, i. 118–19. — *Backus*, i. 118–19.

‖ Often written Pawtuxit, Pawtuxet, Patuxit, and Patuxet.

¶ He was of a good family, had resided in London, came over to Boston in 1636, where he continued about a year, then went to Plymouth, and after about another year he went to R. Island, which was in June, 1638; thence he went in 1639–40 to Patuxet, a part of Providence, which he purchased of the Indians. These Indians revolting, as has been mentioned in the text, was a main cause of the present difficulties. After obtaining his liberty in 1643, and having no security against the malignity of his persecutors, he went over to England and obtained a Patent of Shaomet from the Earl of Warwick; having first ob-

man of an ardent temperament, and though perhaps not always conscientious, and irreproachable as to moral rectitude, like Mr. Williams, and numerous others of that day, he was bewildered in the mazes of an unintelligible kind of metaphysics. * This has been made use of to his discredit by writers since his time, who yet had a system of religious philosophy equally visionary, had its possessors had the sanguine temperament of a Gorton wherewith to have maintained it. This gentleman had about a dozen men in his settlement; and when he was requested to come to Boston to give an account of his conduct, he is said to have "answered the Messengers disdainfully," and instead of obeying the summons, "sent two letters full of blasphemy † against the Churches and magistracy." ‡ This could in no wise be borne, and war was determined on. Forty men were at once raised for the expe-
Sept. dition, and put under Capt. George Cook,§ Lieut. Humphrey Atherton, and Mr. Edward Johnson. On arriving at Shaomet they found the place fortified, and the occupants determined to defend it, notwithstanding they were besieged by more than three times their number. The fort was repeatedly fired, but the besieged quenched it amidst the fire of the enemy. How long the attack lasted is not stated, but the place was finally surrendered, and nine of the besieged taken captive, three having escaped. These were brought in triumph
Oct. 13. to Boston. It is remarkable that during this hot siege none were killed or wounded. Captain Cook marched the prisoners through the streets of the Town, halting before "the Governor his house in a military order; the soldiers being in two files, and after every five or six soldiers a prisoner. So being before the Governor his door, the Commissioners came in, and after the Governor had saluted them he

tained a written submission of the Indians to Charles I., dated 19 Aug. 1644. He arrived in Boston with his Patent in 1648. Here the Authorities would have executed their old sentence upon him, had he not had from the Earl of Warwick a better shield than that with which he had furnished Miantonimo in his fatal war. Gorton is said to have died at Warwick between 27 Nov. and 10 Dec. 1677. The authority for this date is not given. Mr. Callender refers to an address of Gorton to Charles II., dated 1679, and says "he lived to a great age." — *Hist. Dis.* 38. His posterity are numerous at this day. A son, bearing his father's name, lived to be 94 years of age.

* "It is likely that the reader would want to know what Gorton's sentiments really were, which were so offensive. To this I answer, that he evidently was a man of smart capacity, and of considerable learning, and when he pleased could express his ideas as plainly as any man, but he used such a mystical method in handling the Scriptures and in speaking about religion, that people are not agreed to this day [1777] in what his real sentiments were." — *Backus*, i. 31. "'Tis certain that whatever impious opinions his adversaries imputed to him, and whatever horid consequences they drew from the opinions he owned, he ascribed as bad to them, and fixed as dreadful consequences on their tenets." — *Callender*, i. 37. Had Gorton lived in these days he would not unlikely have been denominated a *Transcendentalist*. See Mr. Mackie's *Life of Gorton*, 381.

† Those letters should have been published, that people of other times might know what constituted *blasphemy* against Churches and Magistrates. It was doubtless something of the nature of *treason against the King*.

‡ One of their answers was signed by "Gorton, Randal Holden, Robert Potter, John Wickes, John Warner, Richard Waterman, William Woodale, John Greene, Francis Weston, Richard Carder, Nicholas Power, and Sampson Shatton. It contained a long mystical paraphrase upon their warrant, and many provoking sentences against those Rulers and their Ministers." — *Backus*, i. 120.

§ He was killed in Ireland in 1652, in the service of the Parliament. See *Antiquarian Journal*, i. 137.

went forth with them, and passing through the files, welcomed them home, blessing God for preserving and prospering them, and desired of the Captain a list of their names, that the Court might know them, if hereafter there should be occasion to make use of such men."



SHAOMET PRISONERS IN BOSTON.

The Governor having thus disposed of those brave volunteers, "caused the prisoners to be brought before him in his hall, where was a great assembly. There he laid before them their contemptuous carriage, and how obstinately they had refused to do right to those they had wronged, against all the fair means and moderation we had used; that now the Lord had delivered them into our hand." It was in vain that Mr. Gorton urged that this Government had no jurisdiction over his Country or affairs, and he and his companions were all sent to prison.

Not being exactly of the faith of the Church of this jurisdiction, they refused to attend public worship on the "Lord's day," though urged to do so. This of course could not be allowed, and they were taken by force, and made to attend and hear "the word." Such proceedings would hardly be credited, if they were not recorded by the chief director in them; but as discreditable as they were thus far to Boston, it would afford great relief to the reader, probably, had they stopped here; yet this pitiful crusade against those few poor exiles in a neighboring wilderness is but begun. They were, after about a month's imprisonment, brought before the General Court, and, after undergoing a kind of trial, disposed of in the following manner: — Mr. Gorton was sentenced to be confined in Charlestown, at the discretion of the Court, and kept at hard work, "and to wear such bolts or irons" as would prevent his escape; that if, in the mean time, he should speak or write "any of the blasphemous and abominable heresies wherewith he had been charged by the Court, upon conviction thereof, he should be condemned to death and executed;" that seven of his companions should be dispersed into seven towns, and there kept at work for their living, and wear irons upon one leg, on the same conditions as were awarded to Gorton. Their names and places of confinement were, John Wicks to Ipswich, Randall Houlden to Salem, Robert Potter to Rowley, Richard Carder to Roxbury, Francis Weston to Dorchester, John Warner to Boston. There were three others whose sentences differed from the above: William Waddell to be confined at Watertown; Richard Waterman was dismissed, but ordered to appear at the next Court, and not to depart without license, under one hundred

Nov. 3.

pounds penalty, and the charges on his account to be defrayed out of his goods which had been plundered; Nicholas Power was dismissed with an admonition.

The costs and charges accruing from this affair now amounted to about one hundred and sixty pounds, to liquidate which, about eighty head of cattle, among other property, were secured and taken from the settlement at Shaomet.

Overdoing in any matter is usually attended by a corresponding weakness, which in most cases brings the authors into contempt. In the case of Gorton and his associates the Authorities proceeded as though they were amenable to no higher power, and it was by a small majority of the Magistrates that Gorton and several others escaped being put to death; "all saving three were of opinion that he ought to die." The question of death was determined by vote, and Gorton himself says, and not untruly, that "they cast lots for their lives."

The next step taken with the prisoners has never yet been accounted for in a satisfactory manner. They had been kept in confinement through a cold winter, and by the General Court in the Spring "they were all sent away, because it was found that they did corrupt some of the people, especially the women by their heresies." *

Now this record was made with great apparent honesty, but the reason given for the liberation of the victims appears rather one of pretence than reality. While those men were lying in confinement, a ship belonging to the Earl of Warwick was to return to England from Boston, and there is reason to believe that Mr. Gorton was favorably known to his lordship, and that this same Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, had done much for New England, and was "a great friend and patron of Puritan Divines." Therefore, that the news which might be carried to the Earl by this ship, had something to do with the liberation of Gorton and his friends, is highly probable.†

Dec. 3. A ship belonging to Boston, named the Hopewell, of about sixty tons, returned with a valuable cargo of wines, pitch, sugar, ginger and other commodities. She had traded at a Spanish island near Teneriffe.

Dec. 27. There now sailed out of Boston harbor, five ships, three of which were built here. Two of the three were of 300 tons

* There was a special General Court, begun 7 March, 1644, at which, "finding that Gorton and his company did harm in the Towns where they were confined, and not knowing what to do with them, at length agreed to set them at liberty, and gave them fourteen days to depart out of our jurisdiction in all parts, and no more to come into it upon pain of death. This censure was thought too light and favorable, but we knew not how in justice we could inflict any punishment upon them, the sentence of the Court being already passed." — Winthrop, *Journal*, ii. 156.

† It is not unlikely that the Government had heard of "an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, whereby Robert, Earl of Warwick, is made Governor in Chief, and Lord High Admiral of all those Islands and Plantations within the bounds and upon the coasts of America." — *Hazard*, i. 533. The wholesome rebuke which the Rulers received for this arrogant conduct will be found noticed in its chronological order, three years later. Morton, in his *Memorial*, wrote against Gorton with unbecoming intemperance, and Gorton answered him, which answer may be seen in the Appendix to Hutchinson's *Hist. of Massachusetts*, vol. i. p. 549, &c.

burthen, and the other two of 160 tons each. In one of them were many passengers bound for London; among whom were "men of chief rank in the country." They carried much value in beaver.

By order of the General Court, all the Magistrates and the Teaching Elders of the six nearest Churches, were appointed to be "forever Governors of the College." Those "Governors" met at Cambridge to "consider of the Officers of the College," and chose Herbert Pelham, Esquire, Treasurer. He was the first in that office.

This year the General Court divided the Colony into four Counties: Essex, Middlesex, Suffolk and Norfolk, after those shires of the same name in England.* In reconstructing the Counties afterwards, those of Norfolk and Suffolk became false to their names, and continue to hold a geographical position in contempt of the meaning or true definition of them.†

Attempts were constantly made all along from the first settlement of Boston, to induce those who had come here to emigrate to other places. This year Governor Winthrop records that "the Lord Baltimore being owner of much land near Virginia, being himself a Papist, and his brother, Mr. Calvert, the Governor there a Papist also, but the Colony consisted both of Protestants and Papists, he wrote a letter to Captain Gibbons of Boston, and sent him a Commission, wherein he made tender of land in Maryland to any of ours that would transport themselves thither, with free liberty of religion, and all other privileges which the place afforded, paying such annual rent as should be agreed upon; but our Captain had no mind to further his desire herein, nor had any of our people temptation that way."

* Essex contained Salem, Linn, Enon (Wenham), Ipswich, Rowley, Newbury, Gloucester, Chochichawick [Andover].

Middlesex contained Charlestown, Cambridge, Watertown, Sudbury, Concord, Woburn, Medford, Linn Village [Reading].

Suffolk contained Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Dedham, Braintree, Weymouth, Hingham, Nantasket (Hull).

Norfolk contained Salisbury, Hampton, Haverhill, Exeter, Dover, Strawberry-Bank (Portsmouth.) — Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 117.

† *Jan.* 30. — John Stevens and Henry Simons admitted to inhabit. — John Smith, Gent., to have his rate remitted, because of his great losses in Ireland.

Feb. 27. — Thomas Grubbe, James Averill, James Johnson, Myles Tarne, Thos. Buttalph, leather dressers, may have a place "to water their leather," near James Davis his house. — Richd. Peapes desires to purchase a piece of land "towards Mr. Blackstone's Beach."

April 1. — Mr. Hibbins and Capt. Gibbons chosen deputies to General Court.

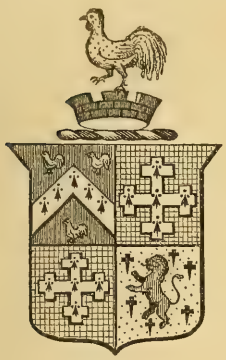
July 31. — Granted to Henry Simons, Geo. Burden, John Button, John Hill and "their partners, all that Cove on the northwest side of the Causey leading toward Charlestown," on condition, that within three years they erect "vpon or neere some part of the primises, one or more Corn-Mills." This was annulled the same year. Select-men are now recognized in the records as "Select-Townsmen." — "Jas. Oliver and Mr. Edwd. Tynge may straighten their street pales from David Sellecke his corner poste unto the said Tynge's diall poste."

Sept. 25. — Arthur Perry, drummer, to have £9, for drumming for the Town a year and a half.

Nov. 27. — William Franklin, black-smith, chosen Constable in stead of Edward Tynge. Arthur Perry to give his best diligence in learning Geo. Clifford and Nathl. Newgate in all the skill and use of the drum. — Thomas Clarke, late of Dorchester, may "wharfe before his property in the Mill-field." — John Milom and Val. Hill the same in the same field; the last two to leave a landing place between them. Wm. Tynge may wharf before his property in the marsh near John Lowe's house. A Highway two rods wide to be preserved on the Beach from Edw. Bendall's Cove toward John Gallop's Point.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Ship blown up. — Prodigies. — Lights seen. — Strange Noises heard. — Submission of several Indian Tribes. — Efforts to repair the Castle. — A Fur Company formed. — First Ship built in Boston. — Daniel Gookin. — Appalling News from Virginia. — Ship captured in the Harbor. — Capt. Stagg. — Great Excitement. — Case of the captured Ship. — One executed for Murder. — Another Prodigy. — Honors to Gen. La Tour. — Arrival of his Lady. — Arrival of Roger Williams from England. — Capture of another Ship in the Harbor. — Passaconaway's Submission. — A Fast. — Free Schools. — Election. — Ship Trial. — Her important Voyage. — Commerce encouraged. — Fur Traders killed by Indians. — Capt. Hawkins' Voyage and Wreck. — Fort rebuilt. — Negro Slaves. — Case of Smith and Keyser. — Gentlemen go to England and take part in the Wars. — Rainsborow, Stoughton, Bourne, Leverett, Hudson, &c. — Heretical Books. — Punishment of Partridge.



GOOKIN.

IN the course of July of the last year, there arrived at Boston one Capt. John Chaddock, whose father had been Governor of Bermuda. Jan. 2. He was one who volunteered in the service of Gen. La Tour. Being now returned here, he was about to sail for Trinidad; but as his vessel was riding before the Town she was accidentally blown up. By that calamity five men were killed, and three escaped badly burned. The Captain happened to be on shore at the time. Three of the same company had not long before fallen from one of the ship's yards into the sea and were drowned. All such accidents or misfortunes were attributed to some wicked conduct of the sufferers, but those which now happened were not put to the account of these mariners for their having been engaged in the expedition against D'Aulnay. During the past winter there had been seen many strange lights, and many noises heard, to the great "affrightment" of the inhabitants.

Jan. 18. As three men were approaching the Town in a boat about midnight, they saw two lights "in form like a man" rise up out of the water near the north point of the Town Cove, and after passing about in the direction of the Town, "vanished away" at the south point of the same Cove. These strange lights were seen about a quarter of an hour. The names of the witnesses to their appearance are not given, nor is there any mention made whether the deponents had any instruments in their boat which might have contained magnifying fluids of any kind, known in later times to have great efficacy in visual phenomena. However, the chronicler of these wonders does not intimate that he himself saw any of them. About a week after, the same writer records that "the like lights were seen by many, arising about Castle-Island," and that in about twelve minutes "they came to

Jan. 18. John Gallop's Point." * Soon after "a light like the moon arose about the north-east point in Boston," and met another at Noddle's Island, and "there they closed in one, and then parted, and closed and parted divers times, and so went over the hill in the island and vanished. Sometimes they shot out flames and sometimes sparkles." This was seen "by many" also, about eight o'clock in the evening. About the same time a doleful voice was heard on the water between Boston and Dorchester. The voice was "most dreadful," suddenly shifting itself "from one place to another, about twenty times, and at a great distance."

The evidence of the reality of the "doleful and dreadful voices" is rather stronger than in the case of the lights, for they were "heard by divers godly persons;" and about fourteen days after they were heard again on the other side of the town, towards Noddle's Island. It is gravely stated that "these prodigies had some reference to the place where Captain Chaddock's vessel was blown up," which gave occasion for a report, that the man who was the cause of that accident, was a necromancer, and had "done some strange things by his art in his way from Virginia hither;" that all the bodies blown up were found but his, which never was. Hence it is left to be inferred that the master teacher of the black art of necromancy took away the body as well as the soul of his pupil, at the moment of the catastrophe.

Without a knowledge of these characteristics of the minds of the early inhabitants, an indispensable criterion would be wanting by which a just judgment is to be formed of their actuating motives. Minds trammelled with such absurdities were readily attached to, and borne away by the car freighted with the wildest hallucinations.

Feb. 5. A deputation of Indians about Boston came and submitted themselves to the Government of the country. They were "Cutshemekin, Agawam,† and Josias, successor and heir of Chickatabot." Their submission was in their own names, and in the names of all the Sachems of Wachuset, and those from Merrimack to Tehticut. Something more than a month after, Pessacus, the successor of Miantonimo in the chieftainship of the Narragansets, sent Washose,

Feb. 16. one of his Chiefs, to Boston, to request liberty of the Governor that he might make war upon Uncas. The same messenger had come upon the same errand in the preceding October, and then, as at this time, his request was refused. He was told that if Pessacus made war upon Uncas, the English would fall upon the Narragansets.

March 5. A shock of an Earthquake was felt in different places, but it was less violent than that before noticed, and does not appear to have done much damage. There was a special Court called by the

March 7. Governor to act upon the important subject of putting in repair the Fort on Castle Island, which had gone to ruin, as has been

* Before or at the close of the work, this and all like localities will be shown by an original map.

† This was the name of the *place*, and not of the Chief. By it was undoubtedly meant Masconomo, who was Sachem of Agawam.

before observed, and to receive the submission of certain Indian tribes which had been tendered. Several of the towns * had determined, that if the General Court would not repair the fort, they would do it at their own expense. However, after various objections to the measure and "much debate," it was carried, and a grant of a hundred pounds was made for its maintenance when it should be in defence, and a garrison of twenty men residing in it. Fifty pounds more were granted for fortifying Bird Island Passage. Then the Indians came into Court and made their submission, and desired to be received under its protection. They represented the Indians about Dorchester, Ipswich, Wachuset and Medford. They had the terms submitted to by Pomham and Soconoconoco explained to them, and also the ten commandments, to all of which they freely assented. The Court gave each of them a coat of two yards of cloth and their dinner; and to them and their men, every of them a cup of sack at their departure.

At the same Court "divers" of the merchants of Boston petitioned to be incorporated into a Company for the purpose of pursuing the fur trade at "the great lake," supposed to lie in the north-west part of the Patent of the Colony. They asked for a Charter to run twenty-one years. There was an opposition to granting such a monopoly, but without its encouragement the merchants would not attempt to make a discovery of the Lake, and the Court finally acceded. The discovery was undertaken by way of the Delaware river, "under the conduct of Mr. William Aspinwall, a good artist." But nothing was effected by the enterprise, the Dutch and Swedes interposed difficulties, and the undertaking was abandoned in about two months.

March 23. The first ship built in Boston was named the Trial. She now concluded a prosperous voyage, under the conduct of Master Thomas Graves. He took out a cargo of fish to Bilboa, which he sold "at a good rate;" thence he freighted for Malaga. He brought home wine, fruit, oil, iron and wool, "which was a great advantage to the country, and gave encouragement to trade. About two months after the same ship was sent out upon the Eastern Coast to trade with La Tour and others towards Canada."

The troubles in Virginia which arose in consequence of the Civil

May 20. War in England,† caused an accession of several valuable men to the inhabitants of Boston. Among the most conspicuous of these was Mr. Daniel Gookin.‡ They had escaped a great massacre there by the Indians, the news of which they were the first to bring to New England. It took place on the eighteenth and nineteenth of April, in which near five hundred people are said to have perished.§

* These were Boston, Charlestown, Roxbury, Dorchester, Cambridge and Watertown, which were "near one half of the Commonwealth."

† Some declaring for the Parliament and others for the King.

‡ From this time forth his name is identified with the history of New England. Further notice of him will be taken hereafter.



§ Winthrop unhappily remarks upon this

As the Civil War raged in England it occasioned alarms and difficulties here. Until July of last year the Republicans had kept possession of Bristol. On the twenty-second of that month it was compelled to surrender to the Royalists under Rupert and the Marquis of Hertford. Consequently the ships belonging to that city were adjudged prizes to the Parliament's ships wherever they were found. There happened to be lying at this time at Boston, a Bristol ship of 100 tons, laden with fish and bound for Bilboa. Before this ship was ready for sea, a Parliament man-of-war of twenty-four guns, Captain Thomas Stagg, sailed into the harbor. Without consulting the Authorities he proceeded to demand the surrender of the Bristol ship. The Master hesitating, Captain Stagg allowed him but half an hour in which to make up his mind, having in the mean time moored and prepared his ship to open hostilities if he refused to surrender. The affair being known to the people of the Town, there was a great assemblage of them upon Windmill Hill to witness the issue. But the Master of the Bristol ship not thinking it prudent to resist, surrendered without making further opposition. The Deputy Governor wrote to Captain Stagg to know what authority he had to take a step of this sort? whereupon he produced his commission from the Earl of Warwick. He was then requested to take or to send his commission to the Governor at Salem, which he did soon after.

May 23.

This affair caused considerable excitement in Boston, and for breach of the peace several were taken into custody. Among others a Bristol merchant residing here endeavored to raise a party to attack Captain Stagg, but being apprehended, the tumult was soon allayed. Some of the Officers of Government were of the opinion that Captain Stagg had invaded their liberties by coming into the Port and capturing a ship under such circumstances, which opinion had before been advanced by some of the Elders in their pulpits. But others were of a different opinion. The latter maintained, that as Captain Stagg acted under the authority of Parliament, and as the Parliament was of their own religion, and they had so openly declared in favor of its cause, should they now oppose its authority, it would grieve all their friends in England, and give countenance to those in the West Indies, Virginia and elsewhere to continue their rebellious proceedings. These and other similar arguments prevailed, and Captain Stagg was not further molested.*

May 29.

At the General Election this year, Mr. Endicott was chosen Governor, Mr. Winthrop Deputy. Mr. William Hathorne was

sad event, "that the evil was sent upon them from God for their reviling the gospel and those faithful ministers he had sent among them." — *Journal*, ii. 165. In this he had reference to the rejection of Mr. Tompson and Mr. Knowles, who were sent as missionaries to Virginia two years before. See *ante*, p. 247.

* In writing of the affairs of this time, Chalmers, in his *Political Annals of N. Eng.*, says the people here "out-canted Cromwell." If that Annalist meant by the use of that phrase to insinuate that the Puritan Fathers here were hypocrites, it was a base calumny, and his prejudices will be ranked higher, probably, than his philosophy. He wrote in the time of our great Revolution, and published his work before the close of it. Had he published it after

made speaker of the House of Deputies, who was the first of such officers after the General Court was divided into two Houses. Considerable emulation had been growing up between Salem and Boston; the former had begun to feel that Boston was taking the lead in various ways. It was doubtless a little mortifying to Mr. Endicott and the people in the country about Salem, to see the older-settled place falling behind the other in importance; and that consequently the men of talent and worth there would be obliged to hold secondary places, however superior their abilities might be to others in Boston. Therefore a grand effort was made by the Essex people to turn the scales of Government, by having a majority in it of members favorable to their cause. They felt encouraged, now that Mr. Endicott was again Governor, and looked forward to the time when Salem should be the Seat of Government. But the Boston men had acquired too extensive an influence, and the Essex men failed in their design. Winthrop ungenerously called the effort of the Salem people a "plot," and speaks of the matter as though some dishonor was attached to it, which does not appear to have been the case.

June. A man named William Franklin was condemned to die, and was afterwards hanged for the murder of a boy named Nathaniel Sewell. The boy was one of the twenty children brought to Boston last year by the ship Seabridge, from London. Being put an apprentice to Franklin, it appeared that he came to his death through the cruel and barbarous treatment of his master.

Aug. 26. It is related, that about nine in the evening, there fell a great flame of fire down into the water towards Pullen Point; that it lighted the air far about; but that it was no lightning, for the sky was very clear. Thus an ordinary meteor was taken for a prodigy.

Sept. 9. General La Tour, who had been several days in Boston, and was entertained with much respect and great hospitality, sailed hence, receiving distinguishing marks of honor. The train-bands made a guard for him to his boat, and the Deputy Governor and other distinguished gentlemen accompanied him to the wharf. On coming on board his bark, which carried six guns, he discharged them all as a salute, which salute was answered by the soldiers with their pieces, and one cannon; while the four ships then in the harbor each honored his departure with a discharge of three pieces of ordnance.

Sept. 17. Only eight days after the departure of General La Tour, his Lady arrived in a ship from London, commanded by a Captain Bayley. They narrowly escaped falling into the hands of D'Aulnay, who knew of their being upon the voyage; and, in cruising for them, he fell in with the ship in which they were, but Captain Bayley had the address to deceive him, as to who he was, and thus arrived safe at Boston, bringing a letter from D'Aulnay to the Governor about his difficulties with La Tour.

that event, he might more aptly have said that George Washington *out-canted* George the Third, and he would have found none to dispute him.

Being arrived in Boston, Madam La Tour brought an action against Captain Bayley for damages. It appeared that he had agreed to transport her directly to Acadia, and that she had come with stores and munitions to the aid of her husband, and the damage consisted in the unreasonable length of the voyage; it being of about six months' duration. The jury gave her 2000 pounds, for which Captain Bayley's ship was attached, but on taking account of the cargo it was valued only at 1100 pounds, and it cost the Lady about 700 pounds to hire vessels to convey her and her effects to Acadia.

As might have been, and probably was expected, the owners of the ship and cargo attached by the Lady La Tour took the first opportunity to indemnify themselves. They seized a Boston ship in London the next year, but soon released her, probably doubting their ability to hold her; or, perhaps they thought it a more expeditious way of realizing money to attach the bodies of Mr. Stephen Winthrop, son of the Governor, and Captain Joseph Weld, who happened then to be in London. The former was recorder of the Court in Boston, and the latter was one of the jury in the case of Captain Bayley's ship. And had it not been for the interference of Sir Henry Vane, these gentlemen would have been seriously troubled, as they were held to bail in the sum of 4000 pounds. The kindness of Mr. Vane is handsomely acknowledged by Governor Winthrop, who says, "both now and at other times Mr. Vane showed himself a true friend of New England, and a man of a noble and generous mind." The suit ended in a bill of costs to both parties, after much vexation to all concerned.

At or about the same time Mr. Roger Williams arrived here, but whether in Captain Bayley's or by another ship is not mentioned. He came with an absolute charter of Rhode Island, and "letters from divers Lords and others of the Parliament,"* which were expressed in the most favorable terms of the man whose memory is at this day cherished throughout the world as the great assertor of Civil Liberty. They spoke of "his printed Indian labors, the like whereof they had not seen extant from any part of America," and that "it had pleased both Houses of Parliament freely to grant him, and friends with him, a Charter for those parts of his abode."†

There was now riding in the harbor a Dartmouth ship, and among others a Londoner, Captain Richardson. Dartmouth had not long

* The letter to the Governor and Assistants was signed by *Northumberland*, *Robert Harley*, *William Masham*, *John Gurdon*, *Cor. Holland*, *J. Blakiston*, *P. Wharton*, *Thomas Barrington*, *Oliver St. John*, *Isaac Pennington*, *Gilbert Pykering*, *and Miles Corbet*. —Winthrop, *Journal*, ii. 193. The date of the letter Winthrop did not preserve. It is entered in his Journal between the 17th and 19th of Sept.

† It may be that Mr. Williams left England before the memorable battle of Marston-Moor, which was fought on the 2d and 3d of July of this year, in which the royalist army under Prince Rupert was entirely cut to pieces, suffering a loss of above 10,000 men, with their arms, artillery, ammunition, &c. This was one of the greatest battles of the war, and had the news of it reached Boston at this time, Winthrop could hardly have failed to notice it, and, in imitation of Parliament, to have celebrated it by a Thanksgiving. Nothing had given the Parliament such confidence in the final success of their cause since the war began, and its effects were sensibly felt here. In his Thanksgiving Sermon before Parliament on the 18th of July, fifteen days after the bat-

before fallen into the King's hands, and hence a parallel case to that before related. Captain Richardson seized the Dartmouth ship, but as that ship had before been surrendered to the Government, the Captain of the London ship was obliged to relinquish his prize. He would not probably have so readily yielded, but being within range of the guns of the Castle, he could not safely do otherwise; and it appeared that Captain Richardson had not a requisite commission for making captures, and secondly, if the Dartmouth ship were made a prize of, some Boston merchants stood ready to take her, as one of their own had lately been taken by the royalists in Wales. However, one or two shots were exchanged between the Castle and the London ship, but no one was hurt, though at one time the business looked very serious. Captain Richardson was fined a barrel of powder, and ordered to satisfy the soldiers who had been called out to bring him to terms. The Government then, "with advice of divers of the Elders," proceeded to confiscate the Dartmouth ship.

The apology for these and similar irregular proceedings is to be found in the distracted state of England, and the advantage which it gave to the unscrupulous in all places to turn the misfortunes of others to their own private advantage.

Oct. 13. In this state of affairs the work at Castle Island was earnestly pressed, and Mr. Richard Davenport was appointed to take the command of the fort. He is the same before mentioned, who, under the authority of Mr. Endicott, cut out the Cross in the Ensign, and whether in memory of that circumstance or not, is not stated, but in a short time after, having a child born, he named it *Truecross*. This child was a daughter, who married Stephen Minot, in 1654. Captain Davenport had been in the Pequot war. He commanded the Castle till July, 1665, being then killed by lightning.*

tle, Mr. Richard Vines said, he could say as the Roman historian said after the defeat of Hannibal by Scipio, — "The Roman Empire had not seen a greater day," — "nor England than that of Marston-Moor," though in the first summer of the war, he says "God wrote himself our God in great letters at Edge Hill."

* See *Antiqua. Jour.* iv. 353.

Jan. 8. — A Committee appointed to treat with all the neighboring towns concerning a convenient way of fortifying the Castle. Wm. Hibbins, Gent., Mr. John Wilson, Deac. Wm. Colbron constituted the Committee. Agreed that the fortification begun on Fort Hill, and another "somewhere about Walter Merry's Point, shall be raised." That is, built up.

Jan. 19. — Granted Mr. John Winthrop, Jr., and his partners, 3000 acres of common land at Braintree, to encourage the setting up Iron Works, to be about Monotocot river.

Jan. 29. — Boston agrees to provide all the timber for repairing the Castle, and to "lay it in its forme at the Castle Island." An Highway ordered to be laid out "to the South Windmill that lyeth betweene Thos. Wheelar's and Robt. Woodward's gardens." Ens. Savage, Mathew Chafeth,* Isaak Cullimore, John Gallop, Sen., John Sweet, John Hill and Samson Shore may make wharfs before their properties in the Mill-field. Gryphen Bowin, Gent., may have a house lot if there are any.

Mar. 18. — Anthony Stoddard may make an entrance from the street into his cellar "near our Pastor's house" [Wilson]. James Oliver may "open his shop-window-board two feet into the street."

Apl. 29. — Christopher Stanley may wharf before his property in the Mill-field near Winnesemet-ferry.

July 29. — Zache Bozworth appointed Pound-keeper. Walter Merry may "wharf before his property by his present dwelling." Charity White to have 26*s.* for keeping John

* See his autograph, *ante*, p. 243. I make his signature read Mathew Chaffe. He was a petitioner for placing the new Meeting-house at *the Green*.

Jan. 27. At a Town-meeting, Major Gibbons was chosen a Committee to give orders concerning the Fortifications in the Town.* There was purchased of Thomas Scotto, for the use of the town, his Mar. 31. dwelling-house, yard and garden, for fifty-five pounds. It was bounded on the north by lands of Henry Messenger, on the east by Mr. Richard Hutchinson's, by the common street south, and the burying place west.†

May. Passaconaway, Sachem on Merrimack river, and his sons came to Boston and put themselves, lands and people under the Government of the English; making a formal submission, as Pumham and Soconomoco had done.

May 5. The troubles in England continuing, a Fast was held by order of the General Court. A drought had been very severe, and this was comprehended in the objects to be fasted for; but for this, Winthrop says, they were prevented from praying "by the Lord's sending them rain."

The establishment of free schools was early attended to, as has already been mentioned. This year the Town ordered fifty pounds should be allowed yearly forever to a master, and a house for him to live in, and thirty pounds to an usher; they were to teach reading, writing and ciphering, and Indian children were to be taught gratis.‡ This order was confirmed by the General Court.

May 14. At the Court of Election at Boston, Thomas Dudley was chosen Governor, Winthrop Deputy Governor, and Endicott "Sergeant Major General." Herbert Pelham, Esq.,§ was chosen

Berry 13 weeks. Nicholas Upshall may wharf before his land in Mill-field. Richd. Lippencot admitted a townsman.

Dec. 2. — Jasper Rawline may improve a rod of upland at the eastern end of Serg. Hues his Cornfield near Rocksbury-gate, for the making of bricks. Thomas Joy ordered to "make a safe passage way over his sellar in the high way by the water in the Mill-field, in two days." Mr. Woodbridge to be paid £8, due him for keeping the school last year. A sufficient cartway ordered to be made "in the street," from the Cove toward Charlestown. The Town to bear half the charge and the "neighbors" the rest. This was Dec. 30. Dear Island is let to James Penn and John Oliver for three years, for £7 a year, for the use of the school.

* Edward Mills admitted townsman; — 10*s.* to be paid widow Howin towards her relief in consideration of her shop in the market-place speedily to be removed. Joshua Scotto to straighten his pale at the head of his house plat near John Lowe's house, as the head of John Lowe's pales run, and to have that marsh therein contained.

† Macklin Knight, Wm. Parsons, Jonathan Balston and Thomas Smith admitted townsmen.

April 10. — Thos. Marshall, Wm. Frankling, Sergt. Davis and Edwd. Bendall are appointed to hire eight fit men for the garrison at the Castle.

April 28. — Thos. Joy is fined 20*s.* for not making the passage as ordered 2 Dec. David Pheppen may wharf before his property near Mill Creek.

May 26. — John Mylom * to make safe the passage over the bridge near Leonard Buttle's house, within three days, or a fine of 20*s.* to be levied.

‡ See *ante*, p. 182.

§ Although Mr. Pelham had just arrived in the country, such was his distinction that he was at once elected an Assistant, and also one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies. He was of the family of the Duke of Newcastle, returned to England and lived upon his estate in the country there, 1650. He had charge of the affairs of the Colony in that country, respecting propagating the gospel among the Indians. — *Hutchinson*, i. 144. Farmer, following Johnson, says Mr. Pelham came over in 1639. He might also come over in 1645, as Hutchinson says, but Hutchinson is no doubt mistaken in supposing that he had not been in the country before 1645. The subject of propagating the gospel in America

* See his autograph, *ante*, p. 243.

Assistant in place of Captain Israel Stoughton, who had been in England the preceding year, and now had gone again for that country. Captain Keayne and Major Gibbons represented Boston, and Captain George Cook was speaker.

In the course of the year the ship Trial of Boston completed a prosperous, though perilous voyage. She had been to England and Holland, and had experienced "divers most desperate dangers;" having been forced upon the sands of Flushing, and again upon those of Dover. There arrived also the Endeavor of Cambridge. In all, about eleven ships had arrived, bringing linen, woollen, shoes, stockings and other useful commodities, so that the inhabitants "had plenty of all things." The ships took in exchange, wheat, rye, peas and other produce of the country. The export in corn alone amounted this year to 20,000 bushels. Thus commerce flourished and the people were much encouraged.

Meantime a serious misfortune happened to the crew of a small bark which some Boston merchants had sent out to trade for furs in Delaware Bay, under the conduct of one Captain Luther. The bark continued in the Bay through the winter, and in the spring they began to trade with the Indians, and had good success; but as she was about to come away, fifteen Indians came on board, apparently to trade as usual, and having weapons concealed under their blankets, suddenly rushed upon the men, killed all but two, whom they took captive, and then plundered the vessel. The Captain was among the slain, and the interpreter and a boy were the prisoners. The interpreter however was well treated, and had a large share of the spoil, and it was supposed he had been the occasion of the massacre, for he had been put out of his place of interpreter for his misconduct. His name was Redman. Soon after, other Indians surprised those who had committed the piracy, killed their Chief and took away their plunder. Meanwhile the Governor of New Sweden, Mr. John Printz, employed an Indian Chief to bring the captives to him, and they were now brought to Boston. Redman was afterwards tried for his life, and found guilty by the Grand Jury; but he was ultimately acquitted.

July 14.

Other disasters followed. Capt. Thomas Hawkins, of whom mention has been made before, a man of enterprise, who had been a shipwright of London, built, and sent out last year, a ship of 400 tons. She was probably the largest and handsomest ship which had ever been built here, having ornamental carved work, and being painted with taste and skill. She was called the Seafort, in compliment to her strength. This ship, in company with Captain Kerman in a London ship, sailed

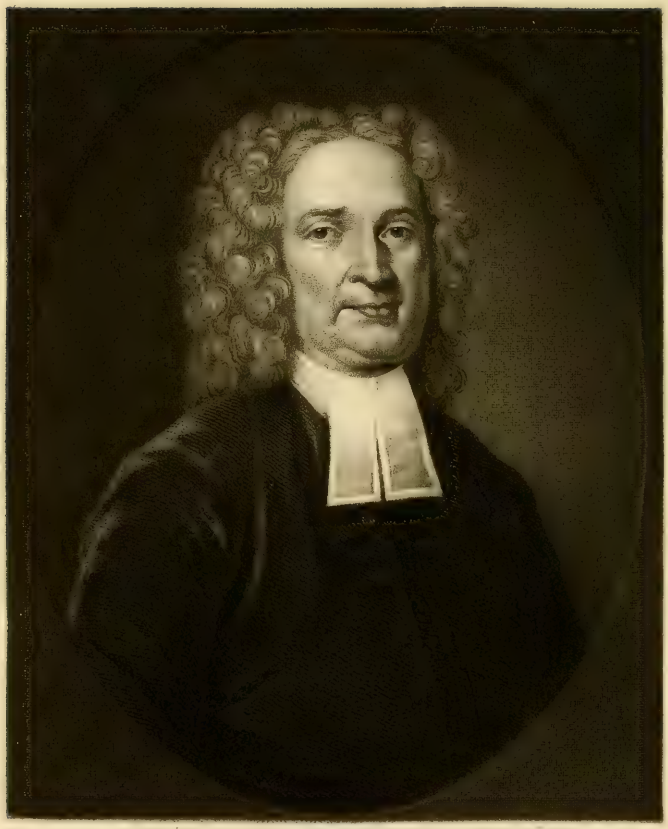
was brought before Parliament while Mr. Pelham was in New England, by the Rev. William Castell, of Courtenhall, in Northamptonshire. His application was by petition, "approved by 70 able English Divines." Among those Divines we find John White of Dorsetshire, Henry Paynter of Devonshire, John Ward of Suffolk, Jeremiah Burroughes of Norfolk, John Rawlinson of Derby; Daniel Featley, Edward Marbury, Edmond Calamy, Adomiram Byfield, William Janeway, Joseph Caryll, Mathias Styles and Stephen Denison of London; Daniel Rogers of Peterborough, and others. See Force's *Tracts*, vol. i.

for Malaga with tobacco and other commodities. They were both cast away on the coast of Spain in December, about five miles from Cales. Nineteen of those on board perished, among whom were Captain Kerman, Captain Coytmore of Charlestown, a Mr. Pratt and his wife. Mr. Pratt was a surgeon of high repute in the country, had been here many years, was of Mr. Hooker's Church before he went to Connecticut, and probably came over with him, or at the same time. The great demand for surgeons, by reason of the Civil War, influenced him to go for England, though he was over sixty years of age. He left no posterity. Those who escaped with their lives were pillaged of almost everything after they had reached the shore, by the barbarous natives on the coast; but when they came to Cales the Spaniards treated them kindly, gave the women and others clothes, many of whom escaped from the wrecks without shoes or garments, and the Governor of the place gave Captain Hawkins 500 pounds for the wreck of his ship, and he and his company soon after proceeded to London in an English ship, which then happened to lie at Cales. The name of the Captain of this ship was Mariot, whose kindness to those shipwrecked people should be remembered, for "he clothed many of them with his own clothes," and did all in his power to alleviate their sufferings. Singular as it may appear, Captain Hawkins was cast away again the following year, at the same place, as were five other ships in his company. But this time his people were all saved.

This year there was a cruel attempt to bring Negroes from Africa to this market for slaves. One Capt. James Smith, with a mate of the name of Thomas Keyser, made a voyage to Guinea, and there joining some Londoners, landed in the country, attacked and killed many of the Negroes. They appear to have brought but two to Boston. The manner of their capture coming to the knowledge of the Government, Smith and Keyser were, on the motion of Richard Saltonstall, Esq., prosecuted and held to answer.

One of the Negroes was sold to Mr. Francis Williams of Pascataqua, who was required to return him to Boston that he might be restored to his native country, and the General Court passed an act prohibiting Slavery. This act however was afterwards repealed, or disregarded. Four years before, a law was made "that there shall never be any bond slavery" in the Colony; and the following year, 1646, with special reference to the transaction of Smith and Keyser, the Court enacted, that "it was bound by the first opportunity to bear witness against the heinous and crying sin of man-stealing, as also to prescribe such timely redress for what was past, and such a law for the future, as might sufficiently deter all others belonging to the Colony to have to do in such vile and most odious courses, that the Negro interpreter, with others unlawfully taken, be by the first opportunity, at the charge of the Country for the present, sent to his native country, Guinea."

Nothing further appears in the printed statutes upon Negro slavery until 1703. Then a law was made merely to prevent owners of slaves



setting them at liberty without becoming responsible to the country in "all charge for or about them," and prohibiting them and Indians from being abroad after nine o'clock in the evening. This law was occasioned by a war with the Indians which broke out that year.

Notice has been taken of the departure of Captain Stoughton for England, and that there went with him several others. These were military men, and considered the best in the country. The most of them doubtless went to take part in the war which raged in England, and who had learned that the "Popish party," as they considered that of the King, was in a fair way to be overthrown. The fame of Cromwell had reached them, and he was a Puritan of the right stamp; who had, in the battle of Marston Moor, acquired the name of Ironsides for achieving the victory when it was supposed to be lost; and that, above all, he and his followers fought "for conscience sake," knowing "from within that their cause was just."

Soon after Mr. Stoughton's arrival in England he was made Lieutenant Colonel under his friend Col. William Rainesborow, who had formerly lived here at Charlestown; Mr. Nehemiah Bourne, a ship-carpenter, was made a Major in the same regiment. He went from Boston. From the land he was transferred to the sea service. Mr. John Leverett, of Boston, afterwards Governor of the Colony, was made Captain of foot, and William Hudson,* Ensign in his company, and Mr. Lioll, Surgeon to the Earl of Manchester's Life Guard. These all did eminent service, and all, except Mr. Stoughton, returned again "to their wives and families." He fell sick and died at Lincoln. For his good service, Captain Leverett was created a Knight and Baronet; but owing probably to a jealousy which might arise among his friends, he kept his title to himself, making no display of its honors; or, it may be, that such titles did not comport with his ideas of a Christian Commonwealth.

There was considerable agitation during the session of the General Court, which continued from the fourteenth of May to the fifth of July, respecting captures of ships in the harbor, and there was a proposition to commit the subject to the military officers. The discriminating part of the Court thought the delegation of such a power to the Military would be attended with difficulties, and result in injuries to the general good; but the majority of the Court consisting of military men, the measure was carried. The difficulty with Captain Stagg was the principal cause of the present agitation. The Deputies desired to pass a bill giving security and protection to all ships which should come into the port as friends, and although it passed in their branch, the Magistrates would not consent to it, because it would bring them into collision

* The Autograph of William Hudson, as copied from the records of this period. There were several families of Hudson in Boston at this time. — See *Antiqu. Journal*, ii. 190.



with the Parliament. A similar bill, however, did pass in a modified form, which authorized Major Gibbons, of Boston, and Major Sedgwick of Charlestown, to keep the peace in their respective towns, "and not to permit any ships to fight in the harbor without license from Authority."

July 15. A new watch-house erected on Fort Hill was struck with lightning. The boards and timber at one end of it were torn in pieces, and it was otherwise damaged.

About this time notice is taken of the importation of books into the country. They would not probably have been mentioned, but for their contents giving offence; "some in defence of Anabaptism and other errors, and for liberty of conscience as a shelter for their toleration; others in maintenance of the Presbyterial government against the Congregational way here." These books were the occasion of a sort of Synod, which convened at Cambridge, in which the books were examined and answers to them written. These answers were sent to England to be printed.

The appearance of the heretical books doubtless had some influence on the case of Captain Alexander Partridge. He was an Anabaptist,* and appears to have arrived in New England in October of this year. He had been in the service of Parliament, but on his voyage to Boston "he broached and zealously maintained divers points of Antinomianism and Famalism." Being called before the Magistrates, he refused to answer their interrogations. At length he consented to confer with Mr. Cotton, which having done, Mr. Cotton reported that "he found him corrupt in his judgment, but ignorant of those points which he had maintained, and that, upon argument, he was come off from some of the worst of them, and he had good hope to reclaim him wholly." This did not satisfy some of the Magistrates, and they insisted that he should sign a paper that he relinquished the whole. This, of course, as a conscientious man, he could not do, until he was convinced, and this should have been sufficient; but this did not satisfy the majority of the Rulers. There was the law of banishment made in Mr. Wheelwright's case, and the last year a law had been made for the banishment of Anabaptists. Some of the Magistrates, indeed, pleaded for the suspension of the operation of those laws, and urged the cruelty of banishing persons at this season of the year. Nevertheless, there was a majority of one or two for banishment, and the sentence was accordingly



* Dr. Daniel Featly came out this year upon the Anabaptists, as he did twenty years before on the Roman Catholics. His curious book against them is entitled *The Dipper Dipt, or the Anabaptists Duck'd and Plung'd over Head and Ears*, &c. To this there is a frontispiece by Marshall, in which are represented *fifteen sorts of Baptists*. The cut in this note was intended to represent a follower of David George, of whom he makes some mention in his *Dipper*, p. 28.

To show how English Churchmen as well as Puritans abhorred the Anabaptists, the following is extracted from the *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ*, of the learned and curious James Howell. "If I hate any," he says, "'t is those schismatics that puzzle the sweet peace of our Church, so that I could be content to see an Anabaptist go to Hell on a Brownist's back."—Page 270, edition, 1726. Howell wrote in 1635.

pronounced by the Court on Captain Partridge.* He soon after found his way to Rhode Island. It should be remembered that the Elders used their exertions to effect the result accomplished.

How far the grants of the Town, of lands to the inhabitants, were to be considered complete titles of such grants, seems to have been a question among some of the grantees; for, at a meeting of the Select
Sept. 29. Men, it was ordered, that, "whereas the severall graunts of howslots and other lands, recorded in this Towne Booke, are entered onely as graunted to the ptyes themselves, without mention of their heyres, it hath bene thought fitt to be hereby declared and ordered," that all such grants should "be estates in fee simple," except such estates as had been granted for a term of years.

The winter set in very early, and is recorded "as the earliest and sharpest" since Boston was settled; and that the "cold was as vehement to the southward as here. Ships were put from their anchors
Dec. 25. with the ice and driven on shore, and one ketch was carried out to sea and wrecked on Lovell's Island." †

* Notwithstanding this treatment, he and Gov. Coddington, "in behalfe of the Ilanders of Roode Iland," requested that they might be "resceauied into combination with all the vnited Colonyes of New England." They were answered that Rhode Island was within the bounds of Plymouth; that their "present state was full of confusion and danger, haueing much disturbance amongist themselves, and noe security from the Indians;" that though the Commissioners desired, "in severall respects," to afford advice and help, all they could do then was to "consider and advize how they might be accepted vpon iust termes, and with tender respects to their consciences." — *Hazard*, ii. 99–100.

† *Sept.* 15. — Wm. Colbron and James Penn are appointed "to lay out the way" through the gardens towards the south Wind-mill. To begin between Nicholas Parker's house and Robt. Renolds' garden, and to go forth between Amos Richardson's and John Palmer's house.

Sept. 29. — A house lot is granted to Arthur Clarke next the lot of John Search. — Arthur Perry to have £5, for drumming the last year, and 30*s.* more for drum heads. Alexander Becke paid £4, 7*s.* for the marsh granted him, 31 : 1 : 1645.

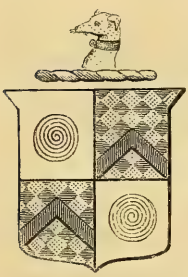
Oct. 27. — "Ordered yt ye Constables shall sett off 6*s* of Henry Messenger's rates for mending the Schoole Mr. his pt of the ptition fence betweene their gardens." The remains of the marsh in the Town's hands, over against John Barrel's house, is granted to Edward Bendall, his paying therefor what Wm. Colbron and John Oliver said it was worth, but he refused it at their price.

Dec. 26. — "Select men" chosen. They had for some time been denominated "Select townsmen." They were at this time, Winthrop, Hibbins, Gibbons, Keayne, Thos. Fowle, Colbron, Hill, Eliot, and Penn.

Dec. 29. — James Penn is chosen Recorder and Treasurer. — The town guarantees to Samuel Maverick, Gent., that his contribution towards the Fort on Castle Island shall be refunded, in case said Garrison be defeated or demolished, except by adversary power, within three years. Ordered that Mr. Fowle and James Penn with the Constable shall take Wm. Francklin's account, "lat Constable"

CHAPTER XXX.

Fever in the Town. — Death of Mr. John Oliver. — Dudley elected Governor. — Episcopalian Troubles. — Vassall, Child, and others. — They petition the General Court. — Prosecuted for it. — The Subject examined. — Opinion of the Elders upon the Authority of Parliament over them. — Dr. Child before the Court. — The Court divided. — Child and others imprisoned. — Their Papers seized. — Prevented from proceeding on their Voyage to England. — An Agent sent to England. — Voyage of the Ship Supply. — New England's Jonas. — New England's Salamander. — Some Narraganset Indians in Boston. — Anabaptists. — La Tour's Conduct. — Return of an Indian Captive. — Large Arrival of Wine. — Arrival of Capt. Cromwell. — Return of Gorton and others, with an Order of Parliamentary Commissioners. — Termination of the Troubles with the Rhode Island People.



GORGES OF WRAXALL.*

As is not uncommon now, after a sharp winter, the spring of this year "opened early and more seasonably than many before it;" but it was attended with sadness to several families, owing to a malignant fever which proved very fatal; often terminating in five or six days. Among those cut off in Boston, Mr. John Oliver, "a gracious young man," is specially mentioned; though "not full thirty years of age, he was an expert soldier, an excellent surveyor of land, and one who, for the sweetness of his disposition, was generally beloved, and greatly lamented." He was designed for the ministry, and had "exercised publicly for two years." †

The first appearance of any peculiar malady or disease in the town appears to be taken notice of by Governor Winthrop in his Journal, for which scientific medical men will hereafter feel greatly obliged to him. At or near the commencement of this year the Governor mentions "a disease which raised a scandal upon the Town," but from all he does say about it, there is some uncertainty as to what the disease was. Perhaps those curious in the matter may be better able to decide the question than the Historian, and they are therefore referred to the original Authority.

May 6. At the May Election, Mr. Dudley and Mr. Winthrop changed places; Mr. Endicott kept his place of Serjeant Major General; and he was also elected one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, and Mr. Herbert Pelham was the other. Mr. Edward Norris preached the Sermon. Hathorne was again Speaker, and Gibbons and Keyane represented the Town.

The Episcopalians in Boston and its vicinity had hitherto been rather quiet, which may be attributed to the smallness of their numbers. But now, some accessions having been made to their ranks, consisting of individuals of birth and standing, they thought it time to assert their right to the same religious privileges as those enjoyed by others. Mr.

* Arms as borne by "Edward Gorges, of Wraxall, in Corm. Somerset, Esqr.," in 1673. See Blome's *Britannia*, also *ante*, p. 249.

† He belonged to a distinguished family, for a pedigree of which, so far as my limits will admit, see next page.

THOMAS OLIVER, GENT., of the parish of St. Thomas, Bristol, d. there, 1557. His wife was Margaret, who m. 2dly . . . . . Cox. He d. before 1598. They had children, Elizabeth and John, a merchant of Bristol, buried at St. Stephen's in that city, 31 Jan. 1598 = Elizabeth Rowland, whom he m. at St. Stephen's, 28 Aug. 1557.

- Robert. — Maria.
- Margaret.
- Thomas, bap. 14 Apl. 1582, arrived in Boston, N. E. 5 June, 1632, Rul. Elder in 1st. Ch., d. 1657, a. 75. = 1. Anne . . . . . d. 1637; 2. Anne . . . . . d. 20 Dec. 1662.
- Marie. — John. — James.
- Tobie. — William. — William.

- John, b. 1616, H. C. 1645, m. Eliz. Newdigate, d. 1646, as in the text. =
- Nathaniel, b. 1618, killed by accident, 1633.
- James, merch. of Boston, Capt. in Philip's war., d. *s. p.*, 1682.*
- Peter, one of the founders of the S. Ch., mercht., Cap. Artil. Comp., d. 1670. = Sarah, da. of Mr. John Newdigate, (sister to Elizabeth), buried 11 Oct. 1692.
- Samuel, merch. of Boston, wf. Lydia . . . . . He was drowned, 1652.
- Abigail.
- Daniel.

- John, b. 1638, d. 1639.
- Elizabeth, b. 1640, m. Enoch Wiswall.
- Hannah, b. 1642, d. 1653.
- John, b. 1644, merch. of Boston, d. 1683. = Susanna, da. of John Sweet. Issue.
- Thomas, b. 1646, d. 1715. m. 1st. Grace, da. of Thos. Prentice; 2d. = Mary Wilson.
- Sarah, m. John Noyes, merch. of Boston.
- Mary, m. 1. Jona. Shrimpton 2. Nath'l Williams.
- Nathaniel, b. 1652, m. Eliz. da. of Capt. Thos. Brattle. =
- Peter, b. 1655, H. C. 1675, — Samuel, d. 1657.
- James, b. 1658, H.C. 1680, celebrated physician, d. 1703. = Mercy, d. of Samuel & gr.-da. of Gov. Simon Bradstreet, d. 29 Mar. 1710.
- Abigail, b. 1661.
- Daniel, b. 28 Feb. 1664, Memb. of His Maj's Council, d. 23 July, 1732. = Elizabeth, daughter of Hon. Andrew Belcher, and sister of Governor Belcher, d. 21 May, 1735, aged 61.

- Grace. — Elizabeth. — John.
- Hannah. — Thomas. — Samuel.
- John. — Mary.
- Nathaniel, wf. Bethiah. da. Mary.
- Sarah, m. Caleb Trowbridge.
- Peter, m. Mary Mattocks.
- Abigail, m. Hon. Benj. Prescott.
- Thomas. — Samuel.
- Elizabeth, m. Saml. Keeling. — Sarah, m. Tho. Smith.
- Nathaniel, m. H. C. 1701, Martha Hobbs. =
- James, m. Rebecca Lloyd. =
- Brattle, m. Anne Gillam. =
- Peter. H. C. 1710. — William. — Mary.
- Mercy, b. 1695, d. unm. 1773.
- Sarah, bap. 20 Dec. 1696; m. Hon. Jacob Wendell; d. July, 1762; he d. Sept. 1761.

- Martha, b. 1711, d. 1712.
- Nathaniel, b. 2 June, 1713, H. C. 1733; 1st wf. Mercy, dau. of Hon. Jacob Wendell.
- Paige, b. 1714, d. 1715.
- Peter, H. C. 1737.
- William, H. C. 1739; wf. Rebecca, dau. of John Sale, and gr.-da. of Penn Townsend.
- Mary, b. 1712, m. John Wendell, Esq.
- Leverett, b. 1714. — Elizabeth, b. 1723. — James, b. 1725.
- Rebecca, b. 1721, m. Samuel Wentworth, Esq., of Portsmouth, N.H.
- Anna, b. 1715, m. Mr. Jona. Louder.
- Edward Brattle, b. 1719, H. C. 1739, wf. Ann Hubbard.

† There is extant a Poem in 4to. by this gentleman on the death of the Hon. Josiah Willard, who died 6 Dec. 1756.

- Daniel, b. 1702. — Peter, b. 1711.
- Daniel, b. 14 Jan. 1704, H. C. 1722, merch. of Boston, d. in London, of small pox, 5 July, 1727, unmarried.
- 1. Mary, da. of Hon. Thos. Fitch, of Boston, b. 28 Oct. 1706, d. 26 Nov. 1732, m. 20 June, 1728. = Andrew, b. 28 Mar. 1706, H.C. 1724; Secret'y, Lieut. Gov., &c. d. 3 Mar. 1774.
- 2. Mary, da. of Wm. Sanford, Esq., sister of Margaret, who m. Tho. Hutchinson; m. 19 Dec. 1734.
- Peter, b. 26 Mar. 1713, H. C. 1730, Chief Justice Mass., D. C. L., Ox. refugee, d. at Birmingham, Eng., 13 Oct. 1791.† = Mary, da. of Richard Clarke, and aunt of Lord Lyndhurst; m. 5 July, 1733.

- Daniel. — Mary. — Both died young.
- Mary, da. Hon. Benj. Lynde, Ch. Jus. Mass., b. 5 Jan. 1733, m. 28 May, 1752, d. 26 Dec. 1807.
- Andrew, b. 13 Nov. 1731, H. C. 1749; Jus. C. C. P., Mandamus Counsellor, one of the founders of the A. A. S., d. 1799.
- Mary, d. unm.
- Griselda, b. 1737, m. Col. Samuel Waldo, of Falmouth.
- Elizabeth, b. 1738, m. Edward Lyde, Esq. of N. Y. — Jonathan.
- Margaret, b. 1740, m. John Spooner, of Boston, merchant.
- Daniel, b. 1743, H. C. 1762, a refugee, d. in Eng. 1826. — Thomas.
- Sarah, b. 1745, d. in Eng., 1802; wf. of Thos. Hutchinson, son of Gov. H.
- Wm. Sanford, b. 1748, Treas. Prov. N. B., d. 1813; twice m. — Louisa.
- Peter, b. 1749, H. C. 1769, M. D. Surg. in Brit. army; wf. Love, da. of Peter Frye.
- Brinley Sylvester, b. 1755, H.C. 1774, purser R. N., in the Culloden at Bat. of Nile.
- Daniel, b. 1738, d. at sea, near the Azores, 1768.
- Peter, b. 1741, H.C. '61 physician, d. in Eng. 1822; wf. Sallie, eld. da. of Gov. T. Hutchinson.
- Andrew, b. 1746, H. C. 1765, d. in Middleboro', Ms. 1772.
- William, b. 1743. — Elizab'h, b. 1735.

Thomas Fitch, b. 14 May, 1757, H. C. 1775; Rect. of St. Michael's Ch. Marblehead, Ms., and St. Thomas, Baltimore, Md., where he d. 25 Jan. 1797; wf. Sarah, d. of Wm. Pynchon, Esq., of Salem, gr.-gr.-gr.-gr.da. of the 1st Wm. P. in N. E., d. 1832, æ. 75. He was father of, *inter alios*, Daniel Oliver, H. C. 1806, LL. D., Prof. of Physiology in D. Col., who d. 1842.

* In 1631, Capt. Oliver petitioned the Gen. Court to grant him the "Island whereon Wiananset lately dwelt," on account of his services in the war; and "after this hath had the most part of his estate consumed by the fire." Wanaloncet, son of Passaconaway, had an island in the Merrimack river.

James B. Oliver

William Vassall, Dr. Robert Child, and Mr. Samuel Maverick were the leaders of the Churchmen. Mr. Vassall was early conspicuous in the Massachusetts Company,* and chosen a member of its government in 1629. He came over with his family the next year with the second, or Boston Colony, but returned again the same year. In 1635 he came again to New England, and settled at Scituate, where he was highly respected. After the persecutions about to be related, he returned to England.† Dr. Child was a young man, had been in Boston or its neighborhood about two years, and came over, it is said, to examine into the mineral wealth of the country. He was a man of learning, and had received the degree of Doctor of Medicine at Padua. Mr. Samuel Maverick is the same often mentioned in the previous pages of this history. These, with Mr. Thomas Fowle,‡ a merchant in Boston, Mr. Thomas Burton,§ Mr. David Yale,‖ Mr. John Smith,** and Mr. John Dand,†† presented to the General Court a "Remonstrance and
May 18. humble petition,"‡‡ which they commenced by complimenting the Government for its "eminent gifts, continual care and constant vigilancie, which hath procured unto this wilderness Peace and Plenty, while their native land was so sharply afflicted with the devouring sword." They then call attention to the "poor handfull here planted," and to the storm which was hanging over their heads, prepared to burst upon them as a punishment for their sins. They reminded the Court of the "unwonted malignant sicknesses and noysome shamefull diseases," afflicting the Country, evidently insinuating that their intol-

* See *ante*. pp. 55, 70, 90.

† The present Lord Holland takes the Vassall in his name from this family, and his ancestors were, by marriage, heirs to part of the estate of his brother, Samuel Vassall. — See Debrett's *Peerage*.

‡ The same who was Select-man last year. See *ante*, p. 291. He was before this preparing to leave the country, and after he left he sent for his wife and children, as Mr. Winslow heard, and published in his *New England's Salamander*.

§ Little appears to be known of this gentleman. From the researches of H. N. Otis, Esq., of New York, it appears that "Thomas Burton" married Margaret, daughter of the first John Otis, of Hingham. See *N. E. Antiq. Jour.*, ii. 283–4. From this marriage there were many descendants in Plymouth Colony. "Mr. Stephen Burton," who married Elizabeth, daughter of Gov. Josiah Winslow, was probably son of Thomas. — See *ibid.*, vi. 348.

‖ He came to New England in 1637, settled in New Haven; in 1645 he settled in Boston, as a merchant. He bought a house and garden of Edward Bendall, 23 Aug., 1645. Owing probably to the rigorous government here, he returned to England, and did not reside permanently again in this country. On leaving Boston he gave Capt. Thomas Clark, and Capt. Thomas Lake a power of attorney, dated 8 Oct., 1651. He had sons, Joseph, David, b. Boston, 18 Sept. 1645, Theophilus, b. in Boston, 14 Jan. 1651. See *Geneal. of the Yale Family*, by Mr. Elihu Yale, 8vo., New Haven, 1850. Mr. Yale's estate in Boston was on what is now Pemberton Square.

** "He formerly lived about two or three years in Boston, but had removed to Rhode Island before this Remonstrance." — *New England's Salamander*.

†† "He hath lived in Boston as a sojourner since these warres in another man's house at board-hire, — whose businesse and occupations there are unknown to us; and whose carriage till this present was seemingly faire." — *Ibid.* From this it would seem that Mr. Dand came over to escape the troubles in England, and perhaps to reside here, but, finding his religious views were disliked, concluded to return.

Johnson says these "persons were of a linsiwolsie disposition, some for prelacy, some for presbytery, and some for plebsbytery." He is very partial. — See *Wonder Work. Prov.* 202.

‡‡ It is an extensive document, and may be read with profit in this connection. It is to be found in "*New England's Jonas Cast up at London*," and occupies seven close octavo pages in that work in Force's *Tracts*, vol. 4. It may also be found in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, and in Hutchinson's *Coll. of Orig. Papers*, 188–196.

erance and disregard of the laws of England had been the occasion of them.

The Court considered the petition of a seditious character, and ordered the Petitioners before it. Winthrop, Dudley, Pelham, Flint, Hibbins, Nowell, Bellingham and Bradstreet constituted the Court. The Petitioners were charged with "contemptuous and seditious expressions, and were required to find sureties for their good behavior." The Court ordered an answer to the Petition to be drawn up and published, which was accordingly done.*

Meantime there was much agitation in the community. The Civil Authorities had applied to the Elders for their opinions respecting the bearing of the laws of England upon the Government here. They had been thrown into great confusion by the plain statements of Doctor Child, to meet and overcome which they had found it necessary to act quite as independent of England as their posterity did a little more than one hundred years later, when they undertook to discharge the contents of certain chests of tea into the harbor, instead of the warehouses to which they were destined. Fortunately for Boston, at this early day, the Government of England was too unsettled itself to undertake to settle the Government here. However, the Elders gave in a very sensible opinion. That the Colony received its power of government and other privileges from England by Charter; that they owed allegiance and fidelity to that Country, and were dependent upon it for protection, with much more, bearing equally against the arguments for Independence.

Nov. 4. The Court came together by adjournment in November, in which the case of Dr. Child and others was taken up. Meanwhile Mr. Fowle had made preparations to sail for England. He was therefore sent for by the Court, as was also Mr. John Smith of Rhode Island, who was then in Boston. Being required to find sureties for their appearance at another day, they were under no little perplexity. They therefore demanded a hearing at once, and likewise to know why they were proceeded against, while the rest of the Petitioners were not called upon. Whereupon all save Mr. Maverick were soon in attendance. Dr. Child was the chief speaker on the part of the Petitioners, and for his "plain dealing" with the Court he may not have repented, though he was compelled to suffer. "The Court let them know that they did take notice of their contemptuous speeches."

Mr. Fowle and Mr. Smith succeeded in finding sureties the same day, and were liberated. The others went without, none being required of them. Finally the Court agreed that Child, being a leader, should

* It is entitled a "Declaration," &c. It may be seen in Hutchinson's *Col. of Orig. Papers*, occupying 22 pages of that work. Governor Hutchinson, when his attachments were stronger for the early men of New England and their principles than they were at a later date, observes, that the Declaration of the Government was "a proceeding, which at this day [about 1760], would not appear for the honor of the supreme Authority." That "a parallel was attempted between the fundamental laws of England and those of the Colony, which, in some parts of it, is liable to objection." — *Hist. Massachusetts*, i. 146–7.

be fined fifty pounds, Mr. Maverick,* "because he had not yet appealed" to England, ten pounds, and the other four thirty pounds each.† Upon which they all appealed to Parliament, and tendered their appeal to the Court in writing, but the Court would neither accept nor read the document. It should be remarked that the Court was not unanimous in the sentence passed; Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Saltonstall, and Mr. Bradstreet dissented from the rest, and desired that their dissent should be entered upon the records, which stands much to their honor and credit. "Two or three" of the Deputies dissented also, but their names are not given by Winthrop.

After these harsh proceedings, Dr. Child, Mr. Dand, Mr. Smith and Mr. Vassall, prepared to proceed at once to England, a ship being ready to sail. But their troubles did not end here. The Court judged it dangerous to allow these men to proceed to England under such circumstances. Therefore, under pretence of staying Dr. Child on account of his fine, it was determined to seize and detain him, and to take away and to destroy whatever papers any of them might have, calculated to expose the proceedings here. And, as if it were the determination of the heads of the Government to aggravate their intended outrage to the utmost they could, they say, "we agreed to defer it till the Doctor had been on ship-board." But, perceiving their plan was discovered, they say, "we sent the officers presently to fetch the Doctor, and to search his study and Dand's, both at one instant, which was done accordingly." In the Doctor's trunk they found, they confessed, "nothing which concerned the business;" but with Mr. Dand they found some obnoxious papers; two petitions to Parliament setting forth the experience of the Petitioners in the Court in Boston, and suggesting remedies; and a paper containing queries. These consisted of some twenty simple questions, respecting the validity of the Patent of the Colony; whether certain acts were not treason; whether the Courts had a right to hinder the establishment of Churches according to the reformed English Church, and others of a similar nature.

Winthrop says, and no doubt truly, that when Dr. Child was brought before the Governor and Council, he fell into a great passion; and he might well have added, that, if any man had passions, he must have been something more or less than human, if he had not shown them, to have been thus circumvented. The same writer says, "Considering he was a man of quality, a gentleman and a scholar, proper respect should

* It may appear strange that Mr. Maverick should submit to so many indignities, as from time to time it has been seen that he did; a man that Boston could not do without. He was a gentleman of wealth and great liberality. A few pages back we have seen how much the Town was indebted to him for help to rebuild the Fort on Castle Island. He may have looked upon these and other proceedings against him, as petty annoyances, to which it was best quietly to submit, not wishing to set an example of opposition to the Government; or, having a large property at stake, he might not wish to jeopardize it.

† Savage suggests that the poverty of the Public Treasury "might inflame the fines which the tyrannical rulers inflicted on such as differed from them but slightly in their notions of policy." It will be remembered that Winthrop, then Governor, was the leader in this business. — See Winthrop, *Journal*, ii. 248, *n.* — Winslow says the fines were never exacted. — *New Eng. Salamander*, &c. *Mass. Hist. Colls.*, vol. 12.

be shown him;" but, if he "gave such big words, and would behave himself no better, he should be confined in prison and clapped in irons." His case was still further aggravated by a refusal of his fine, which he offered to pay. And thus he, Dand and Smith were held in durance "for two or three days, till the ships were gone," and thus was a victory gained over these few individuals in a manner altogether unworthy of those who achieved it; and yet, with a sinister joy it is added; that "Doctor Child was very much troubled to be hindered from his voyage," and that his fine was rejected, "seeing they have new matter and worse against him, for the writings were of his hand; and that he took his confinement grievously, but he could not help it"! However, upon "tender of sufficient bail, he was set at liberty, but confined to his house," * and ordered to appear at the next Court of Assistants. Dand and Smith were sent to prison, but were allowed to lodge in the house of their keeper, "and to have what diet they pleased." Thomas Joy, a young carpenter, for some kind offices to the prisoners, and inquiring of the Marshal when he went to search Mr. Dand's study, if his warrant were in the king's name, "was laid hold on, and kept in irons about four or five days," which was sufficient to extort a confession of wrong on his part, as it allowed him to return to the care of his family "upon reasonable bail." Thus, arbitrary power shows its strength and importance, when those in the more humble walks of life are accidentally or otherwise thrown within its insolent grasp.

The object of the Government had thus far been pretty well accomplished in its attempt to keep a knowledge of its doings from Parliament. This it was determined to do, until an Agent of their own choosing should be sent over, prepared to counteract any representations of the aggrieved parties. It was proposed that the Governor, Mr. Winthrop, should go; but he did not incline to leave his government, or to appear in England, excusing himself on the score of age, being about fifty-eight, and with other considerations. Mr. Winslow, of Plymouth, was finally engaged to go, and great efforts were made to fortify him with documents to enable him to meet the charges against the Rulers in Boston successfully.† But nearly two years elapsed before he could be got ready.

Things being thus arranged, it was not important that the offences of Dr. Child and his associates should be considered in so heinous a light as hitherto they had been. But, how soon after they were allowed to proceed on their journey to England, does not appear, though probably towards the close of the present year. Mr. Vassall, and Mr. Fowle, it

* From *New England's Jonas*, p. 24, it appears his bail was £800, and that he was confined to the house of "Mr. Leder," — perhaps Mr. John Leader.

† Mr. Winslow undertook to answer Major Childe's *New England's Jonas*, and so far as its title is concerned, the Answer is tolerably conclusive. His Answer was entitled *New England's Salamander Discovered*. It is by no means a favorable specimen of Mr. Winslow's reasoning faculties. He contents himself with indirect contradictions, and sneers at the Major's book, as "a two-penny jeering gigge," and designates Mr. Vassall as a *Salamander*, and hence the title of his own book. Hubbard says, "Mr. Vassall was a man of a pleasant and facetious wit, but in his actings and designs of a busy and factious spirit, and indeed, meer Salamander by his disposition, that could take content in no element but the fire." — *Hist. N. Eng.* See also Winthrop's *Journal*, ii. 321.

is supposed, went at the time Dr. Child and the two others were attached, and had their papers seized.

Nov. 5. They went in a ship named the Supply.* About the time of her sailing, Mr. Cotton preached a Thursday lecture sermon, with special reference to persons going over in her with written complaints against the late transactions in Boston. Some belonging to the ship, or going in her, were his hearers at the lecture, and he warned them against the bearers of such communications; that any such papers would prove a *Jonas*† to the voyage, and recommended, if a storm did arise, that certain trunks should be searched for a Jonas. A storm did arise, and a certain female on board, who had heard Mr. Cotton's late sermon, ran about the ship in much consternation, insisting that if any passenger had a Jonas, it should be produced, and the ship delivered of it. She gave Mr. Vassall a call at midnight. He asked her why she came to him? "Because," she said, "it was thought he had some writings against the people of God." He told her he had only a petition to Parliament, merely praying that they might enjoy the liberty of English subjects; and surely that could be no Jonas. She next paid Mr. Fowle a visit, "in like distracted manner." He told her he had only a copy of the petition, which himself and others had presented to the Court at Boston. This he produced and read to her, and then said, that if she and others judged that that was the cause of the storm, they might have it, and do what they would with it. She took the paper to her companions, who, after a consultation, decided that it should be cast overboard. But it is remarked, that though it was thus ceremoniously committed to the waves, there was no immediate cessation of the tempest; nor did it prevent another‡ which seemed to have doomed them all to certain destruction near Scilly, fourteen days after.‖

Notwithstanding those and other storms during the voyage, and notwithstanding the real Jonas continued in the ship, and was "cast up at London" in safety, as were all the ship's company; yet, it was reported that they owed their safety to the destruction of the petition to Parliament, when, as Major Childe says,§ it was only a copy of a petition to their own Court at Boston; still the petition to Parliament, with a copy

* From *New England's Salamander*, &c., the following persons appear to have sailed in this ship with Mr. Vassall, and Mr. Fowle: Capt. Wm. Sayles, then late Governor of Bermudas, Mr. William Golding, minister of the same island, Herbert Pelham, Esq., Capt. Leverett, Capt. Harding, and Mr. Richard Sadler. Mr. Thos. Peters had his goods and bedding on board to go also, but hearing Mr. Cotton's lecture, he took them out and went in another ship by way of Spain.

† Hence the name given to the Book before cited.

‡ Mr. Winslow complains much of the account given by Child, although he omits nearly all the charges stated. Childe's statement had the good effect to draw out many valuable facts from his opponent, who speaks thus of the stormy passage. "After they had came to sea," he says, they "had the terriblest passage that ever he heard on for extremitie of weather; the marriners not able to take an observation of sunne or star in seven hundred leagues sayling or thereabouts." It was then that "certaine well-disposed Christians called to mind the things delivered by Mr. Cotton," &c., as in the text.— Hubbard, in his *Hist. of N. Eng.*, is quite at random in his account of these affairs.

‖ *New England's Jonas.* § *Ibid.*

Hubbard (517) says this work was by Mr. Vassall, "assisted as was said by a Relation of Dr. Child."

of that thrown overboard, and other writings of that nature, were still in the ship, and safely delivered at London, as before mentioned.*

June. Amidst the difficulties with the Episcopalians, a deputation of Narragansets arrived in Boston. They had agreed to pay a certain amount of wampum as an indemnity for some alleged wrongs which they had done the English, and there was now due from them "above 1300 fathoms." The time for payment had expired, and they were not able to pay at this time but 100 fathom, and that chiefly in "old brass kettles." The English were likewise poor, and had endeavored to borrow money to enable their agent, Mr. Winslow, to proceed to London to oppose their enemies. This may account in part, perhaps, for their sharp dealings with the Indians, who were certainly much the poorer of the two. The Indians were accused of breaking their promise, and treated with an insolence but rarely extended to criminal debtors of a later age, and their small payment was refused. Whereupon they went to Mr. Henry Shrimpton,† the brazier, sold him their old kettles for what he would give, and to show the English that their honesty was as real as their poverty, left the amount in his hands for them, until they were able to bring an additional sum, that it might be worthy of the notice of their creditors.‡

There was an attempt by petition to obtain a repeal of the laws, or some of them, against Anabaptists at the previous court. The incentive to which is probably to be referred to certain steps of a very liberal character which had been taken by Parliament; that body had, by its Commissioners, sent directions, or recommendations, to all the English plantations in New England and the West Indies, that all men should enjoy liberty of conscience.§ But there was a party which succeeded in counteracting any such liberality towards "Anabaptists and other heretics." In answer to the petitioners for the repeal of those laws, the Court "ordered, that the laws in their petition mentioned, should not be altered or explained at all." Hence, that men with restless minds, should prefer to enter into the civil wars abroad, to submitting to such tyranny here, is not to be wondered at. Among those men were Emanuel Downing, Nehemiah Bourne, Robert Sedgwick, and Thomas Fowle.‖

* There is a singular want, in Winthrop's *Journal*, of almost every element from which to make anything like a clear history of this disturbance, nor has his editor thrown any light upon it. Winthrop has pretty fully stated, though very diffusely, the part the Court acted; and its fears of the consequences, though somewhat disguised, are very apparent.

† Shrimpton's Christian name is not mentioned in the *Records of the U. Colonies* in Hazard, but there was living at this time in Boston, Henry Shrimpton, brazier, who, it is believed, is meant. See *ante*, p. 245, 250.

‡ This debt gave the Indians much trouble. The English account of it may be found in the *Records of the United Colonies* in Hazard, and a condensed account in the BOOK OF THE INDIANS, Book ii.

§ See Backus', *Hist. N. Eng.* i. 188.

‖ To cite Winthrop's Journal for every fact for which these pages are indebted, would be superfluous. No account of the early times of Boston would be of much value without its use. It is really a "Journal of Boston," and incidentally a "Journal of events in the country, having a special bearing upon Boston." This would have been something like a legitimate title to that work. It is for the most part almost exclusively of Boston affairs.

Some of the people of Boston, who had been at so much pains, formerly, to advance the interests of M. De La Tour, had cause this season to regret having made his acquaintance. Having been at Newfoundland, he came hence in a vessel belonging to Sir David Kirk. Some of the merchants fitted him out upon a trading voyage at the eastward, with goods to the value of 400 pounds. The crew consisted of twelve men, five of whom only were of Boston, and when they came to Cape Sable, which was in mid-winter, La Tour and his Frenchmen seized upon the vessel and cargo, drove out the five Englishmen, and went off with the booty. The men, thus turned ashore, would have perished, but for the kindness of the Indians in those parts, by whose assistance, after several months of sufferings and hardships, they were enabled to return to Boston.*

The distress and affliction of the family of Hutchinson, from banishment and the tomahawk of the Indians, has been noticed in a previous chapter.† Some of those banished, had became reconciled to the government here, and had returned, and were again residents of Boston. But there was a daughter of a murdered family, a captive among the Indians, if living, the thoughts of which must have saddened many of the hours of her near kindred. That she was living among the barbarians was probably a more dreaded thought than that she had early died by their cruel hands. From this long and painful suspense her relations were relieved
July. in July of this year, by the survivor of the murdered family being, in an unexpected moment, brought and delivered to them. The Dutch having made peace with the Indians, this captive was restored, with other prisoners, in fulfilment of the treaty of peace. Her name, and her marriage with John Cole, of Boston, has been stated in the pedigree of her family. She had been upwards of three years a captive with the Indians, and had been so accustomed to them that she left them only by compulsion; had forgotten her native tongue, and looked upon her nearest friends as her enemies.‡

The commerce of Boston had become considerably extended, judging from the large quantity of wines brought here in English ships; there having arrived in the spring about 800 butts. It is however remarked, that it came to a "bad market."

The arrival of Captain Cromwell § in Boston, caused considerable
June 10. sensation among the people. He was well known to many here ten years before, though then in the capacity of a common seaman. Having entered into the Civil Wars, "had been out divers years with Captain Jackson in a man of war;" and being deputed by

* Winthrop, who had been so taken with La Tour formerly, consoles himself with this reflection upon his late conduct:—"Whereby it appeared, as the Scripture saith, that there is no confidence in an unfaithful or carnal man. Though tied with many strong bonds of courtesy, etc., he turned pirate, etc."—*Journal*, ii. 266.

† See *chap.* xxiv. p. 228, *ante*.

‡ Her descendants are probably numerous at this day; few, if any, of whom, perhaps, are aware of the sorrows and sufferings of this their early progenitor.

§ Perhaps Samuel "Crumwell," who was a freeman of the Colony, 1634. Thomas C. of B., willed *six bells* to the Town, 1649.

Jackson, he took several Spanish vessels, and in them found great riches. As he was proceeding up the bay to Boston with three ships, he was forced by adverse winds to put into Plymouth. While there, an occurrence of a serious nature happened. Being on shore with many of his company, one of them drew his rapier upon him. To prevent his doing mischief the Captain gave him a blow, from the effects of which he died. The case was examined by the authorities at Plymouth, and the Captain was discharged. He presented Governor Winthrop with an elegant Spanish sedan, intended by the Viceroy of Mexico for his sister, of some fifty pounds' value. "He and all his men had much money, great store of plate, and jewels of great value; yet he took up his lodgings in a poor thatched house, notwithstanding he was offered the best in the town," saying, that the poor man who occupied it had entertained him when others refused to admit him into their dwellings, and now he would not slight him when he had it in his power to serve him; thus showing himself to be a noble-hearted seaman, of whom it was said, he never knew father or mother, nor did they ever know him; having been produced by the Cesarean birth.

Notwithstanding the efforts made by the Agents in England to excuse the proceedings against the Rhode Island people, the Commissioners for Plantations were well satisfied that the Government at Boston had been conducted in a manner which could not be justified by any sound principles of policy; and the following is the most favorable construction that Winthrop, as head of the Government, could make of the rebuke of the Commissioners, which was about this time brought over. He says, that on complaints preferred to those Commissioners by Gorton, Greene and Holden, who had gone to England* for the purpose, they ordered the Agents of Massachusetts to appear and answer the charges contained in the Petition of the Rhode Island men; "whereupon some appeared, but they having no instructions about the case, and the writings sent over to Mr. Welde the year before being either lost or forgotten, a full answer could not be given in the particular; and, the Petitioners being favored by some of the Commissioners, partly for private respects, and partly for their adhering to some of their corrupt tenets, and generally out of their dislike of us for our late law for banishing Anabaptists, they seemed to be much offended with us for our rigorous proceeding, as they called it, against them; and thereupon, without sending to us to hear our answer," they gave them an order† "to return with freedom" to their lands at Narraganset, "and there to

May.

* What time they sailed for England does not appear. But they went not only armed with the complaints of their own grievances, but they carried over "the surrendering of the Narragansets, of themselves and lands to the King; but found him not able to help either himself or them. However, they published their case and a narrative of their sufferings, in 1645, under the title of *Simplicity's Defence against Seven-headed Policy.*" Then applying themselves to the Parliamentary Commissioners, they succeeded as above stated. — *Backus*, i. 195.

† The Order is given in full in Winthrop, notwithstanding it must have been very offensive to him to have recorded it. It bore the "Seal of Warwick, Governor and Admiral," and was signed by the Commissioners: Nottingham, Fra. Dacre, Fer. Rigby, Cor. Holland, Sam. Vassall, George Fenwick, Fran.

inhabit and abide without interruption;" also requiring the Government at Boston, "and all others whom it might concern, to permit Mr. Samuel Gorton, Mr. Rendall Holden, Mr. John Greene, and others, goods and necessaries carried with them out of England, to land at any part of New England, and without any molestation to pass through any part of the country to Narraganset Bay, and hereof to fail not."

On the arrival of the Rhode Island men in the harbor of Boston, one of them, Mr. Holden,* sent the order of the Commissioners to Governor Winthrop; who, finding himself thus disarmed, submitted with what dignity he could. He sent Mr. Holden word that he had not authority of himself to give them leave to land, but the Council were to meet in two or three days, when he would lay the subject before them; at the same time he thought it prudent to assume responsibility enough to give Mr. Holden to understand, that he would not be looked after in the mean time. Thus ended these very serious difficulties, the progress and termination of which necessarily form a portion of the History of Boston, of deep interest; and not only to Boston, but to the people of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and to the whole country.

Sept. 13.

Being thus thwarted in their measures towards Rhode Island by the officers of the Parliament of England, it naturally enough caused the Government here to change its tone somewhat towards that body. So long as Parliament did not interfere with any of their determinations, all was very well, and its ships were protected in preference to those of the Crown. Now it was thought best to consider the relation in which the "Colony stood to the State of England, and what subjection it owed to that State," with many other similar reflections.†

Allein, Wm. Purefoy, and Geo. Snelling. Another order, going more into particulars, bearing the same date, viz., 15 May, 1646, has these additional signatures: "Northumberland, Pembroke and Montgomery, Manchester, Wm. Waller, Dennis Bond, and Ben. Rudyer. — Winthrop, *Journal*, ii. 272–3, 280–2. The names to the "Order," as found upon the *Providence Records*, differ somewhat from these as given by Winthrop, according to the copy in *Backus*, i. 198; the latter, however, gives but five names, "Warwick, Northumberland, Nottingham, John Holland, H. Vane, &c."

* Mr. Holden is only mentioned by name, as arriving at this time. Mr. Gorton continued in England till 1648, as before stated.

† The important town affairs deserving a record, this year, follow: —

Feb. 23. — Edward Harrison admitted a townsman. Thos. Scotto to see "y^t^ y^e^ graves be digged five foot deep," and to be Pound keeper. Christopher Lawson may "wharfe afor his howse, being y^t^ w^ch^ was Sampsone Shoors, by Walter Merry's," maintaining a highway. Barnabas Faour and Arthur Perry may wharf before their doors, maintaining a cart-way. Alexander Adams may wharf before his house on like terms, and to be "y^e^ breadth of all his ground." Geo. Griggs and Will. Blanton to make their garden fence between them by ——, or pay 20*s.* Walter Merry to make a highway 16 feet broad from his house to the water side by 15 May, or pay 20*s.*

Mar. 23. — Nicholas Willis, James Everell, Thomas Grubb, Robert Turner, constables. Wm. Colbron and James Penn to lay out the footway from Mr. Nicholas Parkes' house through the gardens to the Mill lane or street. Propositions about a fortification at the North End, "att Walter Merry's point."

Mar. 30. — John Berry apprenticed to Edwd. Keyley; Wm. Brisco and Tho. Buttolfee for the town. Mr. Cuddington to set up his garden fences by the 14 Apl. next, between John Odlin and himself and others, or pay 5*s.* a rod. Henry Duglice admitted a townsman. Geo. Halsoll may make a "cawsey" 10 feet square from his wharf at the north end of it, to low water mark, to be free of access.

Aprl. 27. — Wm. Blancher admitted to inhabit, and to follow his trade — a tailor. Thos. Jones cowkeeper, at 2*s.* a cow. "A ratt of £100 for y^e^ Countrey's debts." One "for y^e^ Towne's ocations mad £133, 12*s.*" Maj. Gib-

CHAPTER XXXI.

D'Aulnay comes to Boston. — His Reception and Business. — Makes a Treaty with the Commissioners of the United Colonies. — His Departure. — A Ship launched. — Unfortunate commercial Adventures. — John Eliot begins to preach to the Indians. — Winslow sails on his Embassy. — Death of Canonicus — of Thomas Hooker — of Mrs. Winthrop. — Quarantine. — A Marriage. — Ambassador from New Netherland. — Law against Romanists. — Other curious Laws. — Election. — Arrival of Gorton. — Execution of Margaret Jones for Witchcraft. — Order of Court about Witches. — The Rocking Ship. — Thomas Jones. — Synod. — Cambridge Platform. — Second Church. — New Brick Church. — Death of Governor Winthrop. — Commerce. — Bazaleel Payton.



OLIVER.

THE difficulties experienced by the people of Boston, growing out of the contentions between La Tour and D'Aulnay were not yet at an end. The unwise course taken by the Government to sustain the former in his pretensions, justly incurred the displeasure of the latter. He accordingly came to Boston to demand satisfaction. His manner of reception is thus described Sept. 20. by Mr. Winthrop, then Governor of the Colony. "It being Lord's day,* and the people ready to go to the assembly after dinner, Monsieur Marie, and Monsieur Louis, with Monsieur D'Aulnay, his Secretary, arrived at Boston in a small pinnace, and Major Gibbons sent two of his chief officers to meet them at the water-side, who conducted them to their lodgings, without noise or bustle. The public worship being ended, the Governor repaired home, and sent Major Gibbons, with other gentlemen, with a guard of musketeers to attend them to the Governor's house, who, meeting them without his door, carried them into his house, where they were entertained with wine and sweetmeats, and after a while he accompanied them to their lodgings, being the house of Major Gibbons, where they were entertained that night. The next morning they repaired to the Governor, and delivered him their commission, which was in form of a letter directed to the Governor and magistrates. It was open, but had a seal only let into the paper with

bons and Capt. Keayne Deputies to the Gen. Court. Wm. Halston admitted to inhabit.

May 18. — All persons admitted to inhabit to have equal right of Commonage. All admitted hereafter not to have that right unless they heir it. Ordered that but 70 milch kine be kept on the Common. Elder Oliver's horse may go there. No person allowed to sell his right of Commonage. A fine for any cow or horse except the 70, if "found upon y^e^ Neck."

Oct. 19. — Bro. Tho. Marshall, bro. Chaffy, bro. Negoose and Wm. Franklin, late Constables, ordered to be presented to the Gen. Court for not paying "y^t^ w^ch^. is behind on y^e^ Garrison wages." A "ratt of £60 to be forthwith made by the townsmen for ye satisfieing of y^e^ Garrison at y^e^ castle this year ensuing."

* "The Governor acquainting them with our manner, that all men either come to our public meetings, or keep themselves quiet in their houses, and finding that the place where they lodged would not be convenient for them that day, invited them home to his house, where they continued private all that day until sunset, and made use of such books, Latin and French, as he had, and the liberty of a private walk in his garden, and so gave no offence, &c." — Winthrop, *Journal*, ii. 275.

a label. Their diet was provided at the ordinary, where the Magistrates use to diet in Court times; and the Governor accompanied them always at meals. Their manner was to repair to the Governor's house every morning about eight of the clock, who accompanied them to the place of meeting; and, at night, either himself or some of the Commissioners, accompanied them to their lodgings." *

It was three days before the Commissioners had assembled, and were ready to hear the complaints of Monsieur D'Aulnay. To the charge that the Government had lent assistance to La Tour, it was answered that leave was only granted that he might hire people to conduct his ships home; and that the Government had no hand in the action complained of. The matter was discussed two days, but there is no full report of the arguments advanced on either side. D'Aulnay laid his damages at 8000 pounds, but did not insist upon pecuniary satisfaction entirely; while the Commissioners would not admit "any guilt" on their part. As an offset, some charges were brought against D'Aulnay. Finally it was agreed that the wrongs charged on one side should balance those charged on the other; but as the Commissioners disclaimed the actions of the volunteers who went with La Tour, they agreed "to send a small present to D'Aulnay, in satisfaction of that, and so all injuries and demands to be remitted," and peace to be concluded. A treaty was accordingly signed by the parties. The proposed "small present" was in due time sent to the Frenchman. It consisted of the sedan, "very fair and new," which Captain Cromwell had given to Mr. Winthrop † a few months before, and which was now given to D'Aulnay, as Winthrop says, because it was of no value to him! Thus cheaply was Monsieur D'Aulnay got rid of, and his 8000 pounds claim.

Sept. 28.

D'Aulnay and his suite left Boston the same day the treaty was signed; "the Governor and our Commissioners accompanying them to their boat, attended with a guard of musketeers, and gave them five guns from Boston, three from Charlestown, and five from Castle Island; and we sent them aboard a quarter cask of sack and some mutton. They answered all our salutations with such small pieces as they had, and so set sail; Major Sedgwick and some other gentlemen accompanying them as far as Castle Island."

Oct. 17. The launching of a ship in this early day was no ordinary event in the affairs of Boston. One is launched at this time of 300 tons burthen.‡ The ships belonging to Boston were this year not

* "The two first days after their arrival their pinnace kept up her flag in the main top, which gave offence both to the Londoners who rode in the harbor, and also to our own people, whereupon Monsieur Marie was put in mind of it. At first he excused it by a general custom of the King's ships, both French, English and Dutch, &c., to use it in all places; but being now under our government, if we would so command, he would cause to be taken down. We desired him not to put us to that, but seeing he knew our minds he would do it of himself. Whereupon he gave order to have it taken down." — Winthrop, *Journal*, ii. 275.

† See *ante*, page 301.

‡ Now, Oct. 4th, 1853, one of 4000 tons is launched, and although its launching was witnessed by a vast concourse of people, it is not so important an event in the history of Boston at this time, as that of 300 tons was in the period under notice; yet the "Great Republic" of Mr. M'Kay marks an era in shipbuilding.

very prosperous. Major Gibbons and Captain Leverett had a ship cast away at Virginia, and lost, as near as could be estimated, 2000 pounds. A small craft that was fitted out to trade at Barbadoes, was found cast ashore at Scituate, but her crew were all lost. Another, which went to trade about the Gulf of Canada, was taken by D'Aulnay, as trespassing on his rights.*

Oct. 28. Mr. John Eliot, Minister of Roxbury, having with great labor and perseverance so far learned the language of the Indians as to be understood by them, began to preach to them. He preached constantly in two places; one week at the wigwam of Waban, near the mill in Watertown, and the next week in the wigwam of Kutshamokin, near the mill in Dorchester. To show the Indians that what Mr. Eliot was doing was approved of by the best people, Governor Winthrop and other gentlemen of Boston often attended at the wigwams to give countenance to his undertaking.

Mr. Eliot had a happy faculty of winning the love and respect of the Natives, and he soon became their temporal as well as spiritual adviser and guide; and, by his mildness and moderation, he often saved those who would listen to him, from impositions, and prevented altercations among them, and between them and their white neighbors. He began early with the little Indian children, by asking them simple catechetical questions, whom he would induce to answer by giving them at first a cake, an apple, or something of which he knew them to be fond. These Indian labors became very extensive; even from the Merrimack river to Cape Cod. To carry on this work he suffered almost every privation and hardship, and if the good he did passed away with the generations to whom it extended, he had his reward in the consciousness of having benefited great numbers of the benighted race, and elevating them in the scale of humanity. It is unjust, in view of Mr. Eliot's labors, to inquire, as some have done, "Cui bono?"† The same inquiry will apply to all the good that has been done in the world, with equal justice. Mr. Eliot continued his labors through a long life. He died in Roxbury, on the twentieth of May, 1690, in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

Dec. It was about the middle of December before Mr. Winslow was ready to sail for England. He went prepared in the best possible manner to counteract the efforts of Dr. Child, Mr. Gorton, and others; who, as has been observed, were using their endeavors to give an impression unfavorable to the Government at Boston. Mr. Winslow failed to accomplish all that was hoped for, while he succeeded quite as well as any one acquainted with the case, could have expected.‡

*It was agreed, in the late treaty with D'Aulnay, that the people of Boston should not trade within his territories without license. When it was known at Boston that this ship and cargo was confiscated, the merchants interested were for making reprisal, but were restrained by the Government, which had profited by former experience. The ship taken by D'Aulnay was commanded by Capt. Dobson. She was "double manned," and fitted for war. Her cargo was valued at £1000.

† Douglass, i. 172. — Rogers, *Ch. Disc.*, 63.

‡ A law was made this year forbidding any person to swear, under a penalty of 10*s.*, and

June 4. Among the remarkable occurrences of this year was the death of the great Indian Chief, Canonicus; "a very old man," says Winthrop. There is nothing by which his exact age can be determined, but it may be remembered that he was the most important Chief in the country when the Pilgrims arrived at Plymouth. The death of Miantonimo undoubtedly affected him much, as he put all his dependence on him, in conducting his public affairs with respect to other tribes and foreigners. Though Miantonimo was not his son, he was his nephew, and was regarded by him with all the fondness of a father. Canonicus was never at Boston, probably, although he had much indirect intercourse with the Government here.*

Other deaths of remarkable persons are recorded; among them Mr. Thomas Hooker, of Hartford,† and Mrs. Winthrop, wife of the Gov-
June 14. ernor, "a woman of singular virtue, prudence, modesty and piety, and specially beloved and honored of all the country."‡ She was ill but a single night; "having fell sick on the thirteenth of June, in the afternoon, died the next morning." These deaths were occasioned by an epidemic, which "took them like a cold, and a light fever with it. Such as bled or used cooling drinks died." It extended "throughout the country, among Indians, English, French and Dutch." Some forty or fifty only died of it in Massachusetts. There was great mortality in the West India Islands, and there was much fear in Boston that ships from those islands would import it. The arrival of Captain
July. George Dell § from St. Christopher's caused a good deal of excitement, as he ran his vessel in under a false pretence to avoid a sort of rude quarantine which then existed. Other arrivals about the same time caused considerable uneasiness.

Aug. 4. A marriage, which took place at Boston on the fourth of August of this year, gave the chief Magistrate some concern, and he signifies his displeasure by calling it a "great marriage;" which, because the bridegroom, Mr. Samuel Danforth, being of Hingham, the marriage was to be solemnized by a Sermon from "Mr. Hubbard" of that town. On Mr. Hobart's (for that was his name) arrival in Boston, "the Magistrates sent to him to forbear." The reasons alleged for the order to "forbear" were, that "his spirit had been discovered to be

if any Indian presumed to powwow, he should pay 10*s.* and stop powwing. If a child, over 16 years of age, curse his parents, it shall be put to death. John Eliot was allowed £10 for instructing the Indians, out of the £20 granted by the Lady Armine. Persons absenting themselves from public worship to pay 5*s.* If any renounced the Church, and pretended to be spiritually illuminated, they were to be fined 40*s.* a month.

* Several years after the death of these Chiefs, Roger Williams thus testifies of one of them: "It was not price nor money that could have purchased Rhode Island. It was obtained by love; by the love and favor which that honorable Gentleman Sir Henry Vane and myself had with that great Sachem Miantonimo, about the league which I procured between the Massachusetts English, &c., and the Narragansets in the Pequot war." — *Backus*, i. 91.

† Though Mr. Hooker's death is recorded by Winthrop in his *Journal* (ii. 310), before that of his wife, it is believed to have taken place after it; viz., July 7th.

‡ See the Winthrop pedigree, page 72, *ante*.

§ He was admitted a freeman of Boston, 7 May, 1651, and died about two years after, leaving a good estate for those times, which, by his inventory, amounted to £1506, 14*s.*, 7½*d.* His will is printed in the *Antiquarian Journal*, v. 442–3.

averse to our ecclesiastical and civil government, and he was a bold man, and would speak his mind, and we were not willing to bring in the English custom of ministers performing the solemnity of marriage, which sermons at such times might induce; but if any ministers were present, and would bestow a word of exhortation, &c., it was permitted."*

It appears, however, that the objections did not lie so much against sermons at marriages, as to the officiating Minister who preached them; for Mr. Cotton was allowed to preach a sermon at Mr. Danforth's marriage with "the virtuous daughter of Mr. Wilson." †

About the same time Governor Peter Stuyvessant, having arrived at New York, and on assuming the government there, sent his Secretary to Boston with letters to Governor Winthrop, "with a tender of all courtesy and good correspondency." ‡

A law was made by the General Court this year, providing, that "no Jesuite or spiritual or ecclesiastical person ordained by the authority of the Pope or See of Rome," shall come within its jurisdiction. The occasion of the law at this time, was "the great wars and combustions" in Europe.§ Another law of far greater moment was made at the October term of the same court. This was the law establishing Public Schools — believed to be the first legislative enactment of the kind in

* Winthrop, *Journal*, ii. 313. — Lincoln's *Hist. Hingham*, 77.

† Mather, *Magnalia*, Book iv. p. 155. But Mather says the marriage of Mr. Danforth with Miss Wilson took place "in the year 1651." Mather is not exact in dates of this description. See a pedigree of the Danforth Family in the *Antiquarian Journal*, vii. 321.

‡ *Jan.* 25. — It was ordered by the Town that William "Dauice the apotecary" have leave to set up a "pajll afor his hall window and parlor window three foot from his house." Mr. Tho. Oliver to have £9, for curing Rich. Berry, that was Tho. Hawkins' man. George Halsoll shall make up the Town's highway between his garden and the sea, that he hath digged away, by the 6th of May next. The same shall keep a passage boat between his wharf and "y^e^ ships wher the ships rid," and may take a penny a person for passage.

Mar. 18. — Select men for this year, Wm. Colbourne, Mr. Anthony Stodder, Jacob Eliot, Wm. Davic, Tho. Marshall, James Everill and James Penn. Major Gibbons and Wm. Tinge, deputies to the Gen. Court. Constables, Mr. Wm. Dauice, Robert Hull, Tho. Buttolfe, and James Penn. Surveyors, James Oliver, Wm. Hudson, Richd. Gridley, and Edwd. Fletcher. Sealers of leather, bro. Copp. Evan Thomas, Wm. Courser, and John Stevenson.

Mar. 29. — No inhabitant shall entertain man or woman from any other town or country, but shall give notice of any such sojourners if they intend to reside in the Town, within eight days after their coming, upon penalty of 20*s*. No house shall be sold or let without first informing the Selectmen. "No person shall goe about" to dig a cellar or erect any building "in y^e^ face of y^e^ street," till they have notified the Selectmen. "Heniry Weeb" to enjoy the wharf he bo't of Edwd. Tinge without disturbance. Wm. Brisco and Ralph Rootte to see to making up the fences at Muddy river. No pson shall dig "soods out of y^e^ Common vpon p'ill y^t^ may ensue on y^e^ damage soe done." A highway 12 feet [wide] to be made "through Mr. Stoughton's ground along y^e^ rayle side and soe thro Rich. Cook's and Tho. Butolffs ground to y^e^ farder end of y^e^ lots to Tho. Munt's ground on y^e^ farthest side."

Apl. 26. — Benjamin Ward may wharf before "his on pprietye." The 8th pt of y^e^ marsh he bo't of y^e^ Town next to him "for £3 p. an. this too years," he shall pay £4 a year for after that, if the remainder be not let to make up £20 a year. John Anderson may wharf as above, and take wharfage. John Milam may wharf "afore y^e^ highway y^t^ lys next him."

May 31. — John Jibson [Gibson], John Chandler and Tho. Leader may inhabit. Mr. Edwards may live in the town. Martin Stebbin forbid to brew any more beer to sell, save only this week. Isaac Groose forbid to sell any beer by the quart any more within doors.

July 26. — Martin Stebbin fined 20*s*. for brewing beer to sell without order. Robt. Nash shall not kill beasts in the street now laid out, and shall remove his slaughterhouse on penalty of 19*s*. and 6*d*.

§ Hazard, *Historical Collections*, i. 550

New England. It is an object now of pleasing curiosity, to observe the origin of this law. The wise fathers of that time were fully sensible that knowledge was of great importance to all men; that the strong hold of "Satan" consisted in their ignorance; that, therefore, all means should be employed by them to counteract the "chief project of that ould deluder;" and hence this early resort to a law for universal education.*

May 10. At the general election for 1648, Mr. Winthrop is again re-chosen Governor, and Mr. Dudley Deputy Governor, Mr. Endicott Sergeant Major, who, with Mr. Bradstreet, is chosen a Commissioner of the United Colonies. Mr. Symmes, of Charlestown, preached the Sermon. Captain Keayne and James Penn, Deputies for Boston.

As an occurrence not often happening, it is observed that there arrived at Boston from London three ships on one of the days of the month of May. In one of them, probably, came Samuel Gorton, on his return to his Patent in Rhode Island. The Authorities excused themselves for allowing him to land in Boston and to proceed on his journey unmolested, alleging that if they attempted to execute their old sentence upon him, such act might prejudice their cause in England; thus entirely keeping out of sight the real cause, — the order of the Commissioners of Parliament, already noticed in these pages.

June 15. The first execution for witchcraft in the Colony took place in Boston. The victim was a female named Margaret,† the wife of [Thomas ?] Jones of Charlestown.‡ Such proceedings as are found recorded about it show that the minds of people were then in a most melancholy state of superstitious slavery. Margaret Jones perished on the gallows, as much for her good offices, as for the evil influences imputed to her. She had been, like Mrs. Hutchinson and many of the early mothers of the Colony, a physician; but being once suspected of witchcraft, "she was found to have such a malignant touch, as many persons were taken with deafness, or vomiting, or other violent pains or sickness;" her medicines, though harmless in themselves, "yet had extraordinary violent effects;" that such as refused her medicines, "she would tell that they would never be healed, and accordingly their diseases and hurts continued, with relapse against the ordinary course, and beyond the apprehension of all physicians and surgeons." As she lay in prison, "a little child was seen to run from her into another room, and being followed by an officer, it was vanished." There was other testimony against her, more ridiculous than this. To

* The General Court ordered that if a young man paid his addresses to a young woman without consent of her parents, or, in their absence, the consent of the County Court, he should be fined £5; if repeated, £10, and for a third offence, to be imprisoned. An order was passed to cause a uniformity of weights and measures throughout the Province.

† Winthrop says her name was Margaret, and I have no doubt he is right. The error in Danforth's Almanack, that her name was *Alice*, may have arisen from confounding the wife of Thomas Jones with the wife of Richard, whose name was *Alice*. The latter was a widow in 1643. — See *Suffolk Reg. Deeds*, i. 41.

‡ There is nothing, says Mr. Frothingham, on the Records of Charlestown relative to this affair. — *Hist. Charlestown*, 117.

make her case appear as bad as possible, and that there could be no mistake about it, the recorder of it says, that "her behavior at her trial was very intemperate, lying notoriously and railing upon the jury and witnesses;" and that, "in the like distemper she died"! It is not unlikely that this poor, forsaken woman was indignant at the abominable testimony against her, and that her denial of the charges was construed into "lying notoriously." And in the honest belief of witchcraft, the same recorder notes, in the most complacent credulity, that "the same day and hour she was executed, there was a very great tempest at Connecticut, which blew down many trees, &c."!

Terrible forebodings were spread abroad in the community respecting the visitation of witchcraft, and the General Court made an order for the watching of suspected persons; and some, probably, thought seriously of sending to England to procure "witch finders," as that profession was, about this time, in high repute under the notorious villany of one Matthew Hopkins.*

May 18.

The case of Margaret Jones opens to the reader of the history of the Fathers of Boston a page which must cause a sigh of sorrow in this age, and doubtless many in ages to come. It presents them, nevertheless, as they really were, laboring under the most abject influence of the monster — superstition. And yet they were no more its subjects than all the rest of the world; but such was the actual state of the minds of men two hundred years ago. Margaret Jones had gone down to a disgraceful grave, but her husband, probably despised for the *sins* of his wife, resolved to leave the country. He accordingly took passage in a ship for Barbadoes. That ship, called the Welcome, was a Boston ship of three hundred tons, and concerning her it is honestly told, that "as she was riding before Charlestown, having in her eighty horses and one hundred and twenty tons of ballast, in calm weather, fell a rolling, and continued so about twelve hours, so as though they brought a great weight to the one side, yet she would heel to the other, and so deep as they feared her foundering." The County Court was now in session in Boston, and the fact of the rolling ship "coming to the knowledge of the Magistrates, and withal that one Jones, the husband of the witch lately executed," had taken passage in her, but that there was some question about his ability to pay his passage, and hence some unseen spirit was thus troubling the ship. The Court therefore sent an officer and arrested Jones. One of the magistrates remarked, upon the issue of the warrant for his arrest, "that the ship would stand still as soon as he was in prison. And as the officer went, and was passing over the ferry, one said to him, 'You can tame men sometimes, can't you tame this ship?' The officer answered, 'I have that here, that, it may be, will tame her, and make her be quiet;' and with that showed his warrant. And, at the same instant, she began to stop, and presently staid, and after he was put in prison, moved no more." †

June 28.

* See Caulfield's *Memoirs of Remarkable Persons*, ii. 122. — Also Butler's *Hudibras* (Part ii. Cant. 3) and his Annotators.

† Winthrop, *Journal* ii. 326, 327. Other equally strange things about this ship are told with as much faith and minuteness by the

While the community was agitated by fears of witchcraft, there was one of the most important Synods* convened at Cambridge to establish a Rule of Faith for the Churches. It was adjourned from June Sept. 30. to the fifteenth of September,† and, at the end of the month last named, a Platform was unanimously adopted.‡

Until this year there was but one Meeting-house in Boston; now the population had so much increased, that another was absolutely necessary for their accommodation. It was therefore agreed that one should be erected at the North End, and the following year its foundation was laid at the head of what is since North Square. Another year elapsed before preaching became constant in it. This was the "Church of the Mathers." Samuel Mather was its first minister. He was son of Richard of Dorchester, and brother of Increase Mather.§ The first‖ sermon was preached on the fifth of June, 1650, and the members who were on that day united by covenant, were Michael Powell, James Ashwood, Christopher Gibson, John Phillips, George Davis, Michael Wills, and John Farnham.

The Second Church, to distinguish it from the other, was called the North Church, and in time the Old North. It was burnt "to ashes" in 1676, and rebuilt the following year. These were of wood. When the last had stood ninety-eight years, the town was in possession of a hostile army; which being in want of fuel, it was, with other edifices, torn to pieces, to supply, as far as it might, that purpose.¶ After the

same author, but I have not room for them. They may be read with harmless embellishment in the *Magnalia Christi Americana*.

* "An Ecclesiastical Council, or Synod, is a Convention of duly qualified persons, called to consult, and judge about affairs, in which Churches, one or more, are concerned." — Dr. Increase Mather's *Disquisition concerning Ecclesiastical Councils*, p. i. Boston, 18 mo., 1716. This Synod now met, is considered, in the Ecclesiastical history of New England, as a continuation of that convened in 1646. At the conclusion of its present session, it was dissolved.

† Mr. Allen, of Dedham, preached a sermon at the opening in September, which, according to Winthrop, was one of superior excellence. In connection with his account of the Sermon, he relates the following curious incident, rendered doubly curious from its peculiar application: — "It fell out about the midst of his sermon, there came a snake into the seat, where many of the Elders sate, behind the preacher. It came in at the door where people stood thick upon the stairs. Divers of the Elders shifted from it, but Mr. Thompson, one of the Elders of Braintree (a man of much faith), trode upon the head of it, and so held it with his foot and staff with a small pair of grains, until it was killed. This being so remarkable, and nothing falling out but by Divine Providence, it is, out of doubt, the Lord discovered somewhat of his mind in it. The serpent is the Devil; the Synod the representative of the Churches of Christ in New England. The Devil had formerly and lately attempted their disturbance and dissolution; but their faith in the seed of the woman overcame him and crushed his head." — Winthrop, *Journal*, ii. 330.

‡ This is agreeable to the Preface, page 4, of the Saybrook *Confessions of Faith*, in 1708. Published at N. London, in 1710, 12mo.

§ In 1716, Dr. Increase Mather said, "My dearest brother, Samuel Mather (whose successor I am here in Boston, he having been the first that preached the Gospel to that Church unto which I have been related for more than fifty years, and after his removal from New England, became the Pastor of a Congregational Church in Dublin, where also he was succeeded by another brother, the well known Nathaniel Mather), wrote an Irenicum," &c.— *Disq. concern. Eccl. Councils*, p. xi.

‖ The *first* sermon of which any knowledge is found. See the splendid and able history of this Church, by the Rev. Chandler Robbins, who says, "No account has been discovered of the first occupancy of the edifice, or of its formal consecration." — Page 6.

¶ Dr. Lothrop wrote in the Records of the Church, "The house which was built in 1677, was in very good repair, and might have stood many years longer, had not those sons of violence, with wicked hands, razed it to the foundation. A number of evil-minded men of



SECOND CHURCH.

destruction of their house in 1775, the Congregation went to the New Brick,* to worship with Dr. Lathrop, in Hanover Street, and formed one Society; taking, together with their Pastor, the name and records of the Second Church. This house, which stood from 1721 to 1844,† has given place to one of stone, in the Gothic style of architecture, which was dedicated on the sixteenth of September, 1845. ‡

The first Minister of the New Brick Church, was the Rev. William Waldron, son of Colonel Richard Waldron, of Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, and grandson of Major Richard Waldron, of Dover, in the same state,§ whose life was so tragically ended by the Indians, on the night of the twenty-seventh of June, 1689. Contemporary with him in the Old North, were the venerable Dr. Increase Mather, his son Cotton, and the Rev. Joshua Gee. The Rev. William Welsteed succeeded Mr. Waldron, and the Rev. Ellis Gray was his Colleague, and died before him. Mr. Welsteed died in 1753, and was succeeded by the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton, son of a distinguished father of the same Christian name, many years Pastor of the Old South Church. It was with Dr. Pemberton's Society that Dr. Lathrop and the Society of the Old North united, as already stated. The war had driven Dr. Pemberton into the country, and he died the same year that the Churches of the Old North and New Brick were united.

Oct. 20. There arrived in Boston one Mr. Harrison, from Nansemond in Virginia. Being a Nonconformist Minister there, and having attracted many followers, he and Mr. William Durand, their Elder, were banished by the Governor, Sir William Berkley. He came here to seek advice, as to where they should go, or what they should do. Mr. Durand had before resided in Boston. Mr. Harrison returned to England, after "a year or two," but what became of Mr. Durand does not appear.‖

the King's party, obtained leave of Gen. Howe to pull it down, under a pretence of wanting it for fuel, although there were then quantities of coal and wood in the town." — Mr. Robbins' *History*, 129.

* The origin of this Church will be related in its order of time.

† For an interesting account of it, see Mr. Robbins' excellent description, in his History before cited, p. 178–9. The engraving of the New Brick Church here represented, is copied from one in Bowen's *Picture of Boston*.

‡ The Ministers of the Second, or Old North, succeeded in the following order: Samuel Mather; John Mayo, 1655 to 1672; Increase Mather, 1669 to 1723; Cotton Mather, 1685 to 1728; Rev. Joshua Gee, 1723 to 1748; Samuel Mather (son of Cotton) 1732 to 1741; Samuel Checkley, Jr., 1747 to 1768; John Lathrop, 1768 to 1816; Henry Ware, Jr., 1817 to 1830; R. W. Emerson, 1829 to 1832; Chandler Robbins, 1833 ——.

§ See *Antiquarian Journal*, v. 182.

‖ *Jan.* 31. — There are but few entries in the Town Records for 1648. Deer Island is let to Edward Bendall for seven years, at £14 a year, which rent is for "ye schoole's use in pvison and clothing;" but the inhabitants of the Town to cut wood on said island for their own use.

Mar. 13. — "Townsmen" chosen, Colbron,

The most memorable occurrence of this year was the death of Governor Winthrop. He died on the twenty-sixth of March,* having just entered upon the sixty-second year of his age. He continued his Diary or Journal to within about one month of his decease; the last entry being, "11, (11.) 1648," which corresponds to the eleventh of January, 1649. He made no entry in December, and but two in November. In the last named month he records the arrival of a

1648. Nov. 2. Dutch hoy, of about thirty tons, with cordage and other goods. She had in her seven men, and came from the Isle of Wite to Boston in five weeks. The other entry for this month is an account of the remarkable escape from shipwreck of Bazaleel Payton, a mem-

Nov. 18. ber of the Church of Boston, who, in a vessel of sixty tons, on arriving in the Outer Bay, was taken with a great easterly storm in the night, lost all his anchors, was driven among Cohasset rocks, and by the immense waves out of water upon the sand. This fortunate little vessel was not thus abandoned by the tempest. A sea, more overgrown than that by which she had been placed upon a high ridge of sand, came and wafted her landward of her resting place, and left her safely floating in a smooth lake beyond!

1649. Under this date, as above noticed, Winthrop makes the last Jan. 11. record in his Journal. It is merely a note of accidents and providences; detailing the particular manner in which "about eight persons were drowned this winter, all by adventuring upon the ice but three;" but as he does not accompany his details with the names of any of the sufferers, the record is nearly valueless. And, judging from the few entries in the Town Records this year, there was not much worthy of special notice.†

Eliot, Anth. Stoddard, Edward Tinge, Tho. Marshall, James Everill, Jas. Penn. Constables, Jeremye Howchin, David Phypeny, Nicholas Busby, Wm. Beamsley. Surveyors, John Button, Beni. Fawer, Walter Merry, Wm. Blanton, and Mr. Cole for Rumney Marsh. Sealers of leather, Tho. Marshall, Edmond Jackson.

Mar. 27. — Robt. Renolds paid his 6*s.* and 8*d.* due the Town for land, which "Leift. Sauidge reciued for a debt due to him." Wm. Philips paid £1, 16*s.* 8*d.*, due from Chr. Stanley to the Town for land, which Lieut. Savage received as above.

May 29. — Thomas Emims [Emons?] and Michaill Wills admitted inhabitants. Benia. Ward shall pay £3 a year, and not £4, "for y^e^ marish y^t^ hea hyers of y^e^ Towne," which his contract did bind him unto. John Hurd pays 10*s.* "for a small pece of ground at y^e^ end of his howse plat."

* "About 10 o'clock."— *Morton's Memorial*, p. 130.

† *Jan.* 29. — Hugh Gunison may "payle in for 40*s.*" six foot of ground in width, and twelve in length, "downe to his signe post." Isaac Walker may set "vp a porche afore his dore foure foot into y^e^ street from his howse dore, and sixe foot from his howse side."

Feb. 26. — Mr. Richd. Bellingham may wharf "afor his pprietye," between Walter Merry and Wm. Winbourne; but not to "piudic the battery." Jerimye Howchin may set up a porch four feet from his house, all along by his house to put up a pale before it. Jacob Eliot may have the swamp next his allotment at Muddy River, next Cotton Flax [Flagg? The same spelt Flack by a former Recorder. — See *ante*, p. 253] house. Bro. Bendall's request about Deer Island, which the Town let him for seven years, to have it fourteen more, is granted, — to pay £14 a year, and "to leave a supply of wood for on family forever," and any fruit trees he may plant. James Johnson to have 16 feet of ground from his house southward along down to his garden pale post; for which he shall make and "maintaine for ever a sufficient high way for foot and cart over y^e^ watercourse w^ch^ runs from Mr. Hutchinson's yard alonge by his howse end." "John Baytman, John Burrill, Tho. Hawkins, James Hawkins and y^e^ rest of y^e^ naybours" may remove "that crose worke y^t^ is set over the milne creeke,

CHAPTER XXXII.

Character of Gov. Winthrop. — Death of the King. — Labors of John Eliot among the Indians noticed in England. — Action of Parliament relative thereto. — Origin of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians. — Some Account of it. — Hon. Robt. Boyle. — William Pynchon. — His Book upon Redemption, &c., ordered to be burnt in the Market Place. — He returns to England. — His Death. — The Founder of Roxbury and Springfield. — Overtures to the French of Canada. — Town Affairs. — Streets and High-ways laid out. — Lands at Braintree. — Gift of Capt. Cromwell. — Clock. — Trade prohibited with Places which favored the Cause of the King. — Law against Extravagance in Dress. — Lands granted at the Blue Hills.



ELIOT.*

THE death of Governor Winthrop forms an important era in the history of Boston. Of the character of that great man much has been written, yet generally by those who have but very superficially studied his character. The attentive reader of these pages of the history of his place of life and death, cannot but perceive, it is believed, the justness of this remark. John Winthrop had some noble traits of character, and he had that constitution of mind which peculiarly fitted him for a leader of a body politic. He was conscientious, and at the same time somewhat credulous; honest, but artful; accomplishing his purposes as though they were the purposes of others; though practical, he was not a man of genius. In his circumstances it were better so. He was of more value to a new country than twenty men of genius; men who would have thought the existence of the Commonwealth depended upon untried projects. John Winthrop set on foot no discovery, nor did he invent anything. It is well that he did not. His day and place were better without them. There is enough to do in a new country for a century, before a century of discoveries and inventions should begin. John Winthrop was remarkable for his frankness and candor. When he was in the wrong he did not require frequent promptings to cause him to confess his error. This gave the people great confidence in him. His own Diary is a record of his fail-

w^ch^ hindreth y^e^ passage of boats," but shall make the creek "goe alonge out to loe watter marke." Mr. Wm. Brenton may "set vp a portch afore his howse, to hang ouer in the street with Mr. Hills and Mr. Hardings." Ensign Hutchinson Benia. Gillum, Benia. Ward, Jona. Balston, John Compton, Tho. Smith, Steeven Butler, and Rich. Richison, may make a highway from their houses over the marsh to the bridge, and over Mr. Hill's ground, at their own charge, "which was £8, 16*s.*," and they are to be free from highway charges nine years. Ordered that a highway of twelve feet between Capt. Harding's and William Dauice's houses shall go along to the bridge which the town and Mr. Hill set up, being to be made by the Town and Mr. Hill; and for that highway Mr. Hill to have a way to his ground by the sea side, along by the house of Wm. Hudson, Sen., and a cartway below the wharf.

* It is not ascertained with certainty, to what family of Eliot or Elliot, our "Apostle to the Indians" belonged. The above coat is the earliest given by Guillim, and was borne by the Elliots of Surry, as early as the time of Edward III. Sir Gilbert Eliot, father of Lord Heathfield, bore similar arms.

ings as well as of the failings of other men. This is a proof of his general sincerity. He was remarkable for his steadiness of purpose. His mind once made up for an undertaking, no common obstruction could prevent his carrying it on. This was strikingly observable throughout his course in planting himself in New England. He never faltered from the time he came into the Massachusetts Company till he breathed his last on this peninsula. He felt that he was the great Man of the Colony, and in time it was conceded that he was the first * of the great men of his time in it. In putting down the Antinomians he acted a singular part; while he was the head of their opponents, he almost induces the belief that what he did he was compelled by circumstances to do; thus seeming to follow where in reality he led. Hence, he sometimes adroitly accomplished his ends by making, apparently, a shield of others.

While the letters of Governor Winthrop breathe the warmest domestic affections, his records of the punishments visited upon supposed offenders are remarkable for their want of feeling. The late execution of a woman charged with the crime of witchcraft, is the record of one with a heart of marble coldness. This is but one of many instances to which reference might be made; but it must be remembered that Mr. Winthrop made his record under the fullest convictions of the awful nature of the crimes for which the accused suffered; and that they were clearly guilty of those crimes; that his was the day of burning, maiming, and drawing and quartering, in obedience, as was conceived, to the laws of God.

Mr. Winthrop has been called the father of the country.† He was emphatically the father of Boston, and no death had happened in it since its settlement which caused so deep a sensation amongst the inhabitants. "His funeral," says Captain Edward Johnson, "was very sadly and solemnly performed, by a very great concourse of the greater part of this Colony; whose mournful looks and watery eyes did plainly demonstrate the tender affection and great esteem he was in." ‡

It has been said of Governor Winthrop, by a writer of much discernment, § that his virtues were many and his errors few; that opposition to his views made too great an impression upon him; that before he left England he was of a more catholic spirit than some of his brethren, but afterwards he grew more contracted, and was disposed to lay too great a stress upon unimportant matters; that he pursued with great vehemence the adherents of Mr. Vane, probably from political motives; and, it may be added, that he made intolerance subservient to his ambition. In his last sickness he gave evidence of the commission of such errors. Being requested to sign an order for the banishment of some person for heterodoxy, he declined, saying, "I have done too much of that work already."

* And here originated that error of ignorance, that he was the *first Governor* of Massachusetts. — See *Ante*, p. 57.

† Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 151.

‡ *Wonder-Working Providence*, &c. 212–13.

§ Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 151.

In his personal appearance, Mr. Winthrop is supposed to have been erect, rather spare in flesh, though muscular, somewhat long-favored, or of a countenance regularly oval, blue eyes and dark hair, and about six feet in height. He was interred in the burying ground rendered memorable as the resting place of Mr. Isaac Johnson,* now King's Chapel burial place, in the northerly side of it. There are two ancient portraits of Winthrop; one is still to be seen in the Capitol of the Commonwealth, and the other in the hall of the Antiquarian Society at Worcester. †

The residence of Governor Winthrop stood on the westerly side of what is now Washington Street, very nearly opposite School Street. It was a two story wooden structure, and was standing in 1775. In that year it was destroyed by the soldiers of the British King.‡ What time the family of Mr. Winthrop vacated it does not appear. It was afterward the residence of the Reverend Thomas Prince, and in it he chiefly wrote, probably, his invaluable "Annals." Hence the spot on which that house stood will ever be held in veneration as the place where were composed two of the most important works upon the early history of New England, which have ever appeared.

On the death of Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Endicott succeeded to the place of Governor, Mr. Dudley to that of Deputy Governor, and Mr. Edward Gibbons was made Major-General. The custom of wearing long hair appears now to have become very obnoxious to the Magistrates, and
May 10. other sober people, and a sort of an association is formed against it. Several of the prominent Magistrates signed a protest denouncing the practice, in which they say, that "Forasmuch as the wearing of long hair, after the manner of Russians and barbarous Indians, had begun to invade New England, contrary to the rule of God's word, which says it is a shame for a man to wear long hair, do declare and manifest our dislike and detestation against it." §

Next to the death of Winthrop, the most stirring event in Boston was doubtless that occasioned by the death of Charles the First, who was beheaded at Whitehall, about two of the clock in the afternoon of
Jan. 30. the thirtieth of January, in the forty-ninth year of his age.‖ The appalling news reached Boston very soon after the inter-

* The writer of the "Introduction" to Bridgman's *Memorials*, &c., p. 13, has a remark of doubt as to whether Mr. Johnson was buried *here*. He evidently had not weighed the evidence of Judge Sewall and the Rev. Thomas Prince, against the opinion of some moderns, who by their doubts of such authorities *suppose* they are becoming authorities themselves. — See *ante*, p. 99–100. There is in the book of Bridgman, a very neat and concise notice of the Winthrops, prepared, I presume, by the able hand of a talented descendant, Hon. R. C. Winthrop, of Boston.

† This last is said to have been painted by Vandyke, but when that artist could have done it, is not, perhaps, easily settled. From his known career in England, it can only be among the *possible* things that he *might* paint the portrait of our Governor.

‡ Shaw's *Description*, p. 290, Snow's *History*, 104.

§ The signers of the Protest were Governor Endicott, Dep. Gov. Dudley, Mr. Richd. Bellingham, Mr. Richd. Saltonstall, Mr. Increase Nowell, Mr. William Hibbins, Mr. Thomas Flint, Mr. Robt. Bridges and Mr. Simon Bradstreet. — Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 152.

‖ Some one of Dr. Holmes' authorities seems to have misled him in saying Charles was 51 when beheaded. All agree, I believe, that he was born on the 19th of November, 1600. — See *American Annals*, i. 289.

ment of Winthrop, but at what precise date does not appear. Those were days when the death of a King was viewed to be an awful dispensation, especially when Subjects took the responsibility of bringing it about; for then it was a generally received opinion that the King was amenable to no human tribunal, and that it was treason in a Subject to impeach his motives or question his conduct.

Notwithstanding the violence and desolation which had hitherto spread their shroud over England, the day of agony had no sooner passed, but the labors of Eliot among the Indians caused every devout Christian to think earnestly upon some plan for their advancement. Some, it may be, thought the souls of this benighted race of as much importance as the souls of Kings. The Civil War being now at an end, many found time to turn their thoughts towards the wilderness of New England; and, in less than six months after the death of Charles, plans for improving the condition of the Indians were so far matured, and there was sufficient interest in them in Parliament, to cause that
July 27. body to pass an act "for promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England;" * being moved thereunto, they say, "by the testimonial of divers faithful and godly ministers and others in New England." The Act established a Corporation, consisting of a President, Treasurer, and fourteen assistants, with power to purchase lands in mortmain to the amount of 2000 pounds a year, to have a common seal, make by-laws and receive contributions. At the same time a collection was ordered to be made throughout England and Wales, and the ministers of every parish were required to read the Act to their Congregations, and to exert themselves to procure contributions, and to go from house to house for that purpose.†

This was the origin of the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians — a Society of great importance so long as the race for which it was instituted were of any account. And it is specially noticed here, because it "has all along had its Commissioners at Boston." ‡ The Corporation chose Judge William Steel, President, and Henry Ashurst, Esq., Treasurer. He was the father of Sir Henry Ashurst, Baronet, and Sir William Ashurst, Alderman of London. Of this Society the Honorable Robert Boyle was the first Governor under its Charter, which Charter was not obtained, however, until the fourteenth of

* *Parliamentary History of England*, xix. 156.

† *Ibid.* 157–8. By this means a sum was realized sufficient to enable the Society to purchase estates of the yearly value of about £600. — Oldmixon, *Brit. Empire in America*, i. 99.

‡ Turell's *Life of Colman*, 64. Of the sixteen members authorized by the Act, five had been resident here: — Herbert Pelham, Richard Hutchinson, Robert Tomson, Richd. Floyd, and Edward Winslow. The names of the others were James Shirley, Abraham Babbington, Robert Houghton, George Dun, William Mullens, John Hodgson, Edward Parks, Edward Clud, Thomas Aires, and John Stone. These and the others were all denominated citizens of London. They were to choose their President and Treasurer from their own number. — See an abstract of the Act in Hazard's *Hist. Colls.*, i. 635–6. The Act provided that the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, or such as they might appoint, should have power to receive and dispose of moneys, &c. — See also Morton's *Memorial, ed. Davis, sub anno* 1649, and Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 164.

Charles the Second,* 1662. The appointment of Mr. Boyle was made by the King without his knowledge, and he generously contributed to its funds while he held the office, and by his will after he was compelled "by sickness and infirmity" to resign it.†

By the Charter of this Society its members were not allowed to exceed the number of forty-five.‡ These had power to fill vacancies, and to appoint Commissioners, residents in New England. § One hundred years after the date of the Charter, there was an attempt to establish another Society here, with a title or name somewhat different to that of the mother Society, which was authorized by an Act of the Government of the Province, but the King refused to sanction it, and it was abandoned. But, in 1787, a number of Boston gentlemen, and a few others in its vicinity, procured an Act of incorporation for "Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, and others in North America." Under this Act a Society has continued to the present time.



HON. ROBERT BOYLE.

It was mainly to enlighten the Society incorporated in 1662, that the Honorable Daniel Gookin composed his invaluable "Historical Collections of the Indians," as appears by the "Epistle Gratulatory and Supplicatory" prefixed to that work, and addressed to the Corporation "residing in London, and particularly for the Hon. Robert Boyle, Esquire, Governor thereof." ‖

* See Birch's *Life of the Hon. Robt. Boyle*, 335. Most writers give a wrong date to this Charter. Dr. Holmes among others. It is dated February 7th.

† *Ibid*, page 389. The above portrait is from a rare folio print engraved by "Fr: Diodati." Mr. Boyle was distinguished by his cotemporaries as the great Christian Philosopher, "not more distinguished for his noble extraction than eminent piety and universal learning." — Humphrey's *Hist. Account of the Soc. for Prop. Gospel in For. Parts*, p. 5.

‡ As an object of much interest their names are here given from the Charter: — Edward, *Earl of Clarendon;* Thomas, *Earl of Southampton;* John, *Lord Roberts;* George, *Duke of Albemarle;* James, *Duke of Ormond;* Edward, *Earl of Manchester;* Arthur, *Earl of Anglesey;* William, *Viscount Say and Seal;* Francis Warner, *Alderman of London;* Erasmus Smith, Esq., Henry Ashurst, Richard Hutchinson, Joshua Woolnough, George Clarke, Thomas Speed, Thomas Bell, John Rolfe, *citizens of London;* Robert Boyle, Esq., Sir William Thompson, Sir William Bateman, Sir Anthony Bateman, Sir Theophilus Biddolph, Sir Lawrence Bromfield, *Knights;* Tempest Milner, William Love, William Peake, *Aldermen of London;* Thomas Foley, Esq., Thomas Cox, John Micklethwait, Edward French, *Doctors in Physic;* Charles Dayley, Thomas Staynes, John Jurian, William Antrobus, John Bathurst, Harman Sheafe, Thomas Gillibrand, James Hayes, John Benbowe, Lawrence Brinsley, Barnabas Meares, John Acrod, John Dockett, Edward Boscawen, and Martin Noell, *citizens of London.*

§ The following is a list of the resident Commissioners early appointed: — Gov. Samuel Shute, Dep. Gov. Wm. Dummer, Increase Mather, D.D., John Foster, Esq., John Higginson, Esq., Edward Bromfield, Esq., Elisha Hutchinson, Esq., Simeon Stoddard, Esq., Samuel Sewall, Esq., Penn Townsend, Esq., Jonathan Belcher, Esq., Cotton Mather, D.D., Rev. Nehemiah Walter, Mr. Daniel Oliver, Mr. Thomas Fitch, Adam Winthrop, Esq., Thomas Hutchinson, Esq.

‖ It is dated 7 December, 1674. The work of Gen. Gookin forms the principal part of the 1st volume of the *Mass. Hist. Collections.*

The same Deputies were chosen to serve in the General Court this year as last, but the "Select Men" varied.*

Mr. William Pynchon, of Springfield, having published a book upon Redemption and Justification, the General Court ordered it to be publicly burnt in the Market Place, under the conviction that it contained doctrines of a dangerous tendency. But the burning of the book (if it were burnt), did not satisfy the Court, probably, for Mr. John Norton was appointed to answer it, and the Author was put under restraint. The next year the Answer was ordered to be sent to England for publication. At the May term of the Court, Mr. Pynchon handed in a paper containing a sort of recantation, "upon which an order was passed, that he might have liberty to repair home some time the next week,

* *Mar.* 12. — They were "Wm. Colborne, Jacob Eliot, Anthony Stoddard, Jerimy Howchin, Tho. Marshall, James Everill, and James Penn." For clerks of the market, Jerimy Howchin and James Penn. For Constables, Mr. Thomas Clarke, Theodore Atkinson and Barnabas Fawer. Surveyors of the high ways, Christopher Gibson, Walter Merry, John Button and Wm. Blanton. Sealers of leather, Rich. Webb and Robert Turner. Mr. Thos. Clarke is fined 20*s.* for refusing to serve as Constable. — "Ordered, that the highway on the south side of the water mill shall run along by the corner of said mill a rod in breadth, as it is laid out in a straight line to the Mill Hill that lies to the ferry to Charlestown."

April 19. — Isaac Walker is chosen Constable in place of Mr. Thomas Clarke. William Philips agreed to give 13*s.* 4*d.* a year for the school for land that Christopher Stanley gave in his will for the school's use. John Barrill, John Odlin, Wm. Ludkin, James Browne, Beniamin Negoose, Ralph Masson, James Dauise, Edward Dinis, Thos. Munte, Richd. Cartter, Abell Porter, Thos. Grube, John Strange, Thos. Wegborne, James Jemson, to have Spectacle Island forever, by paying 6*d.* an acre a year "to the use of the school." On neglecting to pay the rent to the Treasurer of the Town on the first of February, they were to forfeit the land. John Jackson, Gamalliel Waight, James Hudson, Wm. Kerby, Tho. Bell, Robt. Linchorne, Anthony Harker, Abell Porter, Tho. Spalle, Tho. Munte, Water Senot, Wm. Coope, Rich. Hollige, Nicholas Baxster, Wm. Lane, Edwd. Browne, Beniamin Negoose, Beniamin Warde, Francis East, Henirye Allin, Edwd. Rainsford, Tho. Venner, John Odlin, Wm. Ludkin, Geo. Griggs, James Dauis, Richd. Richardson, Robt. Blote, Mathew Jones, Mawdit Ingles, Rich. Flud, Jona. Balstone, Tho. Stanberrye, Christopher Parrise, John Viall, Mathew Chaffey, Micaell Wills, come under the same obligation with respect to Long Island. Mr. Bowen and Peter Oliver to perambulate at Muddy River. Alexander Becke cow-keeper, at 2*s.* a head. Ensign Hutchinson, Benj. Gillum, Benj. Ward, Jona. Balston, John Compton, Tho. Smyth, Steven Butler, and Richd. Richardson, may make a highway from their houses over the marsh to the bridge, and over Mr. Hill's ground, at their own charge — they to be free from highway charges till £8, 16*s.* be run out, which they have disbursed. A highway is laid out 11 feet wide between Capt. Harding's and Wm. Davis' houses, "along straight to the bridge which the town and Mr. Hill set up, on the condition" that the highway at the seaside is demolished only away by the house of Wm. Hudson, senior.

June 26. — Richd. Taylor agreed with the Selectmen "to ringe the bell at 9 of y^e^ clocke at night, and half an hour after four in the morninge, and to have for his recompense £4 a yeare." Martin Saunders, Saml. Basse and Mathew Barnes on behalf of "Brayntrye," agree, that, whereas Boston hath certain land between the bounds of Dorchester and Waymouth, being commonly called Mount Wollaston, it shall belong to "Braintrye;" Boston reserving the right of allotting all lands therein not allotted, Braintree paying therefor £50, in four years, "in corne, as wheat, rye, pease and Indian at 50*s.* in each of them." Braintree to enjoy for a Common the 1500 acres formerly laid out as such, and to lay taxes on the lands, excepting on the farm of Mr. Wilson. The next year it was agreed that "all the land at Braintree undisposed of, besides the 2000 acres for the school's use, is not hereafter to be allotted to any particular persons, but to be improved for the public service of Boston."

John Loo, John Scotto, Wm. Hanbery, Isaac Walker, Edmond Jackson, John Shaw, Joseph Wormewall, Leonard Buttolfe to pay £3, 3*s.*, 2*d.* yearly forever for the schools' use, for their land in Bendall's cove, "as their evidences will show it forth." Benj. Ward to pay £3 a year for land by his house, for the same use. Edward Bendall "hath Deare Iland for 20 years, he and his to pay £14 a year" for the same.

Aug. 27. — Anthony Stoddard may sell his land to Moses Payne, of "Brantre," and may

if he pleased, and that he should have Mr. Norton's answer to his book to take with him to consider thereof, until the following October session of the Court." *

By these proceedings another valuable and enterprising man was lost to the country. Mr. Pynchon returned to his native land in 1652, then more tolerant than this he had adopted,† and returned not again. He died at Wraysbury, near Stanes, a hamlet on the Thames, in October, 1662, aged about seventy-two years. Two very important places in the Commonwealth justly consider him their father; Roxbury, always a place of much consideration, and now a large city; and flourishing Springfield, nothing behind her sister towns, and soon destined to become a city also.

The French Governor of Canada had two years before been sent to with an offer of friendship and proposals for a free intercourse between that Government and New England, and had good encouragement of reciprocity on the part of Governor D'Aillebout. This had been continued by correspondence till the present year, when the French in their turn sent messengers to Boston. They were influenced to form an alliance with New England, by which they might act with more certainty of success in a war against the Iroquois, whom they accused of breaking the most solemn leagues. But the Government here wisely declined entering into a war; and at that day the interposition of an immense wilderness was a sufficient excuse for no immediate commerce.

"take it next vnto y^t hee hath hired of y^e Towne, or else where, if he see cause." Robt. Nash is fined 19*s.* 6*d.*, "for his leaving his slaughter house with noyesome smells, to y^e offence of y^e Towne." "Mr. Souther is admitted a townseman." Tho. Painter may erect a "milne at Fox Hill," and must finish it in two years, "and at the first pecke of corne it grinds he is to begin his rent of 40*s.* p. ann. for ever," for the Town's use. James Pilbeam is admitted an inhabitant. "Wm. Francklin is fined 20*s.* for setinge vp his howse and cominge out on the Towne's ground, and not callinge y^e Selectmen to view it," and to be fined 20*s*, every ten days till "y^e abuse be reformed." "Vallentine Hill shall make vp his ground at y^e bridge with in 14 dayes, or else he is fined 20*s.*" "Geo. Halsell is fined 20*s.* for not making vp his high way afore his shop sufficiently." "Daniel Turant shall erect his wharfe for y^e high way before his howse," before 3 : 11 : or pay 20*s.* Mr. Clarke, mariner, must clear the highway at his cellar, "y^t noe harme be done bye it," within six days, or pay 20*s.* Wm. Beamsley shall remove his oyster shells from the high way before his door by the 1st of the 11th mo., or pay 20*s.* John Baker ordered to remove his house which stands on the high way by the 1st of the 11th mo., or be fined 20*s.*

Nov. 31. —"John Milam fined 20*s.* for y^e defect of his way before y^e milne, and 20*s.* for defect of y^e bridge by John Butmans," if not mended in four dayes. Edmond Jackson fined 20*s.*, "for defect of his way by his cellar, between James Euirill and himself," if not mended by the 5th of the 11th mo. Edward Belcher chosen "watter Bayley," to have half the fines accruing. Owners of the Wind-mill to secure it from doing damage to cattle or swine, or make satisfaction "sufficiently." Wm. Franklin fined 20*s.*, "for disablinge y^e passage way over y^e creeke by John Batman's howse." The Select-men sold the reversion of "Bendall's Dooke or Cove," and the flats belonging to it to James Euerill, 31st, 9th, 49, for £6, 16*s.*, 10*d.* a year forever; not to include the land at the head of the Cove, "roundabout by John Glover's, George Burden's, Hugh Gunison's, Capt. Wm. Tinge's, Wm. Franklin's, and Robt. Nashe's, and eight foot to the eastward of it," which is high way; as also from the eastward side of the eight feet, and "roundabout bye y^e corner of Edward Bendall's bricke house, and so by Samuell Col's howse, as alsoe to Edward Ting's wharfe shall goe a high way of 20 foot in breadth."

* Fragment of an *original paper*, dated 7 May, 1651.

† Mr. Eliot seemed disposed to do justice to Mr. Pynchon's memory, in his New Eng. Biography, but he remitted his usual research to gain any information respecting him, and has confounded him with his son John. It is difficult to understand how Dr. Allen could have omitted him. — See Bliss' *Historical Discourse at Springfield.* — See also *ante*, p. 90.

Mar. 11. The Town chose Mr. Anthony Stoddard and James Penn to serve in the General Court as Deputies. Select men were the same as last year, also the Clerks of the Market. The Constables were Robert Button, Edmund Jackson, John Phillips and Christopher Gibson. George Halsell and William Cotton, Surveyors of high ways, and Nathaniel Bishop and William Courser Sealers of leather. At the same time it was agreed that Peter Oliver should have fifteen pounds a year for seven years, "to maintain the high-ways from Jacob Eliot's barne to y^e^ fardest gate bye Roxsbury towne's end, to be sufficient for cart and horse, to y^e^ satisfaction of y^e^ countrye." It was "agreed on y^t^ theire shall be a carte bridge by John Milame * set up by John Bateman's howse, according to contract." Mr. Adam Winthrop, William Phillips, and William Beamesley were "chossen to ioyne w^th^ y^e^ Select men of y^e^ Towne to lay out the high-ways by y^e^ new Meeting-house."

Mar. 18. James Penn was chosen Treasurer for the Town, Anthony Stoddard, Recorder, and Thomas Bell and David Hickborne to "execute the order about swine. Sergeant Scoott had notice that Captain Hardings pale before his house be taken away within a month upon penalty of twenty shillings." †

At the annual Election, Mr. Endicott was rechosen Governor, and Mr. Dudley Deputy. There was no change in the chief magistracy till 1654.

Nov. Captain Thomas Cromwell, of Boston, left by his will, the last year, for the benefit of the Town, "six bells." It was agreed that the Select men should now dispose of those bells "to the

* *Feb.* 26. — He had been fined 20*s.* for not making a cart bridge at John Bateman's howse, "and if hee goeth not aboute it within sixe dayes hee is fined 20*s.* euery sixe dayes till it bee finished." The Towne could not impose a fine above 20*s.* (*Hutchinson*), but they made it up by imposing it often.

† *Mar.* 25. — Thomas Painter may sell his house to Ephraim Hunt. Tho. Munt may mow the marsh at Bird Island. Bro. Becke to receive £5, 4*s.* for keeping Tho. Rand.

April 12. — Mr. Adam Winthrop, William Phillips and William Beamsley, to lay out high ways at the north end of the Town. A way of a rod wide ordered to be made by the water side from the Battery to Charlestowne ferry, that another two rods wide "be preserved by Will. Philips in the feild that was Mr. Stanley's, and soe to the ferry point at Charlestowne leading vnto the crose way that leads from the water mills vnto the water side betwene Good Duglas and Water Merrye's garden," as this day staked out, and "vntill buildings be there erected gaites and stiles may suffice." The rod wide way formerly ordered "from Gallop's point to the Battery, being interrupted by Mrs. Hawkins her house, it shall turne vp from the water side through Mrs. Hawkins her garden, and soe by Mr. Winthrop's house betweene Maior Bornes house and his garden before Mr. Holiok's to the Battery."

April 22. — Thomas Marshall is chosen to take the place of James Penn in the General Court; the latter being chosen by the Church "for other service."

April 29. — "Ordered that Elias Maverick and James Johnson, chosen by George Burden, Deacon Eliot and Thomas Clarke, who were chosen by the Townsmen, in the presence of Mr. Newgate and with consent of him, should lay out a cart and horse way at Rumley Marsh from Mr. Holiock's farm towards the mill."

Dec. 1. — Mr. Vener and the neighbors thereabout may dig a well and set a pump in it near the shop of William Davis, if without "anoyance to the street passage for waste water." Mr. Glover and bro. Burden have "set vnto them the ground before their proprietyes, soe fare as from the corner of Mr. Web's house to the corner of Goodman Hurd's shop vpon a straight line for which they are to pay 30*s.* a year for euer."

best advantage," and to lay out the proceeds "for one bell for a clocke." *

Oct. 3. The General Court passed an order bearing more heavily upon Boston, than upon any other place within its jurisdiction; this order was to prohibit commerce with Barbadoes, Bermudas, Virginia and Antigua, because these places held out for the King against Parliament. The next year, on learning that an armament was sent to reduce them, the Court modified their former order, so as to admit trade with them, provided Sir George Ayscough succeeded in his attempt to reduce them; he having the command of the expedition.



ONE IN GREAT BOOTS.†

A disposition among the common people to be extravagant, caused the General Court to enact that if a man was not worth two hundred pounds he should not wear gold or silver lace or buttons, or points at the knees; and, because of the scarcity of leather, they should not walk in great boots. Women not enjoying property to the value of two hundred pounds were forbid to wear silk or tiffany hoods or scarfs.

Dec. 30. The town disposed of 500 acres of land at Brantree to Moses Payne, and is to "ioyne this 500 acres with the former 500 set to him, taking in all the land betwixt the two great Blew Hills and the next hill to them;" what there is over 1000 acres, "he is to pay proportionably after the raites of forty shillings a year for 500 acres forever," and the land to be bound for the rent. ‡

* See an abstract of Cromwell's will in the *Antiquarian Journal*, iii. 268. His wife was named Anne, whom he made "sole executrix;" mentions daughter Elizabeth, but no other children. The "six bells" were in the custody of Henry Walton, a witness to his will, which is dated 29 Aug., and proved 26 Oct. 1649.

† This cut of "one walking in great boots" against the statute, is an exact copy of a person fashionably dressed at that period. I do not find that any belonging to Boston were "dealt with" for offending this law. Jonas Fairbanks and Robert Edwards, two individuals of Essex County, are the only offenders mentioned. — See *Antiquarian Journal*, vi. 30.

‡ *Dec.* 30. — Bro. Fletcher may make a cellar door two feet and an half "rysing from his house."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The Country again disturbed by Witchcraft. — Case of Hugh Parsons. — Misfortune in his Family. — He is accused of Witchcraft. — His Examination. — Testimonies against him. — His Wife's Confession and Death. — His Acquittal and Character. — Prosecutions for Heresy. — Case of Clarke — of Crandall — of Holmes. — Severe Punishment of the latter. — Sir Richard Saltonstall's Reproof. — Mr. Cotton's Defence. — Law against Dancing at Taverns. — Boston described by Capt. Edward Johnson.



SUPERSTITION.†

THE year now commenced was by no means a quiet one. Witchcraft and heresy were busy to disturb the peace of the country. On the late execution of a witch in the Town, some may have flattered themselves that by that execution a stop was put to their mischiefs, while many others, doubtless, fancied those imaginary beings were busy in the region of the clouds, deputizing some of their number to prowl nightly about the dwellings of the poor and friendless. These fancies were soon turned to realities, for, so well had the witches succeeded in an interior town, that a second execution would have taken place here, had not the accused died in prison before the time set for execution arrived. The present case, to which allusion is made, was, if possible, more deplorable than that of Margaret Jones. Mary,* the wife of Hugh Parsons, of Springfield, upon giving birth to a child in October of the last year, was, by her sickness, thrown into a deranged state of mind. Her husband was a sawyer, which avocation took him from home, and his wife did not receive the care and attention which her situation required. Being neglected and much alone with her child, she caused its death, under the conviction that she was commanded to do so. Not long after this, in her bewildered state of mind, and, it may be, at the instigation of some enemy of her husband, she alleged that he had caused the child's death by witchcraft. The chief Magistrate of Springfield, William Pynchon, Esquire, in the line of his duty was obliged to investigate the cause of the death of the child.‡ A large number of the inhabitants came before him and gave in their testimony, and Mary Parsons among them. The minutes taken by Mr. Pynchon at the ex-

* Her maiden name was Lewis. — *Springfield Town Records.*

† The above engraving is intended to represent the dispersion of superstitions as the light of knowledge breaks in upon them.

‡ The first dates in Mr. Pynchon's minutes are "March 12, 18, 22, 1650." — *Original Manuscript.*

aminations, make a somewhat formidable volume, all of which were transmitted to Boston. Here the Jury found the accused guilty. After he had lain long in prison, "the cause coming legally to the General Court for issue, the Court on perusal of the evidence" decided that he was not "legally guilty of witchcraft, and so not to dy." * This decision was induced, no doubt, in consequence of the confession of his wife, and the previous action of the Court upon her case. She had been finally imprisoned upon two indictments, "the one for hauing familiarity with the Devill as a witch, to which she pleaded not guilty;" and the second "for willfully and most wickedly murdering her own child, to which she pleaded guilty, confessed the fact, and according to her deserts was condemned to dy." † But, as before remarked, she perished in prison, and thus escaped the ignominious death which awaited her.

The proceedings and strange evidence ‡ given in the case of Hugh Parsons, are probably the most extraordinary of any upon record. At his examination, Parsons demeaned himself in the most commendable manner, nor was there, throughout the whole proceedings, anything impeaching his conduct, excepting the charge of witchcraft. This charge he quietly, and with becoming dignity, repelled, as he did also the same charge against his wife. But he was reproached for this, and

* *General Court Records*, iii. 347.

† *Ibid*, page 295.

‡ Here follow specimens of the evidence: "John Stebbinge testifies vppon oath (Hugh Parson being present) that as my wife was entring into one of her fitts, she looked vp the chimney. I asked her what she looked at, and observing her ey fixed on something, asked her again (for she did not answer at first) what she looked on, and she said with a gesture of strange wonderment, O deere, there hangs Hugh Parsons vppon the pole (for there stood a small pole vppright in y^e^ chimney corner) and then she gave a start backward, and said, O, he will fall vppon me; and at that instant she fell downe into her fitt. Rowland Stebbing being present doth also testifie the same vppon oath." William Brooks testified, "that, the same day that Hugh Parsons was apprehended, and about the same tyme of the day that the Conestable brought him alonge by the dore of Goody Stebbing, she was first taken with her fitts, and cryed, Ah, witch, Ah witch, iust as he was passing by the gate. Goodm. Lankton and Hannah his wife do ioyntly testifie vppon oath, that on Friday last, being the 21 February, they had a pudding in y^e^ same bagg, and that as soon as it was slipped out of the bag, it was cut lengthwise like the former pudding, and like another on y^e^ 23 Feb. as smoth as any knife could cut it, namely, one slice al alonge, wantinge but very little from end to end. A neighbor came in and she shewed it to him, and that neighbor took a peace of it and threw it into the fire; that about an hower after she heard one mutter and mumble at the dore; then she asked Goody Sewell, who was then at her howse (and neere y^e^ dore) who it was; she said it was Hugh Parsons, and that he asked whether Goodman Lankton were at home or no. I said no, and so he went away, but left not his errand." The accused being present, was asked what he had to say to this; "he spake to other thinge, and not to the question; being asked the 2d tyme, what his errand was, he spake again of other by matters; the third time, being charged to make a direct answer, he then said it was to gett some hay of him," &c. John Lumbard said that Hugh Parsons had been told before that Goodman Lankton had no hay to sell, and that "to gett hay was no true cause of his comming thither, but rather that y^e^ spirit that bewitched the pudding brought him thither." Thomas Burneham swore that he told Hugh Parsons, a little before his apprehension, "here is strange doings in towne about cutting of puddinge and whetting of sawes in y^e^ night tyme," and the said Parsons was much agitated, "and wholy silent, but at last he said he had not heard of it before, but he tooke occasion to speak of other matters as pleasantly as anybody else, but to the matter of the pudding he would say nothing. This matter about the puddinge and whettinge of sawes was often tossed vp and downe betweene seuerall persons, and many said they never heard the like."

found his own troubles were increased by it, as she soon began to believe herself a witch, and confessed accordingly.*

In their written verdict, under the hand of their Foreman, Mr. Edward Hutchinson,† the Jurors, in the usual form declare, that, "Hugh Parsons, not having y^e^ feare of God before his eyes, in or about March last, and diuers times before and since, as they conceue, had familiar and wiced conuerse wi^th^ y^e^ Deuil, and did vse diuers deuilish practses and wichecrafte, to y^e^ hurte of diuers psons," &c.; and declare him guilty according to the evidence, and leave him to the "Corte for his further tryal for his life." But they say, "considered w^th^ y^e^ testimony of diuers y^t^ are at Springfield, whose testimonys were only sent in writing, as also y^e^ confession of Mary Parsons, and y^e^ impeachment of some of y^e^ bewitched psons of y^e^ said Hew Parsons;" that is to say, if the Court judged the testimony to be sufficient, taking into consideration the above facts, then they "finde y^e^ saide Hugh Parsons giltie of y^e^ sin of wichcrafte."

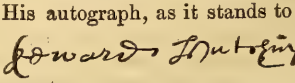
After his acquittal, Hugh Parsons resided a while in Boston, where he received some small proceeds of the little estate which he left at Springfield. He is believed finally to have gone to Long Island, and nothing further is known of his fortunes.

His behavior, throughout his extraordinary trials and vexatious afflictions, was that of an honest and conscientious man; one, whose desire it was to do justly, and to speak and act with prudence and discretion in all things and at all times. He evidently was a man having a superior mind to most of those with whom his lot was cast, and hence it is not unlikely, that, owing to this circumstance, as is often the case, a jealousy was excited against him, the lamentable consequences of which have here been briefly related.

The heresies, to which allusion was made, were promulgated by several of the people of Rhode Island. These began the preceding year to preach "from house to house," in the Colony of Plymouth, doctrines since owned by the denomination called Baptists. The Authorities of that Jurisdiction did not deal with them with much rigor, allowing them to depart under their own cognizances. This mildness on the part of Plymouth encouraged some of them to accept of an invitation to preach

* In the course of the examination of Mary Parsons, Thomas Cooper testified that she told him she should have been a witch before that time had she not been afraid to see the Devil. At length, however, she ventured to have an interview with him, at which interview, she said, "the Deuill told me that night I should not fear, for, said he, I will not come in any apparition, but only come into thy body like a winde, and trouble thee a little while, and presently go forth again; and so I consented. And that night [she went to a sort of general meeting of witches, which she describes thus:] I was with my husband and goodwife Mericke and Bessle Sewell in goodman Stebbinge his lott, and we were sometymes like catts and sometymes in our owne shape, and we were plodding for some good cheere; and they made me go barefoote and make the fires, because I had declared so much at Mr. Pynchons." It may even now be thought wonderful, that the men in authority, in that day, should never have harbored a suspicion that persons under such circumstances were insane.

† His autograph, as it stands to the verdict



of the Jury. He was a prominent man in Boston, as will often be seen by these pages.

in Massachusetts. Here they fared very differently. The disturbance
July 19. began at Lynn, at the house of William Witter, "an aged brother of the Church," who, not being able to go to Newport to hear what he considered the word of God truly preached, had therefore invited Mr. John Clarke, Obadiah Holmes, and John Crandal to his house, there to enjoy a season of communion agreeable to their opinions of divine worship. The officers of Government soon learned where they were, and the object of their visit. A writ was therefore issued for their apprehension, and they were apprehended accordingly. Their
July 20. arrest was on Sunday, in the midst of a sermon, which one of them, Mr. Clarke, was delivering; who, in his Narrative* of the affair, says, "two Constables with clamorous tongues, made an interruption in my discourse, and more uncivilly disturbed us than the pursuivants of the old English Bishops were wont to do." Being thus apprehended "they carried us away to the ale-house or ordinary." This was about noon. In the afternoon one of the Constables proposed to them to go to Mr. Whiting's meeting. To which it was answered, that being in his hands they would not resist, but if they were carried to meeting, then they should "be constrained to declare themselves."

Accordingly, as the custom of the times was, they were "carried" to meeting. On entering the assembly, Clarke says he "showed his dissent from them by his gesture." It being prayer time, he took off his hat as he entered, and "civilly saluted them, and turned into the seat he was appointed to." Then he says, "I put on my hat again, and sat down, opened my book and fell to reading. Mr. Bridges [the Magistrate who issued the warrant] being troubled, commanded the Constable to pluck off our hats, which he did, and where he laid mine there I let it lie." At the close of the services Mr. Clarke stood up and begun "to declare himself," but was soon silenced. They were then taken to the Ordinary, and there "watched over that night as
July 21. thieves and robbers." The next day they were sent to Boston, and "cast into prison." Ten days after, Clarke was brought
July 31. into Court "and fined twenty pounds, or to be well whipped." After a short imprisonment he paid the fine. Mr. Crandal was fined but five pounds, which he paid, and with Clarke returned to Rhode Island. Mr. Holmes would not pay the fine imposed on him, which was thirty pounds, and he was kept in prison till the Court met in the beginning of September; and then, after the public Lecture, "when I heard the voice of my keeper," he says, "come for me, even cheerfulness did come upon me, and, taking my testament in my hand, I went along with him to the place of execution."† Here he requested the privilege "to give an account of the faith" for which he was to suffer; but, he says, "in comes Mr. Flint, and says to the Executioner, 'Fellow, do thine office, for this fellow would but make a long speech to

* In Backus', *Hist. New Eng.*, i. 215.

† The "place of execution" was that now occupied by the Old State House at the head of State Street. There, or in that immediate vicinity, was the Market, and near the Market stood the Whipping Post.

delude the people.'" Yet he attempted to speak, "still Mr. Flint calls to the man to do his office. So before, and in the time of his pulling off my clothes, I continued speaking, telling them that I had so learned, that for all Boston I would not give my body into their hands thus to be bruised upon another account, yet upon this I would not give the hundredth part of a wampum peaque * to free it out of their hands."

Mr. Holmes was whipped with exceeding severity, † yet he told the Magistrates it was as with rods of roses. The spectators were many of them moved with pity. Two persons, ‡ for expressing sympathy, and taking the bleeding victim by the hand after his punishment, were fined forty shillings each, which if they refused to pay they were to be whipped also.

Nov. Soon after these troubles Mr. Clarke went to England, and the following year published a narrative of them; upon which Sir Richard Saltonstall wrote to Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson, "that it did not a little grieve his spirit to hear what sad things were reported daily of their tyranny and persecutions in New England; as that they fined, whipped and imprisoned men for their consciences." Mr. Cotton replied to him, in which reply he attempted a justification of the proceedings against the Rhode Island men. His defence will not be regarded more satisfactory, at this day, probably, than it was at that day to Sir Richard Saltonstall. §

Among the laws passed this year, there was one against dancing at taverns, under a penalty of five shillings. An act was made empow-

Oct. ering the town of Boston to choose seven Commissioners who, together with one Magistrate, were to hear and determine all civil actions, not exceeding ten pounds. They had jurisdiction in criminal cases also, where the penalty or fine did not exceed forty shillings. ‖

* Indian money, and current then and above one hundred years later among the English. To the time of the American Revolution of 1775, a *peag* or *peaque* was of the value of the 6th part of a penny.

† In an account of his sufferings in Boston, which Mr. Holmes sent to the "well-beloved brethren, John Spilsbury, William Kiffin and the rest in London," he wrote, that the spectators of the scene said "the man striking with all his strength, yea spitting on his hand three times, with a three-corded whip, gave me therewith thirty strokes." — *Backus*, i. 236. In a manuscript of Gov. Joseph Jencks it is remarked, that Mr. Holmes was whipped "in such an unmerciful manner, that in many days, if not some weeks, he could take no rest but as he lay upon his knees and elbows, not being able to suffer any part of his body to touch the bed whereon he lay." — *Ibid.*, 237. Holmes had a brother Robert living in the parish of Manchester, Lancashire, in 1617. — *Ibid.*, 261.

‡ John Hazel and John Spur. Hazel was imprisoned seven days, and escaped the lash only by having his fine paid by a friend. The following day he "went to visit a friend about six miles from Boston, where the same day he fell sick, and within ten days ended his life." — Holmes *in Backus*. Spur's fine was also paid by a friend. He belonged to the Church of Boston. He left a narrative of the affair, which is in Backus. Hazel was of Rehoboth, and between 60 and 70 years of age.

§ They may be read in Hutchinson's *Coll's. Orig. Papers*, 401–7, and *Backus*, i. 245–50. Hutchinson remarks upon the letter of Mr. Saltonstall, that "it discovers a good deal of that catholic spirit which too many of our first settlers were destitute of." — *Orig. Papers*, 401. Yet it is surprising that Hutchinson seems to have been ignorant of the cases of persecution detailed in the text, and that Morton, Hubbard, and Dr. Cotton Mather scarcely allude to them at all.

‖ This was probably a sort of experimental Court, made to relieve the County Court of small causes; for Hutchinson says it was only authorized for a year, and he did not find that it was revived. — *Hist. Mass.*, i. 174–5.

Four years before, the General Court had become too much encumbered with small matters, and it ordered that houses of entertainment should be licensed by the County Courts. *

The Town sent Captain John Leveritt, and Mr. Thomas Clarke, for Deputies to the General Court. The Selectmen were "Mr. Richard Parker, Captain Leveritt, Mr. Thomas Clarke, Mr. Edward Ting, Mr. Houchin, Deac. Marshall and Anthony Stoddard." Mr. Hezekia Vsher, Edward Fletcher, George Davis, John Sinderland were Constables. William Cotton and George Hailshall were Surveyors of Highways. William Courser and Robert Read, Sealers of Leather. Jeremy Houchin, Sealer of Weights and Measures; Edward Ting Treasurer; Anthony Stoddard, Recorder. †

One who was present at the first settlement of Boston, and had seen its progress for the twenty years in which it had existed, thus describes it: "Invironed it is with the brinish flouds, saving one small istmos, which gives free accesse to the neighbor townes, by land on the south side; on the northwest and northeast, two constant faires,‡ are kept for daily traffique thereunto. The forme of this Towne is like a heart, naturally situated for fortifications, having two hills on the frontice part thereof next the sea; the one well fortified on the superfeices thereof, with store of great artillery well mounted. The other hath a very strong battery built of whole timber and filled with earth, at the descent of the hill in the extreme poynt thereof betwixt these two strong armes lies a large cave or bay, on which the chiefest part of this Towne is built, overtopped with a third hill; all three like overtopping towers,

* The order was as follows: "It is ordered by the Authoritye of this Court, that hence forthe all such as are to keepe houses of comon entertainment, and to retayle rume, beer, &c., the Clerks of the writts and such as are to ende small causes, shalbe licenced at the County Courts of the shire where they live, or the Court of Assistants; so as this Court may not be thereby hindered in their more weighty affayres." — *Original Paper*, dated 28 May, 1647. Signed by "Jo: Winthop, Govr.," and on the part of the house by "Bozoun Allen."

† *Mar.* 31. — Goodman Leader, Sen. to yoke and ring all the swine. Henry Rust admitted to inhabit.

Apl. 28. — Thomas Alcocke appointed cow-keeper, at 2*s.* a head.

May 26. — John Button paid a fine of 20*s.* for letting a "forriner have a shop and entertainment in his house," and was ordered to discharge him forthwith out of his house, or pay 20*s.* more.

June 20. — If Francis Smith dont remove his house out of the Highway in three days, he shall be fined 20*s.* and 10*s.* a day after. If Wm. Frainklin dont "fill vp the ground he hath digged in the Townes Highway at the north end of the bridg near the house of Humphrey Milam" in ten days, he shall pay 20*s.*

June 30. — James Jimson to see "that noe stones nor tymber shall lye vpon the Flats above 48 hours." Wm. Pollard to see that no stones or timber lie in the streets at the South End of the Town, and Richd. Bennet the same at the North End; agreeable to an order of 31 Nov. 1649.

July 28. — Wm. Baker, carpenter; John Chamberlin, currier; and Wm. Talbot, sail-maker, admitted to inhabit.

Aug. 11. — The Select men are ordered to "take care from tyme to tyme for the prevention of danger of fyer by defectiue chimneys."

Nov. 6. — Martin Stebins is fined 20*s.* unless he secure his chimney from danger of fire in ten days.

Sept. 29. — Hope Allen, currier, admitted an inhabitant.

Oct. 27. — Nicholas Parker may wharf before his property by Charlestown ferry.

Nov. 24. — John Web, brasier, admitted to inhabit for six months, "and if he behave himself well for longer tyme." Saml. Norden fined for entertaining a foreigner, ignorantly, 6*s.* and 8*d.* "and to discharge them of his house." If any chimney "be on fyer, so as to flame out of the top," the party inhabiting the house to be fined 10*s.*

‡ This is no doubt a printer's error, and should be *ferries;* otherwise it is nonsense.

keepe a constant watch to fore see the approach of forrein dangers, being furnished with a beacon and lowd babling guns, to give notice by their redoubled eccho to all their sister townes. The chiefe edifice of this citylike Towne is crowded on the sea-bankes, and wharfed out with great industry and cost, the buildings beautiful and large; some fairely set forth with brick, tile, stone and slate, and orderly placed with comly streets, whose continuall inlargement presages some sumptuous city. The wonder of this moderne age, that a few years should bring forth such great matters by so meane a handfull. But now behold, in these very places where at their first landing the hideous thickets in this place were sich that wolfes and beares nurst up their young from the eyes of all beholders, where the streets are full of girles and boyes sporting up and down." *

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Mint Established. — An assumption of Authority. — Favored by the state of Affairs in England. — John Hull appointed Mint-Master. — Some Account of him. — Coining unnoticed by Parliament, and Cromwell. — Death of John Cotton. — Had ordered his Papers to be burnt. — Incidents of his last Sickness. — John Norton named as his Successor. — Personal Appearance of Cotton. — His Portrait. — Laws against Extravagance in Dress. — War declared against the Indians. — The Dutch and Indians accused of plotting the Destruction of the English. — Death and Character of Gov. Dudley. — The Great Fire. — Another Clamor against the Indians. — Maj. Willard sent against them. — They avoid Hostilities. — Maj. Willard censured. — Heretical Books. — Muggleton and Reeves.



BRENTON. ‡

THIS year money was begun to be coined in Boston. The increase of trade made a home currency necessary. Money in bullion had flowed in from the West Indies, owing in some measure to the success of the buccaneers among the islands in that region. Therefore "it was thought necessary for preventing fraud in money to erect a mint for coining shillings, sixpences and threepences." †

It was no small stretch of authority for a Colony or Province to presume to coin money; but this Colony was now very peculiarly situated, and its presumption in taking this step was greatly favored by the recent state of affairs in the mother country. Things had been so overturned there that the people

* Johnson, *Wonder-working Prov.*, chap. xx. p. 42. This description of Johnson is copied nearly verbatim in Ogilby's great folio "America: being the latest and most accurate Description of the New World," p. 159–60, printed twenty years after Johnson wrote. He mentions one fact not in Johnson, namely, that it (Boston) "was anciently called *Accomonticus*"!

† Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 78.

‡ The above are the Arms of Brenton, of Hertfordshire. They are still borne, with augmentation, by the naval commanders of the name in England, all descended from Mr. Wm. Brenton, of Boston, freeman 14 May, 1634, one of the principal inhabitants, and afterwards Governor of Rhode Island, of whom hereafter.

here felt that they were under little or no control from that Government, and even their allegiance hung only by a thread of very questionable strength and durability. *

It appears that "for some years paper bills" had been used for money; but as these "were very subject to be lost, rent or counterfeited, and other inconveniences," † a supply of hard money was resolved upon. Accordingly, the General Court authorized John Hull, "a silversmith," and Robert Sanderson, of Boston, officers of its "Jurisdiccon," for "melting, refyning and cojning of silver." They took an oath that all money coined by them should "be of the just alloy of the English cojne; that every shilling should be of due weight, namely, three penny troj weight, and all other pieces proportionably, so neere as they could." Measures were then taken to provide a suitable "mint howse and all tooles and implements necessary for carrying an end of the order; that the sajd mint howse should be sett vppon the land of the sajd John Hull;" ‡ that when he should cease to be Mint Master, the Country was to have the ground on which the house stood at the valuation of two "indefferent men equally chosen by the Countrje and sajd John Hull."

June 10.

The pieces at first coined had only the initials of New England on one side, and on the other the Roman numerals expressive of their value. But the General Court soon ordered that all pieces of money should have a double ring with this inscription, "MASSACHUSETTS, and a tree

* "No other Colony ever presumed to coin any metal into money. It must be considered, that at this time there was no king in Israel." — Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 78.

† Mr. Felt from *Mass. Archives*. See his *Hist. Acct. Mass. Currency*, 33.

‡ His land is not described in the *Book of Possessions*. He died intestate, and, after his death (which took place 29 Sept., 1683, aged 59, according to *Hist. Ant. and Hon. Art. Co.*), his estate was distributed between Judith his widow, and his daughter Hannah, wife of Samuel Sewall, as follows: 12 Mar. 1683–4 — Widow to have the mansion house, late bought of Mr. Edward Rawson, and the little orchard adjacent; one moiety of all the warehouses, yard and wharf on the Mill Creek in Boston, near the Little-bridge, called Oliver's-bridge; lands at Muddy River (Brookline) now occupied by Simon Gates; Swamp-line land occupied by Geo. Bairstow; Hogscote-land, occupied by Andrew Gardner; a third of the dwelling houses in Boston held by mortges; one from Hudson Leverett, occupied by him; one from Richd. Woodde, occupied by his widow; and one from Wm. Hoar, baker, occupied by him; also the dwelling house and land bo't of Robt. Walker; the small pasture bo't of John Damerill, fronting on the street leading towards Fort Hill in Boston; all the lands in Sherborn alias Boggastow. At the death of said Judith to be equally divided amongst the three children of her daughter, Hannah Sewall, viz. Samuel, Hannah and Elizabeth. At the decease of said daughter Hannah and her husband, said children to have the reversion of all lands at Muddy River; lands in Boston formerly Mr. Cotton's at Cotton-Hill, warehouses, wharf, &c.; a small tenement leased by Capt. Daniel Henchman, with pasture adjoining Mr. Robert Sanderson, purchased of Sarah Phippen. This document was subscribed by Saml. Sewall and his wife, 13 Mar., 1683–4, and witnessed by "Daniel Quinsey, John Alcocke and Eliakim Mather."

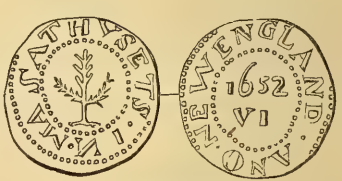
John Hull is styled silversmith in legal papers. It was doubtless owing to his skill in that business that the General Court selected him as its Mint Master. In one of Judge Sewall's interleaved Almanacks, he wrote against 14 Aug. 1683, "My father watched his last." The Almanack is by Cotton Mather. — See *Antiquarian Journal*, vii. 345. Mr. Hull had other children besides the wife of Sewall, but they all died before their father. The first recorded are Elizabeth and Mary, twins, born 23 Jan. 1652; Hannah (who became the wife of Sewall) b. 14 Feb. 1657. She was married 28 Feb., 1675–6. It is not probable that the father of the Mint Master ever came to this country; but that this son came over with an uncle or grandfather. Farmer learned by *Sewall's Diary*, that Robert Hull, of Boston, blacksmith, freeman 1637, was his grandfather. John no doubt learned his trade of silversmith before his emigration.

in the centre on one side, and NEW ENGLAND and the year of our Lord on the other side." * This was strictly adhered to by the Mint Master, but the General Court did not probably contemplate, that all the money which might be coined for thirty years should have the "year of Our Lord 1652," on it, yet such was the case.†

It has been long since remarked, that it was singular Parliament took no notice of this infringement of one of its vital prerogatives, but it only proves one of two things; namely, that Parliament was too much occupied to consider of the matter, or that it did not care to disturb the quiet of New England, as its loyalty was no doubt considered beyond question; nor does Cromwell appear to have alluded to the subject. And "there was a tacit allowance of it even by Charles the Second for more than twenty years; and although it was made one of the charges against the Colony when the Charter was called in question, yet no great stress was laid upon it. It appeared to have been so beneficial that, during Sir Edmund Andros' administration, endeavors were used to obtain leave for continuing it; and the objections against it seem not to have proceeded from its being an encroachment upon the prerogative, for the motion was referred to the master of the Mint, and



12*d*.



6*d*. PIECES



3*d*. PIECES.



2*d*.

* Mr. Felt says, "A pine tree appears to have been a favorite symbol with the authorities of Massachusetts." The rudeness of the impression on the early coins may render it rather uncertain whether a pine tree was intended to be represented, or some other tree. I am of the opinion that simply a *tree*, of no particular genus, was originally intended; and that at length it received the name of one of the most common tribe of trees of New England. When the people "declared themselves free from British rule, they had it appointed on the State flag, April 11th, 1776. It continued to the adoption of the thirteen stripes. Even before this appointment, it was under the colors with such a tree that the battle of Bunker Hill was fought by our forces." —*Hist. Mass. Cur.*, 35.



It may be just to infer that the same Flag or Colors was used on the land as on the sea in the early period of our history.—Such being the fact, and the Sea Colors being truly described in an English work published before 1700, we find a *tree* in the colors then in use no more representing a *pine* than it does a *cabbage*. It is exactly copied in the annexed engraving. The ground is red, also the Cross. The tree is green.

† It may have been the policy of the Rulers not to alter the date; willing, perhaps, that it might be thought in England a matter only

the report against it was upon mere prudential considerations." * A great sum was coined, and Master Hull realized a large fortune; so advantageous was his contract with the Government.† But it was remarked by a cotemporary, that his good fortune was well deserved; in that "he was the son of a poor woman, but dutiful to and tender of his mother, which Mr. Wilson, his minister, observing, pronounced that God would bless him; and although he was then poor, yet he should raise a great estate." ‡

The Town sent the same Deputies to the General Court this year as last.§ The other officers varied. ‖

resorted to in a single year, for a temporary relief, and which had been probably laid aside the same year.

* Hutchinson, i. 178.

† "He was to coin the money of the just alloy of the then new sterling English money, and for all changes which should attend melting, refining and coining, he was to be allowed to take 15*d.* out of every 20*s.* The Court were afterwards sensible that this was too advantageous a contract, and Mr. Hull was offered a sum of money by the Court to release them from it; but he refused to do it. He left a large personal estate and one of the best real estates in the country. Samuel Sewall, who married his only daughter, received with her, as commonly reported, £30,000 in New England shillings."—*Ibid.*

‡ Mather, *Magnalia*, B. iii. 47.

§ *Jan.* 5.—Thomas Noble admitted an inhabitant.

Jan. 26.—Wm. Whitwell may keep an ordinary till the next 7th month. Martin Stebbins allowed the same liberty. Richd. Wooddy admitted an inhabitant "vpon promise not to be offensive by his trayd."

Feb. 23.—Joshua Scotto may wharf before his property, "by the north east end of the Mill Bridge." John Vyall may keep a house of common entertainment, "provided he keepe it nere the New Meetinghouse, or northward of it." James Davis may keep a house of common entertainment.

‖ *Mar.* 8.—Select men were Mr. Adam Winthrop, Capt. Savage, Mr. Thomas Clarke, Mr. Jeremy Houchin, Deacon Marshall, Ensign Hutchinson and Mr. Wm. Brenton. The Constables were Jacob Sheaffe, Mr. James Astwood, Samuel Bitsfeid, and Wm. Ludkin; for Rumley Marsh John Tuthill; for Muddy River John Kenerick. "Ordered that James Euerill and the neighbors w^{ch} set vp the Conditt by the Dock, shall have on of the bells (which were given by Capt. Crumwell) for a clocke, and enioy it whiles they make that vse of it there."

Mar. 16.—Ensign Hutchinson chosen Treasurer, and Thomas Savage Recorder. Deacon Marshall sealer of weights and measures.

Mar. 29.—"Thomas Alkok" to keep the cows "w^{ch} goe one the Common one this Neck," and to have 2*s.* and 6*d.* each, and to pay for wintering "of the Town bull." "Sargt. Richd. Cooke" may set a house on the Town's ground, between the house Mr. Woodmansey lives in, and the Town "skoole" house, extending from the street to Henry Messenger's ground, behind the "skoole house downe along by the burying-place; 67 foot wide behind the skole house," and 60 next Henry Messenger; trees planted or to be planted, and buildings to be holden as security for the rent. Enlargement of the schoolhouse was provided for.

April 3.—Ens. James Oliver and Sergt. Peter Oliver may set up a wind mill on the "tope of the hile between the Towne and the hile called Fox hile;" to pay 12*d.* a year to the Town, or forfeit 5*s.* a quarter. Said "mile to stand stile" when the "cheef military commander of this Towne or of this regiment" shall order it.

April 2.—John Anderson may wharf before the high-way adjoining his land on one side and John Crabtre's on the other; may take wharfage of strangers but not of the inhabitants of the Town. Wm. Franklin shall make good the bridge by John Batman's house, over the Mill-creek; and to make it passable both for carts and horse, in ten days, or be fined 20*s.*

May 31.—Edward Flecher requested that Tho. Sewal might reside in the Town, and "Rich. Greedly, Jno. Parker, Miles Tarne, Richard Thayre, all of Boston," became security against his becoming chargeable to the Town.

July 26.—Richd. Waite may set a porch before his house, 3 ft. into the street, and 6 ft. wide, and pay the Town 6*d.* every 25th of March "henceforth and for euer." James Pitney allowed to inhabit, but Theodore Atkinson had to become bound for him in £20. Wm. Shattoke, shoemaker, allowed to inhabit; also Silvester Harbert.

Aug. 9.—Robt. Feeld may keep a "cook's shopp and draw beare," and Wm. Courser may also keep a cook shop. *Oct.* 5.—Wm. Whitwell and Martin Stebbin allowed the same privilege.

Aug. 30.—Awgoston Lindon and James Westmorland admitted inhabitants.

Nothing since the death of Governor Winthrop had caused so great a sensation in the Town as the death of Mr. John Cotton. He was in his sixty-eighth year ; * of whom, one † eminently qualified to draw his character, says, "His excellent learning and profound judgment, eminent gravity, Christian candor and sweet temper of spirit, whereby he could very placidly bear those who differed from him in their apprehensions, made him most desired whilst he was amongst them, and the more lamented when he was removed hence. So equal a contention between learning and meekness, magnanimity and humility, is seldom seen in any one person. He was a famous light in his generation, a glory to both Englands ; one in whom was so much of what is desirable in a man, as the consciences of all that knew him appealed unto, is rarely to be seen in any one conversant upon earth. And as concerning any tenet, wherein he may be thought to be singular, it must be remembered, that although he was a star of the first magnitude, yet he was on this side of that place and state where the spirits of just men are made perfect, and where the 'wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament.'"

Dec. 23.

It is related, that on his death-bed Mr. Cotton ordered his son to burn all his papers which related to the unhappy controversy in Sir Henry Vane's time ; and that "he had bundled them all up" with the intention to do it himself, but had omitted it till he had not strength to go into his study where they were. His son complied reluctantly with the injunction of his dying father, but not till he had taken the advice of Mr. Norton. That advice was in obedience with the injunction. ‡

Mr. Cotton preached his last sermon about one month before his death. His final sickness was occasioned by a cold taken while passing the ferry to Cambridge ; whither he went to preach a sermon to the students at the College. An inflammation of the lungs followed, and he expired on Thursday, about noon, or "between eleven and twelve o'clock, after the bell had called to the lecture." When upon his death-bed, the members of his Church, aware that his dissolution was near at hand, requested him to name some one to succeed him, and he desired them to apply to Mr. Norton, of Ipswich. §

Nov. 21.

The personal appearance of Mr. Cotton, according to his grandson, ‖

Oct. 5. — Sergt. Robt. Turner may let his new house jet into the street further than his old one is, and to pay 2*s.* and 6*d.* a year for ever.

Nov. 29. — Thomas Bligh is allowed to live in the Town, "he carrying himself without scandall." Mr. Thomas Browghton may wharf before his ground at the ferry towards Charlestown, if he do it "within a year and a day." Good. Arnal and Sergt. Wm. Cotton fined 5*s.* for committing nuisance. "Those whoe" paved the lane from the Cove at Mr. Hamberye's, north-west to the house of Robt. Bradford's, to be paid 40*s.*

Dec. 10. — Mr. Edward Hutchinson is chosen gentleman of the Great Artillery of Boston.

Dec. 27. — William Inglish is admitted a townsman. Richard Taylor may set a shop at the south end of Mrs. Hamblo's house.

* He was born 4 Dec., 1585, and was therefore just entered upon his 68th year.

† Hubbard, *Hist. New Eng.*, 553, *ed. Harris.*

‡ Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 179.

§ Dr. Pond's Preface to his edition of the *Life of Cotton, by John Norton*, p. 8. For several of the above facts I am indebted to this work.

‖ Dr. Cotton Mather, *in the Magnalia*, B. iii. page 28.

was as follows: "The reader," he says, "that is inquisitive after the prosopography of this great man, may be informed, that he was of a clear, fair, sanguine complexion, and, like David, of a ruddy countenance; rather low than tall, and rather fat than lean, but of a becoming mediocrity. In his younger years his hair was brown, but in his latter years as white as the driven snow. In his countenance there was an inexpressible sort of majesty, which commanded reverence from all that approached him." *

The laws which had been passed against extravagance in dress at a previous Court, had been pretty rigorously enforced. One woman was fined for wearing "broad bone lace," one for wearing tiffany, and another for wearing a silk hood. Allice Flint was complained of for this last offence, but as she made it appear that she was worth £200, the law did not reach her case; but Jonas Fairbancks did not escape censure for wearing "those great prohibited boots," although he escaped without being fined.

1653. Mar. 14. Captain Leverett and Captain Clarke are again chosen Deputies to the General Court.†

The war between England and the Dutch caused much alarm in Boston, and a war with the Narraganset Indians also broke out this year. It was declared by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, and 250 men were ordered to be raised. Owing chiefly to the relation of England to the Dutch, a jealousy had sprung up here, that the people of Manhattan had leagued with the Indians to distress and break up the settlements of New England. This jealousy was strengthened when the Rulers considered the part they had acted in causing the death of Miantonimo. Ninigret was now a leading Chief among the Narragansets, and he had spent much time of late at New York. It turned out, however, that the fears of the English respecting a plot between the Dutch and Indians against them, was without sufficient foundation upon which to make war; and, after long and tedious examinations, the Commissioners learned that Ninigret had been sojourning at Manhattan for the benefit of his health.‡ From the information elicited, however, it appears not unlikely that the Dutch Governor at

Sept. 20.

* His portrait accompanying this history very well agrees with this description, and may tend to dispel any doubt of the genuineness of the picture from which it is copied, should there be any who might wish to appear wise by expressing doubt. It has, I believe, never before been engraved. It is copied, as its inscription imports, from a painting in possession of JOHN ELIOT THAYER, Esq., of Boston, who is a descendant of Cotton.

† "Seleckt men, Ens. Edwd. Hutchinson, Ens. Jerymy Howchine, Lieutt. James Oliuer, Tho. Marshall, Mr. Wm. Brenton, Mr. Samll. Cole, Cornet Peeter Oliuer. Comissioner to carry in the voats for Magistrats, Mr. Nathll. Dunkom. Constables, Mr. Joseph Rocke, Henry Bridgham, Bartholmew Chevars, Wm. Wenborne; John Doelittell, at Rumley Marsh; Peeter Ashpinall at Muddy River; Clarkes of the Market, Tho. Buttalls and Corparall Henry Powndinge; Seallers of leather, Wm. Corser and Robt. Reade; Surveyors of High-wayes, Mathew Barnes, Richd. Benit, Thomas Wiburne; at Rumley Marsh, James Pemerton; packers of flesh and fish, Serjt. John Barrell; Wm. Dinsdall and Isack Collimore to looke to carriages and wheels of the great artilery." "Granted Isack Collimoor a houselot at the northwest end of Mackallin Knights ground towards the house of Mr. Howchins."

‡ "In Anno 1653, there were great troubles and commotions raised in the spirits of men, with reference to the Indians, it being generally believed that there was an horid conspi-

New York was laying plans by which he could avail himself of the Indians' services, should his situation require them.*

Mr. Endicott had held the office of Governor since the death of Governor Winthrop, and Mr. Dudley had served as his Deputy for the last two years. Now the labors of the latter were come to an end. Mr. Dudley died in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and thus passed away another principal founder of the Colony; one of the most energetic and active men who had ever lived in it. His firmness was fully equalled by his fidelity; and though he was highly intolerant, according to more modern ideas of toleration, yet his integrity, and honesty of purpose, in carrying out that which he conceived to be the true interests of the people, will never be questioned by those who have attended at all to his character.†

July 31.

A fire, known for many years after as "The Great Fire," occurred this year; but neither its extent nor locality is known. The Town may be said to have been very fortunate in respect to fires hitherto.‡ The immediate affairs of the Town are important and interesting. §

racy amongst the Indians throughout this land to cut off all the English, and that they were animated thereto by the Dutch, there being, at that time, war between England and Holland." — Dr. I. Mather, *Relation of the Troubles*, &c., p. 67–8.

* The war would have been prosecuted but for the influence of Boston. Dr. Mather says, "The Commissioners of the United Colonies did apprehend themselves called upon to wage warr against Ninigret and such Indians as should adhere to him in his bloudy proceedings; but the Council at Boston not concurring in those conclusions, the intended expedition failed at that time." — *Ibid.*, 69.

† There is believed to be no portrait of Governor Dudley in existence. This is very singular, and much to be lamented by his numerous posterity at the present day; one of whom, bearing the name, has within a few years, travelled over a great part of England to make researches respecting his ancestry, but, it is believed, not with entire success. His biography is of the deepest interest, and may be read in Eliot and Allen, and most of our histories. The family arms have been given in this work. — See *ante*, p. 137.

‡ Capt. Robert Keayne, who wrote his will, or the first part of it, on the 1st of August this year, is supposed to refer to this fire in the following passage: "Haveing thought of the want of some necessary things for the Towne of Boston, as a Market-place [house] and Condit; the one a good helpe in danger of fyre, the want of which we have found of sad experience." — *Antiquarian Journal*, vi. 90. From the following Town orders it would seem that the Great Fire happened not long before 14 Mar. 1653. Also from the Town Records: —

Mar. 14. — "Ordered that thear be a ladder or ladders to every house within this Town, that shall rech to the ridg of the house, which every houshowlder shall provide for his house by the last day of the 3d mo. next, one the penaltie of 6*s.* 8*d.*; that every householder shall provide a pole of about 12 foot long with a good large swob at the end of it, to rech the rofe of his house to quench fire; that the seleckt men shall provide six good and large ladders for the Towne's vse, which shall hang at the outside of the Meetinghouse, to be branded with the Town mark; that a bell man goe about the Town in the night, from 10 vnto 5 a cloke in the morning."

§ *Jan.* 31. — William Ware is admitted a townsman.

Feb. 28. — William Gifford, bricklayer, admitted to inhabit, but Mr. Richd. Bellingham was obliged to "secur the Town frō all dammage for one whole year." Goodm. Waters must remove his fence from "crose the old hie way" leading from Tho. Hawkins house over the little bridge behind the water mill to the ferry to Charlestown before 7 Mar. next, or be fined 20*s.* Wm. Foxley, and Mr. Pighogg [Piggot] "chururgeon," are admitted to inhabit. Francis Hudson may wharf before his ground near the ferry at Charlestown, if he do it within a year, and leave a way a rod and an half between his house and said wharf. John Lowes fined 5*s.* for entertaining Francis Burges without the liberty of the "Selekt" men. Good. Watters fined 10*s.* for entertaining Roger Sowers without the liberty of the "Seleckt" men.

Mar. 28. — Thomas Rider fined 20*s.* for receiving John Lightfoot as an inmate, but it was afterward remitted. [Joseph Rocke was fined several times for not acting as Constable, until the General Court ordered his fines to be returned.]

April 25. — Mr. Simon Aires fined 10*s.* for

Mar. 12. Captain Thomas Clarke and Captain Thomas Savage were chosen Deputies to the General Court. The "Townsmen" chosen at the same time were Mr. William Brenton, Mr. William Davis, Mr. Jeremyah Houchin, Mr. James Oliuer, Mr. Samuel Cole, Mr. Peter Oliuer, and Mr. Thomas Marshall.*

May 3. At the General Election, Mr. Richard Bellingham was chosen Governor, and Mr. Endicott Deputy Governor. There is no record that a sermon was preached at the Election, nor is it at present known whether any sermons were preached from 1650 to 1655, inclusive.†

The troubles and complaints against the Indians were louder this year, if possible, than they were the last year, and nothing short of an extermination of the Narragansets seemed likely to satisfy the Connecticut people. One of the most serious complaints against them was, that they kept up a war upon the Long Island Indians; and this, enforced with other accusations, caused the Commissioners again to declare war.

Oct. A force of 270 foot and forty horse were therefore ordered to proceed into the Narraganset country to take satisfaction. Of this "army" Major Simon Willard had the chief command. On his arrival Major Willard found, doubtless, what he expected to find, namely, that the Indians had all run away into the swamps and hiding-places; and hence, if he and his men were disposed to fight, there was nobody to fight with. In due time the army returned home, having effected nothing of importance.

There was considerable clamor raised against Major Willard, and there were some that supposed he had secret instructions from the Gov-

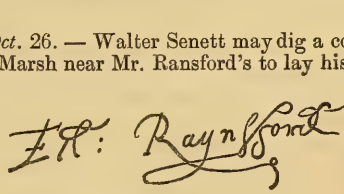
his chimney being on fire "contrary to order."

May 30. — David Hichbone fined 20*s.* for receiving James Robinson into his house as an inmate, but on "his sorrow for the same," the fine was not exacted. Robert Sanders may inhabit, and Mr. Thomas Ruck may "retayle strong water."

June 27. — Roger Else admitted an inhabitant. Mr. Robtt. Woodmancye to be paid 40*s.* "as part of his repayres of his house," [which had probably been injured in stopping the progress of the late fire. Immediately following this order to remunerate Mr. Woodmancye, the Town Records state, that] "Forasmuch as sad events have been by fire, when it breaketh out beyond its due bounds, to the damage and losse, nott only of estate but life also, for preventyon whereof it is hereby ordered that noe fire shall be kindled within three rod of any warehouse or wharfe or woodpile," &c., upon certain penalties: From which it is probable that *the great fire* originated from a fire made in the open air near some building or woodpile, &c.

Aug. 28. — Mr. Foot shall fence his "seller from the highway neare the bridge over the mill stream," or pay 20*s.*

Oct. 26. — Walter Senett may dig a cove in the Marsh near Mr. Ransford's to lay his boat in.



Dec. 26. — Joshua Scotto and Wm. Franklin may alter the draw bridge, "to make it rise in two leaves," it being heavy and dangerous in one leaf.

* *Mar.* 12. — Habacuck Glover, Tho. Mattson, —— Farnham, and Thomas Wilbourne, were chosen Constables. Richard Crichley, Hough Drury, —— Goose, and Nathll. Adams, surveyors; for Rumney Marsh, Thomas Stocker; searchers and packers of flesh and fish, Wm. Dinsdayle and John Barrell. "The Select Men have liberty to agree with Joseph Jynks for Ingins to carry water in case of fire, if they see cause soe to doe." Wm. Hearsey was Constable of Rumney Marsh, and Garrett Bourne, of Muddy River.

† *Mar.* 27. — Mr. Wm. Davis, Mr. Peeter Oliver, John White and Peeter Aspinwall to join with Cambridge to lay out a High way through Muddy River to Cambridge. Mr.

ernment at Boston, which prevented his fighting the Indians; but it would have been more just had the Indians been accused of acting under "secret instructions," by which Major Willard's army found none of them to fight with. Nevertheless, it may be that there were influential men in Boston who regarded a war with the Narragansets altogether unwarrantable and unnecessary. Mr. Roger Williams was, doubtless, consulted, and there is a letter of his extant in which he reminds the English "that the Narragansets were their first friends; that they had been true in all the Pequot wars, and had been the means of the coming in of the Mohegans, too; that a Narraganset had never stained his hand in English blood; but that the Long Islanders had, as well as the Pequots; while many hundreds of the English had experience of the love and desire of peace among the Narragansets."

Before retreating from the Narraganset country, Major Willard endeavored to bring Ninigret to hold a treaty, but the Chief was afraid to venture among so many soldiers. Two gentlemen, however, who accompanied the expedition, Captain Davis and Captain Seely, procured an interview with him, and he made certain promises, which it is said he kept *fidem Punicam;* for the very good reason, probably, that they were extorted from him, and that it was out of his power to perform

Samuell Cole, sealer of weights and measures. The grant to Mr. Thomas Broughton to wharf or make a "Carrocadd before his land at Center Haven is contynued." Mr. Willm. Davis, Treasurer for the Town, and Thomas Marshall, Recorder. Mr. James Oliver and Robtt. Turner to run the line between Cambridge and "Rocksbury," and Boston, "in pambulatyon." Capt. Robt. Kayne and John Touthill to run between Boston, Charlestown and Linn "in pambulatyon."

April 24. — "Thomas Olcott shall kepe the cows, and to have 2*s.* a head for every cow that goes vpon the comon, and 6*d.* a head for the hire of 2 bulls w^{ch} he hath hereby power to gather vpon every cowe."

June 28. — The Town agreed with Wm. Ireland and Aron Waye to make good the High way, as now laid out by Lin, leading thence to Wenesemett; the part newly laid out, partly in the land of Mr. Newgate, and partly in their own; to keep it in repair seven years, and to be paid £5. Wm. Bruff admitted an inhabitant; Willm. Wenbourne being bound for him. Mr. Dean Winthrop and Amos Richardson, agents "vnto Mr. Steaven Winthrop doe lay out a highway through the marsh from Henry Bridgham's house to Benjamin Ward's wharf;" thence through the Town's marsh, in a line with the street as staked and marked. Richd. Norton fined for receiving Geo. Palmer into the Town.

July 31. — Tho. Smith and Mrs. Bridgett Sandford admitted inhabitants. Mr. Hezekiah Vsher, and Thos. Clarke, shopkeeper, to collect the money for the College, subscribed by the Select Men. Thos. Hawkins to pay 2*s.* and 6*d.* for the use of the Lane that leads to the Mill Cove, by the year; and may fence it in as long as the Town sees good. It was a rod and half wide.

Aug. 28. — On Hugh Williams security, Mary Hayle may "reside with us." Mathew Barnes shall remove the pales at the corner of the Mill, and his wood from the High way, or be fined 20*s.*

Sept. 25. — Mr. Wm. Davis, Mr. Jeremy Houchin, and Mr. Peter Oliuer, to view the land at the end of the house that was Geo. Bennitt's, and determine whether it belongs to said house or the Town. "Simon Rogers chosen bellman; to begin the 1 Oct. and soe to contyneue till the 1st of 3d mo." Edward Greneclif admitted to inhabit. Mr. John Floyd fined 5*s.* for receiving Mrs. Pacey into his house as an inmate. —— Farnham fined 5*s.* for receiving Goodman Wales as above. Joseph Swett admitted an inhabitant. If any persons take earth out of the Lane leading from "Theoder Atkinsons house to Rich. Gridleys, they shall bring two loads of gravel for every load of earth."

Oct. 31. — Richard Green admitted an inhabitant, and Jasper Rawlins became bound for him. Robert Brooks admitted to inhabit.

Dec. 10. — The order of 24: 9: 51 is repealed, but it is ordered that "iff anye chimney shall be fired soe as to flame out att the topp," its owner to be fined 5*s.* The bridge leading over the Mill stream near John Bateman's house shall be mended up, by the owners, so as people may pass safely over, within a week.



. LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS AT PLIMOUTH 11TH DEC. 1620.

them. This is a fair inference, when it is known that Davis and Seely told him, that if he did not do as they had ordered him, "he must expect that ere long his head would be set upon an English pole."

As nothing was effected against the Indians, and as the army had returned, many apprehended that they would be encouraged to commit depredations. Hence soldiers were kept in readiness to act against them. Boston ordered that the soldiers which were pressed for the
Dec. 25. expedition against "Ninicraft," should be in readiness to march at two hours' notice. The number of Boston men "impressed" was thirty-two, and William Hudson, Evan Thomas, William Blanton and Nicholas Upsall, were allowed seventeen pounds and fifteen shillings for billeting them. This allowance was in January following.

Aug. 22. To prevent the scarcity of coin, the General Court ordered that persons should not carry away with them, out of the country, more than twenty shillings each, which it judged would be sufficient to pay their expenses; and searchers were appointed to carry out the order.

There had been a recent importation of books, which were pronounced heretical by the Government. An order was therefore passed forbidding all persons having in their possession books bearing the names of John Reeve and Lodowick Muggleton;* and they were ordered to
Oct. 18. be delivered to those authorized to receive them, who were directed publicly to burn them in the Market Place, which doubtless was accordingly done.

At the same Court there was an order made that no man should be a Deputy to the General Court, "who was not correct in the main doctrines of religion." It was also ordered that taxes might be paid in barley at five, rye and peas at four, and corn at three shillings the bushel.

Nov. The General Court came to a regulation respecting their board in times of Sessions; namely, that they should take their meals, especially their dinners, in the Court House chamber. Lieutenant Phillips agreed to give each, beside their meals, a cup of wine or beer, with two meals, and a fire and a bed, for three shillings a day.

Dec. 9. The death of Major General Gibbons, which happened on the ninth of December of this year, was a great loss to the Colony.†

* A synoposis or abstract of Muggleton's books would afford much amusement, if not instruction, at this day. He was as wild and sanguine in his theories as any enthusiast probably ever was before or since his time. His portrait in one of his books now by me, has under it this inscription: — "*LODOWICK MUGGLETON, Dyed the* 14 *of March* 169⅞: *then aged* 88 *years* 7 *months: and* 14 *Dayes.*" Another of his books has this title: — "The Acts of the Witnesses of the Spirit, in Five Parts; by Lodowick Muggleton, one of the two [Reeve was the other] Witnesses, and True Prophets of the only High, Immortal, Glorious GOD, Christ Jesus." — He seems to have agreed with the Rulers here in one respect; namely, in waging war against the Quakers. William Penn fell under his rebuke, whom he calls a "Lyon-like Quaker," who had come out "with another thundering letter" "The great mistery," he says, "that God become flesh, is hid from the eyes of the seed of the serpent, such as William Penn the Quaker is."

† There is a good sketch of him in Dr. Eliot's N. E. Biog. Dict. He is also noticed by Dr. Allen, though Mr. Savage says he is not. (*Note in Winthrop, new edition*, i. p. 228.)

I am not aware of any data, by which the

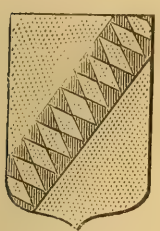
He was the chief of the military men in the country ; having been kept in his office of Major General by annual elections. The other important offices which he held will have been observed in the previous pages of this history.* He was probably the greatest adventurer among the Boston merchants, in La Tour's expedition, by which he lost a large amount, so that, at his death, his estate was rendered insolvent. There was, at his decease, a debt due him from the Town. Its consideration was referred "to the Selectmen" of the following year, "together with the help of the ancient Townsmen." Mr. Thomas Lake, and Mr. Joshua Scottow were Administrators to Major Gibbon's estate, who, the records say, had frequently demanded the debt of the Town, the amount of which was but forty-five pounds. It was finally adjusted, and twenty pounds were paid, "because y^e^ whole debt appears nott so clearly due."

age of Gen. Gibbons can be learned. He was probably not above sixty. He had sons Jotham and John. Jotham had lands given him by Squaw Sachem and Webcowit on the west side of Mistick ponds in 1637. Charlestown afterwards claimed those lands, and a tedious lawsuit grew out of it. The cause was decided 24 : 1 : 1661–2. The jury gave Charlestown "three parts," and "one part" to the defendant, Thomas Gleison, "as the land belonging to Jotham Gibbons, and for the defendant costs of Court, 6*s.* and 2*d.*" Gleison lived upon the land at the time of the suit.— *Court Papers.* By the same papers it appears that Major Gibbons understood the Indian language and was an interpreter between the English and Indians.

* See *ante*, pp. 200, 231. — The voyage of Capt. Gibbon (as he was then styled) to the West Indies was noticed in the latter page. During that voyage he probably fell in with some European voyager, who, on his return to his country, manufactured the absurd tale of Gibbon's being met with about the Arctic regions, and that he had discovered a North-West Passage, &c. ; which fabrication deceived many. Among others, Capt. Arthur Dobbs was rather disposed to credit the legend, as late as 1744, who prints the story in his *Account of Hudson's Bay*, 123, &c. — The reader will find more of this matter, if he will take the trouble to examine an article in the N. Amer. Rev., vol. xlviii. p. 129, &c. (No. CII. Jan., 1839.) The anachronism in the fabrication, making Gibbon's voyage two years later than it was, may have arisen from accident or intention.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Gov. Endicott removes to Boston. — Death of Edward Winslow. — His Character. — Law about Home Manufactures. — Improvement in Scythes. — Movement for a Reduction of Duties. — Sale of Irish Servants. — Scotch Prisoners sent over. — Various Town Regulations. — Arrival of Quakers. — Seized and Imprisoned. — Their Books Burnt. — Proceedings against Heretics, how far Justifiable. Mary Fisher. — Laws against Quakers. — Nicholas Upsall. — Banishment and Sufferings. — Cromwell. — People invited to remove to Jamaica. — Decline it. — John Leverett. — Execution for Witchcraft. — Death of Capt. Keayne — of Miles Standish. — Forts Repaired. — Samuel Sharp. — Transfers of Real Estate not hitherto regularly Recorded. — Removal of the Gallows — The North Battery Repaired.



WINSLOW.

May 23. THE election this year resulted in the choice of Mr. Endicott for Governor, and Mr. Bellingham for Deputy Governor, which offices they continued to fill for the ten following years; at the end of which period Mr. Endicott died. At this Court an order of request was made, that the present and future Governors would reside in Boston; or, within four or five miles of the Town, "out of respect to strangers." With this request Mr. Endicott complied; he had hitherto resided at Salem. His place of residence was on what is now Tremont Street, near the house of Mr. Cotton.*

Another of the great men of New England died this year. This was Governor Edward Winslow. No death could have cast a greater gloom over the country; and although he belonged to Plymouth Colony, yet he was much identified with the affairs of Boston. There had not lived in New England, perhaps, a man of greater talents, or one of higher moral worth. He had no superior among that band of worthies who gave an imperishable name to the MAYFLOWER; and he is the only one of all the "one hundred and one" who came to Plymouth in 1620, of whom the hand of an artist has left any painting, bearing the character of an authentic portrait. † He was in England chiefly as an agent for this Jurisdiction, when he was appointed by the Lord Protector a Commissioner to superintend or to direct the naval operations against

* Shaw's *Description*, 291. Mr. Endicott's oldest son was named John, whose wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Jeremy Howchin, a distinguished inhabitant. He died without issue in 1668, leaving all his estate to his wife. His house was in the vicinity of Sudbury St., adjoining the land of George Bates on the west.— *Will.* His widow m. (Aug. 1668) Rev. James Allen, who arrived in N. Eng. in 1662. Their children were Hannah, b. 22 July, 1669; James, 21 Aug. 1670; John, 29 Feb. 1672; Jeremiah, 29 Mar. 1673. Mrs. Allen died seven days after the birth of this child, and Mr. A. m. again, 11 Sept. same year, Sarah Hawlins (Breet) and had Thomas, 20 May, 1675; Sarah, 13 Sept. 1679; both died infants. Jeremiah A., the son above named, had an only dau. who became the wife of John Wheelwright, and d. 12 Jan. 1717. Mr. W. died 5 Oct. 1760, a. 71. Mr. Allen's first wife was Hannah Dummer, whom he m. 18 Aug. 1663. She d. Mar. 1668. He was minister of the First Church. — *MS. Memoranda of Thos. Walcutt among Snow's papers.*

† The original was formerly in the Winslow Mansion at Marshfield, but is now deposited with the Historical Society in this city. It has been beautifully engraved for Mr. Young's "*Chronicles of Plymouth*," and recently by Mr. Bartlett for "*The Pilgrim Fathers.*"

the Spanish West Indies, under the immediate command of Admirals Penn and Venables. A disagreement arose between those commanders, which gave him so much anxiety and uneasiness, that a fever was the consequence, and he died near Hispaniola, at the age of about fifty-nine years. * His body was deposited in the sea, upon the ceremony of which, "forty-two pieces of ordnance" were discharged.

May 8.

A want of material for clothing had now begun to be considerably felt in the Colony, and to cause the people to supply themselves, the General Court made a law, "that all hands not otherwise necessarily employed, as women, boys and girls," should "spin according to their skill and ability." The Selectmen of the Towns were required to look to the condition of each family, and to "assess spinners" in it, according to circumstances. Thus people were enjoined by legal enactments to look to their own interests in the matter of home manufactures.

Before this period scythes for cutting grass were a very clumsy implement of husbandry, but this year Mr. Joseph Jenks introduced a great improvement into their manufacture. The nature of his improvement was such, that no one since his time has been able materially to improve upon him.

There was a movement among the merchants of Boston this year to effect a reduction of duty on malt. Beer was an article of great importance, for the brewing of which malt was largely imported. Accordingly several petitions, signed by some of the most considerable importers, were presented to the General Court † In one of these they

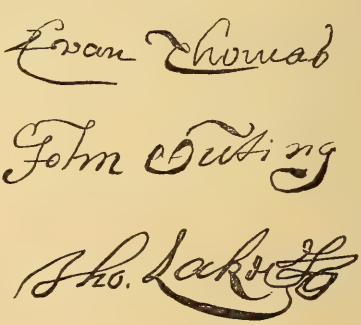
Oct. 25.

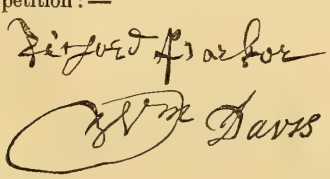
* He was born at Droitwich in Worcestershire, October 19th, 1595. Few lines upon New England worthies are more familiar than those upon Mr. Winslow in Morton's Memorial: —

"The Eighth of May, west from 'Spinola Shore,
God took from us our Grand Commissioner,
Winslow by name, a man in Chiefest Trust,
Whose life was sweet, and conversation just;
Whose Parts and Wisdome most men did excell:
An honor to his Place, as all can tell."

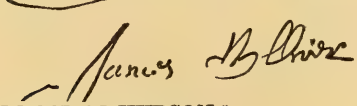
There is a pedigree of Gov. Winslow's descendants in the *Antiquarian Journal*, iv. 297, &c.

† The following are the autographs of such of the anti-tariff men of 1655, as signed the petition: —

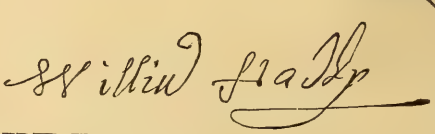




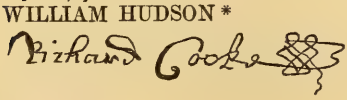


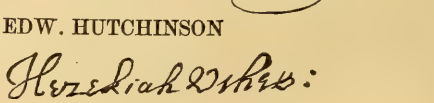


WILLIAM HUDSON *



EDW. HUTCHINSON





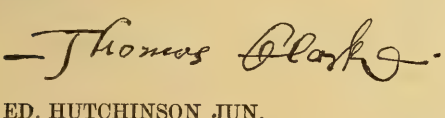
* See p. 289.

say, "that whereas their is a law about the ympost or custom of mault brought over from other parts, which your Petitioners conceive to be piuditiall to this Comon Welth, and also a discoridgmt to marchants," they therefore pray for a repeal of said law. In another they say, "The well knowne advantage accrueing by freedome of ports and hindranc of trade, proportionally according to largeness of customs imposed, that this seeming good may not bring upon this Countrey a reall evell, and from custom upon one thing grow to custom on another, till step by step under spectous pretences we are insensiblie brought under taxes for every thing, as the wofull experience of other nations well known unto us sheweth." Therefore "for the good of the present, and to prevent this evell in future ages, we are become your humble petitioners to remove the customs upon malt, that after ages may remind you as fathers of theire freedome, and the present may bow before you for theire experience of your care of theire wellfare." *

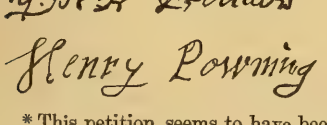
Notwithstanding the evils arising from the duties complained of, as set forth by the Petitioners, the General Court could not or would not view the "evells" in the light which they did, and referred them to a former order of their body for such satisfaction as they might obtain from it.

From the Records of the Town, its progress and prosperity are very apparent; many new orders are adopted and new offices created. †

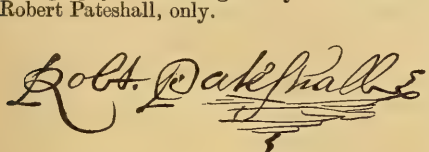




ED. HUTCHINSON JUN.



* This petition seems to have been drawn by Mr. Thomas Broughton; that is, it is in his chirography, and is signed by him and Mr. Robert Pateshall, only.





† *Jan.* 29. — Mathew Ians "approved of to keep a house of publique entertaynment." — Land was taken of Tho. Munt to make a Highway "neare unto Mr. Farnesid's house." John Sumner may inhabit.

Feb. 26. — Upon the desire of "our sister Baxter" (her husband being "taken at sea and lost what he had in 1653"), his rate of 15*s.* was remitted. — Thos. Hill, and John Mosse, tailor may inhabit. — Ordered "that a distresse be leveyed" on the land that was John Shawe's, butcher, for rent due on Bendall's Dock.

Mar. 12. — Selectmen chosen; — Mr. Wm. Brenton, Mr. Samll. Cole, Mr. Wm. Davis, Mr. Peter Oliuer, Mr. James Oliuer, Mr. Wm. Paddey, and Tho. Marshall. — Constables, Bro. Shrimpton, Joseph Rock, John Webb, Hough Drurye. Bro. Shrimpton refusing, is fined 5*s.*, and Rich: Hollidge was chosen. For Muddy River, John White, for Rumney Marsh, Simon Bird. — Surveyors, Nathaniel Adams, Richard Crichley, Goose the carter, and Sam. Sendall; for Rumney Marsh, Edward Weeden. Clerks of the Market, Wm. Cotten, Heugh Williams and Theodore Atkinson. Searchers and Sealers of leather, Wm. Courser and Robt. Reed. Searchers and Packers of flesh and fish, James Mattock, Sen., and Wm. Dinsdayle. Corders of Wood, Tho. Leader, Rich. Taylor, Anthony Harker, Rich. Greene.

Mar. 30. — Wm. Davis chosen Treasurer and Recorder. — Peter Oliuer, Sealer of Weights and Measures. — Capt. James Oliuer, Robt. Turner, John Hull,

By order of the "State of England," many Irish people had been sent to New England. On their arrival they were sold by those at whose expense they had been brought over, to any of the inhabitants who were in want of slaves or servants. There arrived the last year a ship called the Goodfellow, Captain George Dell, with a large number of emigrants of the above description.* Many of the Scotch people had been sent before this in the same way. Some of them had been taken prisoners at the sanguinary battle of Dunbar. There arrived in one ship, the "John and Sara," John Greene, master, early in the summer of 1652, about 272 persons. Captain Greene had orders to deliver them to Thomas Kemble of Charlestown, who was to sell them, and with the proceeds to take freight for the West Indies. †

No sooner had one trial been gone through with, but another followed it closely. The Baptists had just been got rid of, and now came another strange sect. This was composed of people called Quakers.‡ There were but two of them at first, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin. § To

July.

Jacob Eliott, Peter Oliuer and John White "to run the line between Cambridg and Boston, and Roxbury and Boston, att Muddy River." Capt. Robt. Keayne, Mr. Edward Hutchinson, John Tuttill, John Dolitle and Tho. Stocker to run the line between Lyn and Boston, and Charlestowne and Boston. Tho. Alcock to have 2*s.* 6*d.* a head for keeping the cows. Mrs. Richards allowed 20*s.* deduction on her rates. Thos. Jones may inhabit, but Robt. Sanderson to be security. Alexander Beck and Ralph Roote to oversee the fence of the Common field at Muddy River. An order was made to prevent the trees "planted on the Neck" from being spoiled. A well of "Robt. Nannye's" is much complained of, and ordered "to be made up secure;" also "his seller in the street." The legacy left by "Mis Hudson, deceased," for the school to be let to Capt Jas. Oliver at 16*s.* per an.

April 16. — The Commonage shall be laid out to the Commoners; the names of those entitled to Commonage to be taken.

Apl. 27. — The guns in the Market place shall be trimmed up against the Court of Election, annually, at the charge of the Town. — John Birchall may inhabit, also "Mis Pacy," if Mr. Bradstreet, or John Johnson and Mr. Parkes of Roxbury will be security. — The wife of Christopher Piggott to be sent to her husband at Muddy River by the Constable, forthwith.

May 28. — James Bill to sell no more wood at Dear Island, because there is no more left than is convenient for a farm. — Richard Otis, smith, may inhabit.

July 30. — Martin Stebbin may sell beer 'vpon his good behavior, for one year." — Christopher Avery may inhabit. Mathew Barnes to "mend y^e^ bridge at y^e^ mill doore in 4 dayes," or be fined 20*s.* Wm. Blanton may "dig six or eight load of earth outt of a swamp by y^e^ windmill, or where Mr. Cole and Mr. Peter Oliver allow." — Edward Greenliff may "set a house of 18 foot deepe and 12 foot to y^e^ front from y^e^ end of Mr. Batts tan house." for 2*s.* 6*d.* per. an., "for a dying house." — A "noysome pitt by the house of Joseph How. copper," to be filled up in a month.

Oct. 29. — Thos. Duer, Christopher Clarke and John Barrett may make a "defence for y^e^ cawsy before their houses," by setting down posts and rails or otherwise. Mathew Pries may inhabit. Wm. Whittwell may sell beer. Mauditt Ingles, Jno. Marshall, and Rich. Taylor "are chosen to be sworn measurers for all corn" brought by vessels. James Bates of Dorchester may buy the house and land which Wm. Lane gave his daughter, Eliz. Rider and her children, in Dorchester.

Nov. 27. — Isaac Walker, Saml. Norden, Robt. Nanny, Robt. Gibson and Samson Shore, "are fined 10*s.* a man for their chymneys being on fire." — Sam. Jewell may inhabit, Marke Hames being security in 40*s.* — Deacon Johnson may set up a porch before his house door, four feet into the street. — Robt. Wyatt and Wm. Lane to sweep chimneys, and to cry about the streets that they may be known. Lieut. Fisher to survey and draw a draft of all lands belonging to Boston in Braintree, also of all lands given by the Town to the Ironwork, "and confirmed to Mr. Leader on their behalf." "Mis Hanbury is fined 5*s.* for entertaining Francis Smith contrary to order."

* Original paper of the time in possession of Frederic Kidder, Esq.

† *See N. E. H. and Gen. Reg.*, i. p. 377, &c., where the names of those brought over by Capt. Greene may be seen.

‡ "The name Quaker was given first in the year 1650." — *Besse's Sufferings of the Quakers*, Pref. p. iii.

§ They came from Barbadoes. *Douglass, Sum.* i. 447. — From *N. Eng. Judged*, p. 8, it seems that they came from England by way of Barbadoes, which is doubtless the fact. They

Aug. 27. these, however, there was a large accession in the following August. Captain Robert Lock arrived in the Speedwell of London, bringing forty-one passengers; of which number eight were Quakers. Their names were William Brand, John Copeland, Christopher Holder, Thomas Thurston, Mary Prince, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Weatherhead and Dorothy Waugh.*

Sept. 8. These people had been landed but a few days when they were brought before the Court of Assistants. When they were apprehended they had certain books in their possession, containing the writings of some of the Quakers. These, to the number of about one hundred volumes, shared the fate of those of the Muggletonians; being made a bonfire of in the Market-place, and their owners were sent to prison. After informal examinations they were condemned as Quakers, and the Masters of the vessels who brought them into the country were compelled to give bonds to carry them out of it. They were kept in confinement several weeks,† and then were sent away. Mary Fisher and Ann Austin were put on board a vessel commanded by William Chichester, who came under bonds of one hundred pounds to transport them beyond this jurisdiction, and to allow no one to speak with them. Lock was bound to land the eight which he brought, "nowhere but in England."‡

The people of Boston, and the majority of the people of New England, had settled themselves in this country to maintain and perpetuate what they conceived to be the principles of true Christianity. They had made the greatest sacrifices thus to situate themselves, and they considered that they had the best possible right to keep out those who differed from them in those fundamental doctrines for which they had gone into exile. They had sought this asylum for the exercise of their opinions, and not for those who entertained opinions totally subversive of them. Hence, that, so long as they had the power to keep out intruders, it is not at all strange that they exercised it. And, in exercising it, they did no more than has been done in the present age in Boston, making but partial allowance for the distance of the periods of the transactions. That was not a day of charity for difference of religious opinions. And who can say that charity universally prevails even at this day among religious sects? Few sects indeed have arisen, where none of their members were fanatics in their origin. Few indeed which have not produced some whose pilgrimages to reform the world have not been as romantic as that of the maiden Mary Fisher.§

came in the ship Swallow of Boston, Simon Kempthorn of Charlestown, Master. — Besse, *Suf. of the Quakers*, ii. 177.

* The orthography of these names is given exactly as they stand on the original list, attested by the "Searchers" at Gravesend, dated 30 May, 1656, which list is now before me. They are very nearly the same in *Bishop's N. Eng. Judged*, p. 3. His only variations are *Gibbens* and *Thirston*. The entire list of passengers is printed in the *N. E. H. G. R. and Antiquarian Journal*, i. 132.

† About eleven, according to Bishop, *N. E. Judged*, p. 41.

‡ *N. Eng. Judged*, p. 8.

§ This remarkable female, "being moved of the Lord," undertook a journey to Constantinople, to warn the Turks to "flee from the wrath to come." This was at a time when the Grand Vizier laid encamped with a great army

In reviewing these early scenes it is very apparent, that, in general, the pioneer sectaries rather courted than avoided persecutions;* and this should not be lost sight of when those branded as persecutors are held up to universal scorn.†

There was no law at this time against Quakers; hence it was not untruly averred, that those who were seized and imprisoned were illegally proceeded against. Aware of this, the Authorities, at the next session of the General Court, made laws to meet the case of the Quakers.‡ Masters of vessels were subjected to a fine of one hundred pounds if they brought a Quaker into any part of the Colony, and to give security to take him away again; and if a Quaker came within the Jurisdiction, he was to be sent to the House of Correction and whipped twenty stripes.

The next year other laws were made against Quakers, and against those who countenanced or befriended them. If any person entertained a Quaker an hour, he was to be fined forty shillings, and if persisted in, the offender was to have one of his ears cut off; and if repeated he

near Adrianople. When she got to Smyrna the English Ambassador sent her back to Venice. Nothing discouraged, she proceeded by the coast of the Morea by land, and in due time, "without any abuse or injury offered in that long journey of about 600 miles," arrived at Adrianople. She found means to convey a message to the Grand Vizier, which was, that "an English woman had a message from the Great God to the Great Turk." She was soon allowed an audience, and was treated with respect. When she left, a guard was offered her, but she declined it, and proceeded in safety to Constantinople, "without the least hurt or scoff." Her historian compares her treatment among the Mahometans with that she received among the New England Christians; by which comparison, he says, much glory redounds to the one, while to the other belongs "everlasting shame and contempt." — See *N. Eng. Judged*, 22–4. Even the philosophic Hutchinson could not forbear remarking, that Mary Fisher "fared better among Turks than among Christians." — *Hist. Mass.* i. 169.

* It is very certain that the Quakers acted, as they conceived, under the injunctions of the *higher law;* nor were they the only people who have endeavored to obey that law, without stopping to inquire whether they were not defeating their own objects by sapping the foundations of all law.

† To set in as clear a light as we may how the early fathers of Boston viewed the Quakers, the following extract is made from Mr. John Norton's "Tractate," which he entitles, "The *Heart of New-England* Rent at the BLASPHEMIES of the present Generation, concerning the *Doctrine* of the *Quakers*," &c. 18 mo. London, 1660. Pages 83. — Mr. Norton was amongst the severest against the Quakers, and they did not forget him when they were able to speak through the Press, as may elsewhere be seen in this history. — Mr. Norton says, page 2, "That the Doctrine of the *Enthusiasts in Germany*, and *Libertines* in the *Low-Countreys*, was a dead sea of heterodoxy, consisting in a great degree of pernicious waters of old heresies, till then out of mind for many hundred years, and that the Doctrine of the Quakers (as to the substance of it) is but the opening of that vast and horrid sink (such as makes the Land to stink in the nostrils both of God and man, more than the Frogs that sometime annoyed Egypt);" &c. In another place the same Author says, "That the persons thus opinionated are called Quakers not from their tenets, but from the gesture wherewith they are acted, at or about the reception of their revelations; or, when else, in reference to credit their Doctrines. This very gesture as circumstanced, renders their way in no small degree suspitious; it being the ancient and known manner of Satan, when he inspired his *Enthusiasts*, to afflict the bodies of his instruments with pains, and those often in their Bowels, and to agitate them with *Antick and uncouth motions*, and in particular, with this of *quaking* and *trembling;* thereby to amuse ignorant spectators with a superstitious astonishment, and so to dispose them to the expectation of some strange discovery, preter-humane, in pretence *divine*, but in deed *diabolical*." — Pages 7–8. For the opportunity to consult this rare work I am indebted to my obliging friend, Mr. Charles Deane.

‡ *Preamble:* — "Whereas there is a cursed Sect of Hereticks lately risen up in the world, which are commonly called Quakers, who take upon them to be immediately sent of God, and Infallibly assisted by the Spirit, to speak and write blasphemous Opinions," &c., "speaking evil of Dignities, reproaching and reviling Magestrates and Ministers," &c. — *Persecuters Maul'd*, &c., p. 2

was to lose the other ear. If this did not enforce an observance of the law, whipping and boring the tongue with a hot iron were to be the consequences. In 1658 there was an act passed causing a fine of ten shillings to be levied on any who should be known to attend a Quaker meeting; and five pounds upon a speaker at such meeting. And in October of the same year the penalty of death was decreed against all Quakers who should return to the Colony after they had been banished.*

It would be doing injustice to the body of the people to suppose that this law was unanimously sanctioned. The feeling among intelligent men out of the General Court had its effect. Two of the principal merchants of Boston, Capt. Edward Hutchinson and Capt. Thomas Clarke, members of the Court, entered their dissent against the law.†

How it happened that these gentlemen were not censured by the Court does not appear; while Nicholas Upsall, an aged and highly respectable inhabitant, for showing some compassion on those Quakers who had been thrown into prison, was himself cast into the same prison, as soon as they were put on board Captain Lock's ship for retransportation, as before mentioned. He was afterwards fined and banished, and endured incredible hardships for his interference in behalf of the Quakers. He was a freeman of the Colony as early as 1631; in 1634 was a Bailiff of Dorchester. He settled in Boston probably about 1644. His banishment was in the winter of 1656–7, from which he did not return for three years; and then it was at the peril of perpetual imprisonment.‡ He was therefore again thrown into prison. This last imprisonment continued two years. He did not long survive these protracted cruelties. He died in 1666.§ Such were the beginnings of the troubles with Quakers, and it will ever be lamented that here they had not ended.

After the enactment of the laws against "Quakers and Heretics," those laws were published in Boston with beat of drum through its streets; and the Rulers doubtless hoped that they should not be henceforth troubled with any more of those sects.

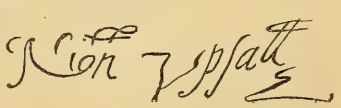
Notwithstanding the people here far outwent their brethren of the same faith in England in their intolerant proceedings, yet they cheerfully

* These laws may be seen in the *Persecutors Maul'd*, 2–41.

† See *New England Judged*, 101–2.

‡ Immediately upon his being banished he went to Sandwich in Plymouth Colony. When Governor Bradford heard he was there, he ordered the Town not to allow him to remain. But from some cause the Governor's mandate was not obeyed. He then ordered him to appear at Plymouth. But Mr. Upsall wrote him a letter stating that, owing to his age and infirmities, and the extreme inclemency of the season, he could not comply. And thus the humanity of the Governor took the place of law, and the poor exile was allowed to sojourn at Sandwich until the spring permitted him to proceed to Rhode Island.

§ See *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, v. 465–6, where will be found some account of his descendants; a respectable branch of whom are citizens of Boston at this day. In *New. Eng. Judged*, John Capen of Dorchester is said to be his brother. Bishop and others write his name Upshall, but his own autograph is as here annexed.



fell in with Cromwell's government,* knowing Cromwell had their welfare much at heart. He knew they had settled in this part of the country that they might enjoy what those of the same sect enjoyed at this time in England, and he knew how sterile the country was, and how incongenial the climate of it was also. He therefore, after the conquest of Jamaica, invited the people of New England to remove to that delightful island. But they had become too firmly seated in their chosen retreat, and had too many ties of interest to break from or to relinquish them for any uncertainties. They therefore declined the invitation, and few if any could be found to accept of it, notwithstanding Mr. Leverett of Boston, then the Colony's agent at Cromwell's Court, very much favored the proposition for a removal.

It was probably fortunate for Boston that it had at this period one of its greatest men at the Court of the Protector. It was owing to this circumstance, undoubtedly, that the proceedings against the Baptists and Quakers were passed over as they were; and that the claims and complaints of Patentees to the eastward were unheeded. Mr. Leverett, as formerly mentioned,† had been an officer in the Protector's army, and had very considerable influence with him, from an intimacy which appears to have existed between them from the first.

The Quakers were hardly out of sight before there happened an event in Boston, which they were ready to record as a judgment from heaven upon the place for the cruelty that had been practised upon them. This was the execution of Mrs. Anne Hibbins, for the imputed crime of witchcraft. She was the wife of Mr. William Hibbins, an early settler in Boston, one who had been among the fathers of the Town, and who, when his wife was accused, was in the service of the Colony, and had been so for many years. She was tried and condemned in the year 1655, but was not executed until this year. This woman, it is said, was possessed of an unfortunate temper, and when her husband, who had been prosperous, became somewhat reduced in his circumstances before his death, which occurred in 1654, showed herself turbulent, and perhaps troublesome. The proceedings of the Church against her caused her to be more obnoxious to her neighbors, until some of them, to show their sagacity, probably, accused her of witchcraft.‡

June.

Mrs. Hibbins is said to have been a sister of Governor Bellingham, and was otherwise very respectably related, but at this time it seems that her friends had deserted her, and thus the poor widowed mother was sacrificed in accordance with the blind laws of the age.

* The General Court appointed the 11th of June for a day of humiliation, because "Ranters and Quakers" were disturbing England, for the preservation of the Protector, and for the success of his naval expeditions; and that Protestant armies might prevail against those of Antichrist.

† See *ante*, p. 289.

‡ Hutchinson, i. 187–8. — Capt. Keayne, in his will (*Gen. Reg.*, vi. 158), says Mr. Hibbins was brother to Major Denison. His wife Anne, as appears from her will (i. p. 284), had had a former husband named Moore, and that by him she had three sons whom she left in England. To these she left her effects, in expectation that they would come over, or one of them, and receive them.

There were other memorable deaths this year, but they were in the natural course of human events. Among those recorded was that of Captain Robert Keayne. Captain Myles Standish died at Duxbury, and Mr. Samuel Sharp at Salem.*

Jan. 28. It is noted upon the records of the Town that a "greatt bell" was lent to Capt. Richard Davenport for the use of "Castle Island." William Dawes was paid three pounds for work done at Fort Hill, and ten pounds to Capt. Thomas Savage and Capt. "James Olliuer" for that amount paid by them to Henry Blake for brick and lime used at the same place. "Sam. Syndall" was paid four pounds and ten shillings also for work done at Fort Hill.† Also Mr. Jasper Rawlins was paid twenty shillings for brick and lime used at the same place.

Feb. 25. Hitherto there does not appear to have been a systematic plan of recording the possessions of real estate among the inhabitants of the Town; for it is noted that "Isaake Culimore's" land "not being formerly recorded, is now orderly performed." Also the land of Macklin Knight, which he had exchanged with "Goodman Cullimore" for, formerly, "is acknowledged to be his proper right."

At the same time were recorded Capt. Thomas Clarke and Capt. Thomas Savage as Deputies to the General Court. The Select men were Mr. William Brenton, Thomas Marshall, Mr. Samuel Cole, Capt. James Olliuer, Cornet Peter Olliuer, Mr. William Paddy and Wm. Davis. The Constables were Wm. Toy, Daniel Turin,‡ Wm. English and Henry Allen. Wm. Ireland and Henry Stevens exercised the same office at Rumney Marsh and Muddy River. Wm. Toy requested that Hugh Drury might be admitted a Constable, which was granted.§ William Davis was chosen Treasurer and Recorder.

On account of the "greatt inconveniencies by persons irregular riding through the streets of the Towne, and galloping," it was ordered that for every offence of this kind the delinquent should be fined two

Mar. 14. shillings and sixpence; except "vpon dayes of military exercise, or any extraordinary case require it." Ensign John Everell and

* From the connection of Capt. Standish with the affairs of Boston, his death is here properly noticed. He died 3 October, 1656. See *Gen. Reg.*, ii. 244. Although I here mention the death of Mr. Sharp, it may be found that he died in 1658, as Dr. Bentley states. He was one of the Fathers of Massachusetts; being an Assistant in England, and one of Gov. Endicott's Council in Salem. He had the direction "of the ordnance and artillery business generally," and was Mr. Cradock's agent. He came over with Mr. Higginson, bringing the (silver) Seal of the Company and a copy of the Charter. He was, with Mr. Skelton, authorized to assume the Government, should Mr. Endicott not be alive on their arrival.

† Henry Lee allowed to inhabit, "upon his good behavior," and Capt. Davenport to be his security to the Town for "any charge that may arise by his family." Wm. Spowell and David Hitchbone to see that all the hogs were yoked and ringed.

Feb. 25. — Wm. Talmage allowed 6*s.* for land taken into the highway. — Nathl. Woodard and family may inhabit, and Thomas Harwood became their security.

‡ The fifth autograph on page 243, *ante*, I read *George* Turen.

§ At the same time Richard Samford, Sen., Robt. Wright, Jacob Eliott, and Sam. Norden were chosen Surveyors of highways. Habacuck Glover and Wm. Cotton, Clerks of the Market. Jno. Parker, Jno. Stivinson, Wm. Dinsdale, Jno. Cunny, Tho. Leader, Richd. Taylor, Anthony Harker, Richd. Greene, Richd. Gridley, Mauduitt Ingles, Alexr. Adams and Wm. Beamsley, were chosen to fill several minor offices. "Wm. Davis is chosen Commissioner to receive y^e^ proxyes for magistrates, and to carry them in att y^e^ County meeting."

Mr. Joseph Rock requested liberty "to stop carts from passing through the paved lane by their houses." They were allowed "to set up posts at the end of the lane," till the Select-men should take the matter in hand.

Mar. 31. The "Gallowes to be removed to y^e^ next knole of land before the next execution." *

July 28. The North Battery was ordered forthwith to be repaired. This Battery stood "at the lower part of the north end" of the Town. It was not demolished until after the war of Independence.† The site was then converted into a wharf for the accommodation of ships and merchandise, and it still bears the name of Battery Wharf. This was a very important point, as it commanded a great extent of the harbor, and much expense was laid out early this year to put it in a condition to be of service in case an enemy should appear.‡

* *Mar.* 31. — "James Everill is enjoyned to secure y^e^ cellar where y^e^ old Meeting-house stood." — Henry Phillips, butcher, may repair the lane leading behind his house to the spring. The surveyors to repair one half of it at the Town's expense, for a foot way. Wm. Pearse admitted to inhabit. James Nabors and Michael Wills his security in £10. Tho. Reade admitted also, and Lieut. Wm. Hudson his security in £20. — Joseph Rock must remove his fence between his house and Mr. Lyndes in a week, or pay 20*s.* He must set said fence in a line from the corner post of his house to y^e^ corner of Mr. Lyndes. The piece of land formerly granted to Edward Greenliff, by the Spring, is let to Mathew Coy at 2*s.* 6*d.* a year, for the school's use. Richard Pittman fined 20*s.* and to depart the Town forthwith, if he put not in security; and "to secure his chimney from danger within a day on penalty of 20*s.*" — "James Nabors is fined 5*s.* for his chimney flaming out."

April 28. — Richd. Gridley to be paid £10 for lime and bricks at Fort Hill. — Martin Stebbins may draw beer the ensuing year. John Poole admitted to inhabit.

May 26. — Walter Merry is fined 10*s.* for receiving an inmate. Wm. Beamsley fined 10*s.* for receiving an inhabitant without licence. Wm. Pollard chosen shepherd for the year, and to have 8*d.* a sheep.

July 28. — Tho. Harding may inhabit; Walter Merry and Tho. Munt his security in £40. "If any young persons or others be found without either Meeting-house idling or playing during y^e^ time of publick exercise on y^e^ Lord's day," the Constable was ordered to bring them before authority.

Aug. 25. — Gabriell Tesherly may inhabit; Mr. [William] Brenton being security in £20. Butchers may throw their "garbidge" into the "Mill-Creek over the Draw-bridge, and in no other place." Richard Webb, shoemaker, set the frame of his house three feet on the Town's land without Liberty. John Parker may inhabit; Richd. Greene being his security in £20.

† Chiefly inferred from *Pemberton in Mass. Hist. Colls.*, iii. 249.

‡ *Sept.* 29. — Isaac Cullimore was allowed 50*s.* for work done on the Battery. — *Oct.* 29. Capt. James Olliuer, Peter Olliuer, Wm. Paddy, and Wm. Davis were paid £16 "for so much disbursed by them for repayring y^e^ North Battery." — Similar accounts were brought in and allowed the following year.

Robert Doutch admitted to inhabit; Walter Merry and Tho. Munt security in £20. Capt. Tho. Savage may make cellar doors before his new house between the Draw-bridge and the Conduit; to come out 3 feet from his house and no more.

Oct. 29. — A Pound is ordered to be "sett vpp" at Rumney Marsh.

Dec. 29. — Application to be made to the next General Court to have the line between Boston and Lynn determined. — Goodman Wales to have 6*s.* and 8*d.* of his tax abated, "in regard of his poverty." "Care to be taken to pay Rich. Gridley for building y^e^ Schoole house chimney."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

A Town-House. — Sketch of its History. — Movement for Repairing the Fort on Castle Island. — Loss of many Persons at Sea. — Mr. Mayhew and others. — Other Quakers arrive. — Severity towards them. — Imprisoned, whipped, and banished. — Case of William Leddra and others. — Trial by Jury at first denied them by Gov. Endicott. — They appeal to England. — Their Appeal not allowed. — Endicott the Father of American Independence. — The Quakers denounce Woes upon their Persecutors. — Death of William Paddy. — Death of the Lord Protector Cromwell. — Earthquake.



SCOTTOW. †

THE Deputies to the General Court were the same this year as the last. The Select-men were Dea. Tho. Marshall, Mr. Wm. Brenton, Mr. William Paddy, Mr. Samuel Cole, Ens. Joshua Scottow, Ens. John Hall and William Davis.*

The subject of a Town-house had been agitated since the death of Captain Keayne, and perhaps before. It was known that that gentleman intended to do something towards such a building, and, in December last, it was ordered in Town meeting, that at the next meeting "some time should be spent to consider of Captain Keayne's will in respect of y^e^ legacyes given to y^e^ Towne." Accordingly, at the next meeting, it was recorded, that "vpon y^e^ perusall of Capt. Keayne's will, itt is agreed y^t^ forthwith y^e^ executrix and ouerseers of y^e^ s^d^ will be advised with concerning said legacyes, withoutt delay."‡

Jan. 25.

* Constables — Nat. Adams, Nat. Williams, Amos Richardson and Jno. Collins. At Rumney Marsh, James Pemberton, and for M. River, Tho. Gardiner. — It was ordered, that if Nat. Williams take a journey to England before his year be out, the Town will chose another Constable.

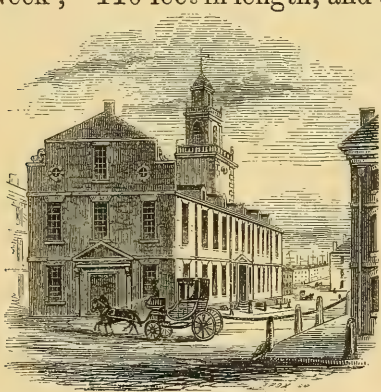
† Skottow of London. — Az. an estoile or. — *Crest* — A lion's head erased arg. collared gules. — There are in St. Swithins Church, Norwich, Eng., on a mural tablet, the Arms of Scottowe and Suckling. — Scottowe, fess or and az. a star counterchanged, and Suckling, per pale gul. and az. three bucks tripping or. — Richd. Scottowe was an Alderman of Norwich, and died 1616. — The name signifies the *lot* or *portion* on the hill, and such is the situation of *Scothowe* in the County of Norfolk. Jeffey de Scothowe held the manor of Scothowe as early as 1120. — See Bloomfield's *Hist. Norfolk*, iv. 251, 292; v. 7; vi. 340.

‡ A complaint being made against a son of Goodwife Samon for living without a calling, it was ordered that if his mother "dispose nott of him" before the next Town meeting, then the "Townsmen" would do it. — Mathew Barnes to secure the Mill-bridge by a fence 4 feet high within six days, or pay 20*s.* — Jno. Andrew's tax abated 6*s.* and 8*d.* — Robt. Harris to have 4 acres allowed him "out of the Towne's waste land," for "two highwayes" taken out of his land at Muddy River.

Feb. 23. — [John?] Frasy may inhabit. — Capt. James Johnson hired all the waste land belonging to the Town on the south side of the creek by Mr. Winthrop's warehouse, adjoining the land let to Ben. Ward, for £4, 10*s.* a year for the school's use. — Tho. Walker to be paid 40*s.* for bricks and lime for the Fort. — Richd. Woody 30*s.* which he disbursed on the bridge by Mr. Winthrop's warehouse.

Mar. 9. — The paved lane by Mr. Shrimpton's ordered to be laid open, and no more to be shut up. — Capt. Savage, Mr. Stodard, Mr. Howchin, and Mr. Edward Hutchinson, Sen., a Committee "to consider of y^e^ modell of y^e^ Townehouse to be built;" also of the expense and location, and to take up subscriptions "to propagate such a building." *Mar.* 26. — George Burrill, cooper, fined 10*s.* for harboring John Gilbert. *Mar.* 30. — Ralph Hutchinson, 10*s.* for the same offence. John Hart, 10*s.* for the same. — No persons to keep shop or set up manufactures unless first ad-

A Townhouse was the result of this movement, but at what time completed does not clearly appear. It is incidentally mentioned a few years later, as being entered by a flight of several steps. It was where the old State house now stands, at the head of State Street, and stood until the great fire of 1711, in which it was consumed. It was built of wood. The following year, 1712, a brick edifice was erected on the same spot. This the fire of 1747 destroyed, and, what is vastly more lamented now than even the loss of the building could have been then, many records and other public papers were burnt up with it!* The building now standing was built the next year, but both its interior and exterior have undergone numerous changes, while the compass of its walls remains the same. As late as 1791, it was described as "an elegant brick building," situated "one mile and 297 yards from the Fortification" on the Neck; "110 feet in length, and thirty-eight in breadth. The ascent to the lower floor, as fronting the Long-wharf is by an elevated flight of large stone steps, railed round with neat iron ballustrades." There were side entrances as at the present day, and one from Cornhill, now Washington Street. In this building were accommodated the General Court of the Commonwealth, clerks of the Supreme Judicial Court, and Court of Common Pleas.



OLD STATE HOUSE.†

Sept. 28. It behoved the people of Boston to look well to the defences of the Town, and now that the North Battery had been put in a good condition, Captain Clarke and Captain Savage, the Deputies in the General Court from Boston, moved

mitted inhabitants. John Vyall may "draw beere" till 29 Sept. next. Clement Gross also. Wm. Pollard chosen Pound-keeper.

April 27. — "Richard Way admitted into the Town," if "his brother Aron Way" give security for him and his family, which he did by making his mark to a bond for £20, on the Town records. — Richard Smith admitted on the "commendation" of Mr. Jno. Wilson, Sen.; but Henry Blague and John Pease had to give bonds in £20. — Edward Blake admitted to inhabit, on the security of John Blake, who wrote his name well to a bond for £20 on the records. He had a family.

June 29. — Tho. Dinsdale may hire a room of Capt. Tho. Savage. — John Clow having served an apprenticeship may follow his calling. Ens. Jno. Web to supply Richard Sanfurd wherewith to support the little infant Mary Langham till further order. — Geo. Broome readmitted [to inhabit] "with caution of his future good behavior." — Joseph Belknap is to pay 8*s.* rent for land occupied by him.

July 28. — "Deac. Marshall and Ens. Hall appointed to gaine liberty in writing of Mr. Seaborne Cotton and his mother, to bring water downe from their hill to y^e^ Conduitt intended to be erected." Workmen ordered to be employed to prepare for the conveyance of the water to the same. Edward Gold granted 4 rods of ground from the corner of Wm. Blanton's pale by the street seaward, at 4*s.* per an. Mr. Thomas Broughton fined 5*s.* for his chimney being on fire. Ben. Gillam fined 10*s.* for making a fire on the wharf. James Baulston for the same. — Wm Foster, seaman, Wm. Duglas, and Robt. Smith, tailor, admitted inhabitants; Deac. Marshall being their security.

* In the *Massachusetts Magz.* iii. 467, it is said, "A vast number of ancient books and early records, together with a collection of valuable papers, were destroyed; and to the ravages of this calamity we may attribute the imperfect accounts that are to be obtained of the first and second building."

† This view of the Old State House is reduced from one prepared for the Massachusetts Magazine, August, 1791. It is a south-easterly view.

that body to make an appropriation for completing the fort at Castle Island. A grant of fifty pounds was thereupon made.*

There happened a disaster at sea this year, which is not very circumstantially related. Captain Garret sailed from Boston with "many considerable passengers." Nothing was ever heard of them afterwards. Among the passengers were Mr. Thomas Mayhew, Junior, of Martha's Vineyard, Mr. Ince, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Davis; all scholars and Masters of Arts, who had been educated at Harvard College. Mr. Mayhew had been of great service to the Indians, and was at this time upon a voyage to England, with one of them, to represent their condition to the people of that country, with the hope of procuring assistance towards their civilization. †

Nov.

The severity with which some of the Quakers were dealt with the last year did not prove to be any security that they would avoid the jurisdiction in future. One Mary Clark, wife of John Clark, merchant tailor of London, venturing to New England to comply with what she conceived to be a spiritual command, was whipped in a cruel manner. In the mean time Christopher Holder and John Copeland were seized in Salem, and, after being very roughly handled, ‡ were "had to Boston." Here the operation of whipping was performed "with a knotted whip of three cords," with all the physical ability the "Hang-man" could command. Another "Friend," Samuel Shattock, of Salem, had to suffer the same for interfering when Holder was gagged. He was imprisoned for some time in Boston before he was whipped. When this was done he was banished. § These were by no means all who suffered punishments as heretics this year, in Boston. Lawrence Southick and his wife Cassandra, "an aged and grave

Sept. 29.

Sept. 21, 23.

* John Philips fined 10*s.* for entertaining —— Stone and family.

Aug. 31. — Jno. Peirce admitted to inhabit, on the testimony of James Auerell and Isaak Colimore. Jno. Lewis must remove offensive matter by his slaughter house by Sept. 5th. —— Graves fined for his chimney being on fire and flaming out, and his landlord for want of a ladder. — Hugh Stone and Thomas Thayer may inhabit. — Christopher Perrust to return the deed of his land, instead of that bill of £50, which the Town received of him, which was for the supply of his wife if he had gone to Jamaica. — Wm. Blanton must lay gravel in the little lane from Henry Phillips' house to Peter Duncan's. — Henry Mason, a brewer, may inhabit, Daniel Turell and John Baker security in £20, each of whom wrote his name handsomely, as the records testify. *Sept.* 28. — Gawdy James may inhabit, Capt. Johnson and Wm. Salter being security.

Oct. 26. — Wm. Ware, in consideration of his long sickness and low estate, has his rates abated.

Nov. 30. — Wm. Spowell to be paid 4*s.* 6*d.* "for looking to y^e^ boyes att y^e^ Meetinghouse." — Wm. Salter for keeping Christopher Holland's wife 5 weeks, 12*s.* 6*d.* — Samuel Cole to be held accountable for Elizabeth Knap, as he took her into his house contrary to order. — Philip Curtis to be paid 20*s.* for killing a wolf at Muddy River last winter. — Joseph Wormall's rent to be half abated, and the other half paid by Capt. Savage to the Town's use; said land being lately in possession of said Savage. — Capt. Savage to preserve the fence about the buryingplace, and to enjoy title and use of said ground for 20 years.

Dec. 29. — Richard Seward may inhabit, Nat. Fryar being bound in £20. — Mr. Bushnell and Mr. Glouer had "liberty to set vp a pump." Daman Mahoone fined 20*s.* for entertaining two Irish women, "and is to quitt his house of them forthwith at his perill."

† Prince, *in Mayhew's Ind. Converts*, 291, from which it may be inferred, that the Master of the Ship, Capt. Garret, was Mr. Mayhew's wife's own brother. See also *Morton's Mem.*, Edit. Davis, 274–5.

‡ Holder, for attempting to speak after "the Priest had done, was haled back by the hair of his head, and his mouth violently stopped with a glove and handkerchief thrust thereinto it with much fury." — *N. Eng. Judged.* § *Ibid.*

couple,"* inhabitants of Salem, and their son Josiah;† Richard Dowdney, of Dedham; William Shattock, a shoemaker of Boston, who had a wife and children. As John Small, Josiah Southick and John Burton were on their way from Salem to Rhode Island, "to provide a place for themselves and families," they were arrested at Dedham, where the "Constable with aid, and with a halbert and brazen-headed staff, conveyed them like murtherers through the streets of Boston." When Governor Endicott understood that they were only passing quietly through the country, he ordered them to be set at liberty. That he should at the same time fine them twelve shillings, is far more unaccountable than his clemency. It was indeed making the poor Quakers pay for the blunders, or more inexcusable conduct of his officers.

Meanwhile, Sarah Gibbens and Dorothy Waugh found means to get back to Boston, for which they were imprisoned three days without food, and then "whipped with a three-fold knotted whip, tearing off their flesh." Then eight days more were added to their imprisonment, after which they were sent out of the jurisdiction. Horred Gardner, of Newport, with a child at her breast, and a girl named Mary Staunton, were taken up in Weymouth, and being sent to Boston were imprisoned, whipped, and again imprisoned; yet amidst her sufferings, "she kneeled down and prayed *the Lord to forgive them.*" Why Thomas Harris, of Barbadoes, should at this time make his appearance in the place does not appear, unless it were to invite persecution. If he came for this, he certainly did not go away without it; as to other business, it does not appear that he had any. At the same time came William
July. Leddra‡ and William Brend. The cruelties perpetrated on these poor, misguided men are altogether of a character too horrid to be here related. The following individuals came in for a share of suffering; — Humphry Norton, § John Rouse, || Samuel Gaskin, and Joshua

* On the 11th of May, 1659, Lawrence and Cassandra Southick, their son Josiah, Saml. Shattock, Nicholas Phelps and Joshua Buffum, were called before the Court, and banished on pain of death, and allowed but a fortnight to prepare for their departure. Three of them, Shattock, Phelps and Southick, the younger, sailed for England by the way of Barbadoes. Buffum fled to Rhode Island, but the "aged couple," Southick and his wife, "went to Shelter Island, where, shortly after, they died within three days of each other." — *Besse*, ii. 198. *N. Eng. Judged*, 107.

† He returned from England, where he had been banished, about 1660–61, and "appeared manfully at Boston in the face of his persecutors." For thus carrying himself he was again imprisoned. After about nine weeks, namely, in Sept. 1661, he was sentenced to be whipt at a cart's tail, ten stripes in Boston, the same in Roxbury, and the same in Dedham. After these whippings were gone through with, "he was carried fifteen miles from any town into the wilderness, and there discharged." — *Besse*, ii. 224–5.

‡ He was put to death in Boston, March 14th, 1661. He is said to have been "of Barbadoes." — "Capt. Johnson, who led forth William Leddra to be put to death, was afterwards taken with a distemper which deprived him of his reason and understanding as a man." — Besse, *Sufferings of the Quakers*, ii. 271. *N. Eng. Judged*, 326–9. The Court do not seem to have desired to put Leddra to death, but he would not accept of life on any terms. He was banished in Sept. 1660, but returning, was apprehended. He then had liberty to go to England, but he would not go, and seemed to dare the Court in various ways. He said they were murderers, and their Ministers were deceivers, &c. — See Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.* i. 202.

§ He was imprisoned some time in Plymouth colony, then banished; and at New Haven "was cast into prison and chained to a post, and kept night and day for 20 days, with great weights of iron, in an open prison without fire or candle, or any suffered to come to visit him, in the bitter cold winter, it being the 12th month, 1657," [Feb. 1658, N. S.] — *N. Eng. Judged*, 203–4. Besse, *Suf. Quakers*, ii. 196.

|| He was a young man without a family, as

Buffum. Rouse was son of Lieut.-Colonel Rouse, of Barbadoes. The father had formerly lived in New England. Nicholas Phelps, who lived "about five miles off Salem in the woods," was doomed to suffer for allowing some Quakers to meet at his house. Anne Needham, being sick, was not proceeded against with the others. William Marston, of Hampton, an old man, was imprisoned and heavily fined for having Friends' books in his house, and for affording relief to some in prison.

The Quakers demanded a trial by Jury, and, being denied it, they "appealed to England," but Governor Endicott treated a demand for such an appeal with derision. Endicott, however much he may be condemned by the sectaries who differed from him, was the real father of American Independence.* It was in vain that the poor Quakers demanded wherein they had broken any laws of England. They were answered by orders for their commitment, and additional stripes for their presumption. And not without good reason did they exclaim against "such monstrous illegality," and that such "great injustice was never heard of" before. Magna Charta, they said, was trodden down, and the guaranties of the Colonial Charter were utterly disregarded.

These persecuted people were fully persuaded that a day of wrath would overtake New England, and they did not fail to declare their belief from time to time. And indeed it was not long before their predictions were fulfilled. The terrible war with the Indians, which followed in a few years, was viewed by them as the vengeance of Heaven for their cruelties to the Quakers. That it was a visitation from the Almighty for the sins of the people, as their leaders believed, the writings of those leaders afforded the persecuted all the evidence they could require.†

Aug. Mr. William Paddy, merchant of Boston, died this year. He was an excellent man, and one highly esteemed by all who knew him. He settled at Plymouth, in which Colony he was made a Freeman in 1636. He was a Deacon of the Church of Plymouth. In 1657 he removed to Boston. He was a Deputy to the first General Court

were Christopher Holder and John Copeland. These men had their right ears cut off in the prison, Sept. 16th, 1658.— *N. Eng. Judged*, 91–2. This being a private execution, Katharine Scott, of Providence, being in Boston at the time, pronounced it the "works of darkness;" whereupon, "though she was a mother of many children and of an unblamable conversation, and a grave, sober, ancient woman," and some of the Court "knew her father and called him Mr. Marberry," she was publicly whipped, and then told that if she came again here "they were likely to have a law to hang her." She may have been a sister of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. Mrs. Scott had daughters Patience and Mary, both at this time imprisoned and in 1659 also. The former was only about eleven years old.

*He was no sooner settled in the country than he began to show his independence by banishing the Brownes. The next and most prominent step was the cutting out the Cross of the national Colors. Those who took the laws into their own hands, and threw the tea into the harbor in 1773, were only putting Endicott's precepts in practice. But *that* early *American Independence* had as little to do with equal rights as can well be imagined.

†There were this year, according to a "Declaration to the Parliament, &c.," above one hundred and forty Quakers then in prison in England, and one thousand and nine hundred others who had suffered in the last six years, also twenty-one imprisoned till death.— Besse, *Suff. of the Quakers*, i. Pref. iv.

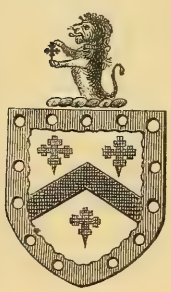
of Plymouth. His residence was in what is now North Centre street, then called Paddy's Alley, which name it bore above a hundred years.*

Sept. 3. This year died also Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of England, "who was buried with more than regal pomp." He was born on the twenty-fifth of April, 1599, and hence was in his fifty-ninth year.†

A "great earthquake" is recorded as having happened this year, but no particulars have been found.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Mistaken Policy of Rulers. — Troubles with the Quakers continued. — Case of Robinson and Stevenson. — Mary Dyar. — All three are hanged on the Common. — Accident at the Drawbridge. — Alice Cowland. — Many imprisoned, fined and whipped. — Retributive Justice foretold by the Quakers. — Instances produced. — Quakers complain to the King, who orders a stop to be put to further Punishments. — Some who were banished return with the King's Mandate. — Arrival of Whalley and Goffe. — Effect of the Restoration of Charles II. in Boston. — Agents sent to England to vindicate the Country. — It causes Agitation in the General Court. — Favorable Influence of Lord Say and Seale, and Mr. Crowne. — Return of the Agents. — Great Disappointment of the People. — Death of Major Atherton.



RUSSELL. ‡

THE blindness of rulers is sometimes as great, at least, as that of the ruled. In the persecution of the Quakers, the former must have seen that, in their steps from one severity to another, the evil they were endeavoring to crush increased rather than diminished; and yet they persisted in their course until they had taken the lives of several persons.

There can be but poor consolation to those who make laws in the consideration that they had notified all mankind of their sanguinary character, and that

* He is highly eulogized by Morton, in *N. England's Memorial*, 279. Morton's Editor found a record in which it is said that "The name is now extinct." His first wife was Alice, daughter of Edmund Freeman, of Sandwich, whom he married in 1639, and had sons Thomas and Samuel, born in Plymouth. He had nine children, and left a large estate for those days — near £3000, all of which was in debts except about £500. His will is dated, 20 Aug. 1658; proved, 21 Sept. following.

On the 18th of June, 1830, as workmen were digging up a portion of the foundation of the old State house, at the head of State street, to make alterations for the accommodation of the Post Office in that building, a stone was found which, from the inscription, must have been once at the head of the grave of Mr. William Paddy. On one side, — "*Hear lyeth the body of* Mr. William Paddy, Aged 58 years. Departed this life August the — , 1658." On the other side —

"Here sleaps that
Blessed one whose lief
God help vs all to liue
That so when time shall be
That we this world must lief
We ever may be happy
With blessed William Paddy."

He was probably buried in the Johnson burying ground (now King's Chapel). His Autograph may be seen *ante*, p. 340.

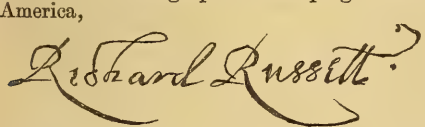
† Noble's *Memoirs*, i. 91, &c.

‡ Some account of the family of Russell has been published by the writer in the *New Eng.*

whoever rushes upon the point of a sword is a self-murderer; but thus did the rulers of those days with evident self-justification proceed to make and execute laws against heretics; as though it were not the consciences of people that caused them to question the righteousness of such laws, but that through their wicked obduracy they had wilfully broken them; thus, in effect, claiming that there could be no conscientiousness except in their own breasts. Such is the manifestation of human nature at a certain stage of civilization.

William Robinson, formerly a merchant of London, Marmaduke Stevenson, of the eastern part of Yorkshire, England, and Mary Dyar, of Rhode Island, who was banished formerly among the Antinomians,
Oct. 20. were sentenced to be hanged. The two men were hanged * on the Common, † but Mary Dyar, after she was upon the ladder with her arms and legs tied, and the rope about her neck, was spared at the urgent solicitation of her son, and sent out of the Colony; but she was so fully persuaded that her death was necessary in the cause she had espoused, that she returned again the next year, and was executed on the first day of June. ‡

Hist. Gen. Regr. vi. 274. Richard Russell, honorably mentioned in the present chapter, has now no male descendants in America, according to the investigations of Mr. H. G. Somerby, who was honored with the friendship of the late worthy Major Gen. L. C. G. Russell, C. B., of Ashland Hall, County of Salop, who took great interest in his researches, being the representative of the family, and born in Charlestown. See also Burke's *Landed Gentry*, ii. 1165–6. Autograph of the progenitor in America,



In 1820, Sir Isaac Heard granted to James Russell, of Clifton, Gloucestershire, son of James Russell, of Charlestown, to be borne by him and other members of his family in New England, Ar. on a chev. betw. three cross crosslets fitchée sable, an eagle's head erased or, a bordure eng. gu. chgd. with eight plates.— Crest — on a wreath of the colors a demi lion ramp. ar. charged on the shoulder with a saltire couped az. betw. the paws a cross crosslet fitchée erect sa.

* "So being come to the place of execution, hand in hand, all three of them, as to a weding day, with great cheerfulness of heart; and having taken leave of each other, with the dear embraces of one another," they were swung off under the direction of the Chief Marshal, Edward Michelson of Cambridge, the same who afterwards officiated in the same capacity in hanging the Indians taken in Philip's war. — "The bodies being dead, your Executioner," says Bishop, addressing himself to the Authorities, "and Officers were so barbarous, that when their dead bodies were cut down, they were suffered to fall to the ground, with which the skull of W. Robinson was broke, his body being stiff ere it was cut down; and when down their shirts were ripped off with a knife, and their naked bodies cast into a hole of the earth, which was digged, without any covering; and when some Friends came and desired their bodies to be put into coffins, and so into some enclosed ground, where beasts might not turn them up, your Executioner suffered them to wrap them in linnen, and to put them in again, but to take them away he suffered them not. And when a Friend [Nicholas Upsal] had caused pales to be brought to fence the place, into which they were cast, that so their bodies might not be preyed upon by the bruit creatures, seeing you would not suffer them to be removed; but there left their bodies together in a pit in an open field, which was soon covered with water."— *New Eng. Judged*, 125–6. — Southey has given the substance of the above in one of the volumes of his *Common Place Book*, but which, I do not remember.

† I suppose a branch of a tree was the gallows. Perhaps the "Great Tree" near the Frog Pond. While Stevenson and Robinson were awaiting their execution, they drew up a solemn warning, dated, "In the Common Gaol, in the Bloody Town of Boston, the 6th month, 1659." They commence by saying, "Hearken and give ear, thou Town of Boston, lend an ear, O ye Rulers, Chief Priests, and Inhabitants thereof! Listen all you that dwell therein, Rich and Poor, Small and Great, High and Low, Bond and Free, of what sort soever, give ear," &c. — *N. Eng. Judged*, 235–6.

In a short exhortation by Robinson, he dates it "In the Hole of the Condemned, in Boston Gaol, the 16th day of the 8th Month, 1659."— *Ib.* 261.

‡ "A comely grave woman, and of a goodly

As the people were returning from the execution of Robinson and Stevenson, the draw of the Draw Bridge fell upon a crowd of them, mortally wounding a woman, and severely hurting several others. This the Quakers and those who believed them wrongfully persecuted, readily declared to be a judgment from Heaven.

It being known that Robinson and Stevenson were to be put to death if they returned to Boston, and they being resolved to return, a number of their friends accompanied them, as Alice Cowland, "to bring linen wherein to wrap the dead bodies of them who were to suffer," and Oct. 13. Daniel Gould, of Salem, William King, Hannah, wife of Nicholas Phelps, Mary Trask and Margaret Smith,* of the same town, "to look the bloody laws in the face," as they professed. They were all taken up and imprisoned. Robert Harper, of Sandwich, and Edward Wharton, of Salem, were also thrown in about the same time; and, Nov. 22. after going through the prescribed forms, were severely whipped,† except Alice Cowland, Hannah Phelps, Mary Scott and Hope Clifton, who were "admonished." They all laid in jail until their friends paid the jailer's fees.

The Quaker historians seem to have been diligent to discover how their principal persecutors ended their days. They felt as sure that all those who participated in opposing them would meet with their reward in this life, as ever any sect did which had been persecuted; and they go on to enumerate a large number of cases to prove, not only that their belief is the true belief, but that Heaven had made it manifest to all men by its visitations upon such misguided and persecuting victims.

The representations of the Quakers in England, against the Government at Boston,‡ caused Charles the Second to issue a letter to the Governor, requiring him to desist from any further proceedings against them. A ship was immediately chartered for £300, and Samuel Shattock, who had been banished, was appointed to convey the King's letter to the Governor in Boston. In the same ship came several other Quakers, and the master, Ralph Goldsmith, was a Quaker also. After a voyage of about six weeks they arrived in the harbor. Shattock himself had the satisfaction to deliver the King's letter to the Governor

personage, and one of a good report, having an husband of an estate, fearing the Lord, and a mother of children." — *N. Eng. Judged*, 157. — She returned to Boston, Oct. 8th, 1659, with Hope Clifton, also of R. Island. They came, says Bishop, to visit Christopher Holder, then lying in prison. — See also *Besse*, ii. 206. "John Webb, who with armed men led Mary Dyar to her execution, as he with others were busy in killing a whale, or great fish, was on a sudden, after a strange manner, carried into the sea and drowned." — *Ib.* 270.

* These two women "had been unjustly detained in the House of Correction at Boston, one of them about ten months, and the other about eight." — *Ibid.* ii. 211.

† "Daniel Gold was tied to the wheel of a great gun, with his clothes stripped off, and there the skin was torn from his back, and his flesh beat on his bones." — *N. Eng. Judged.*

‡ Edward Burroughs was the principal instrument in procuring the King's Letter or Mandamus; for when the news of W. Leddra's death came to the ears of the Friends at London, and of the danger many others of their persuasion were in, they were much concerned, and Edward Burroughs speedily repaired to the Court, and having got access to the King's presence, stated that "there was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions, which, if not stopped, might overrun all." Whereupon the King said, "I will stop that vein," and at once issued the Mandamus, &c. It was dated 9 Sept. 1661. — Besse, *Suf. Quakers*, ii. 226.

with his own hand. After perusing it, Mr. Endicott replied, "We shall obey his Majesty's command," and soon after issued an order for the discharge of all the Quakers then in prison. William Salter was the prison-keeper during the Quaker prosecutions.*

There were, a little previous to this, twenty-eight persons † lying in the Boston jail, one of whom, Wenlock Christison, was under sentence of death.‡ Not long before the time for his execution arrived, an order of Court was issued for the liberation of all of them. This order was occasioned, as the Quakers believed, by the receipt of some intelligence from London, that complaints against its proceedings were likely to succeed with the King.

These prisoners, however, did not all escape punishment. "Peter Pearson and Judith Brown were whipt with twenty cruel stripes through the town of Boston." "A guard armed with swords, were appointed by the Court to drive them all out of that jurisdiction into the wilderness country, which they performed accordingly." For some cause not stated, John Smith and his wife Margaret were ordered back to prison again. They had already been kept from their home in Salem near two years. Two others of those liberated, John Chamberlain § and George Wilson, inhabitants of Boston, soon returned to the town. They were immediately arrested, and "sentenced to be tied to the cart's tail, and whipped through three towns into the wilderness, which was cruelly

* The following graphic account of the arrival and proceedings of Shattock and his companions, as given by Besse, are too characteristic of the times and people to be omitted; they therefore follow in his own words:—"The Townsmen [of Boston] seeing a ship with English colors, soon came on board and asked for the Captain. Ralph Goldsmith told them he was the Commander. They asked whether he had any letters. He answered, yes. But withal told them he would not deliver them that day. So they returned on shore again, and reported that there were many Quakers come, and that Samuel Shattock (who they knew had been banished on pain of death) was among them. [Capt. Oliver went on board, and supposing the seamen were most Quakers, he came into Boston, and said, as is reported, 'There is Shattock, and the Devil and all.'—*N. Eng. Judged*, 345.] But they knew nothing of his errand or authority. Thus all was kept close, and none of the ship's company suffered to go on shore that day. Next morning Capt. Goldsmith, with Samuel Shattock, the King's Deputy, went on shore, and sending the boat back to the ship, they two went directly through the Town to the Governor's house, and knockt at the door: He sending a man to know their business, they sent him word that their Message was from the King of England, and that they would deliver it to none but himself. Then they were admitted to go in, and the Governor came to them, and commanded Samuel Shattock's hat to be taken off, and having received the Deputation and the Mandamus, he laid off his own hat; and, ordering Shattock's hat to be given him again, perused the papers, and then went out to the Deputy Governor's, bidding the King's Deputy and Capt. Goldsmith to follow him. When he had consulted with the Dep. Governor, he returned to Shattock and Goldsmith, and said 'We shall obey His Majesty's command. After this the Master of the Ship gave liberty to his passengers to come on shore, which they did, and had a religious meeting with their friends of the Town, where they returned praises to God for his mercy manifested in this wonderful deliverance."—*Sufferings of the Quakers*, ii. 226.

† The names mentioned are John Chamberlain, John Smith and wife Margaret, Mary Trask, Judith Brown, Peter Pearson, Geo. Wilson, John Burstow, Elizabeth Hooton, Joane Brooksup, Mary Malins, Catharine Chattam, Mary and Hannah Wright, Sarah Burden, Sarah Coleman and three or four of her children, Ralph Allen, William Allen and Richard Kirby.

‡ Christison told the Court that putting him to death would only increase the people they intended to destroy; for, said he, "there came five in place of the last man you executed." Mr. Richard Russell opposed the sentence of death against Christison.

§ Chamberlain had been made a Quaker of by witnessing the constancy with which Stevenson and Robinson met death, as before narrated. Besides his imprisonment and banishment he had been nine times whipped.—*Besse*, ii. 224.

executed, especially at the last of the three, where the executioner had provided a cruel instrument, with which he miserably tore their flesh; which instrument they would have bought and sent to England, but that was not permitted."

It is not strange that the agents, Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Norton, did not succeed in their mission to the Court of England, after the Restoration, when the events just recorded were well known there. And it is said that one of the agents fled from London, on being informed that "William Robinson's father was coming up out of the North, to call him to an account for murthering his son." *

The General Court made a law forbidding the celebration of Christmas, under a penalty of five shillings. The law compelling all persons to attend meetings under the same penalty was still in force, and the Quakers were at this time great sufferers under that enactment. In many instances, the fines accumulated to a large amount against the same individual, and many were thrown into jail, and their cows, sheep, and other substance, were taken from them; thus great distress was caused to many families.

The most memorable event which occurred this year in Boston, perhaps, was the arrival of General Edward Whalley and Colonel William Goffe, two of the individuals who had sat as judges at the trial of King Charles the First. They came with a Captain Pierce, and probably brought considerable effects with them. They had not been outlawed when they left England, nor did they leave it until they had lost all hope that the Commonwealth, which they had been instrumental in establishing, would be overthrown. They had been fast friends of the immortal Cromwell, and had stood by him in many sanguine fields. Whalley had been one of his Lieutenant-Generals, and Goffe a Major-General. They were grave and dignified in their deportment, becoming the high stations they had held. On their arrival they were courteously received by Governor Endicott, and treated with respect and attention by the principal persons of Boston. They did not disguise themselves, but went publicly to meetings, for as yet there had been no news of the restoration of Charles the Second. This news was not received until the end of November following. It was expected that the Judges of the late King would, on that event, be proscribed, and many of them had provided for such extremity as well as they could. These two were said not to have been among the most obnoxious, and hence it was hoped by them and their friends that they would be excepted, should clemency be extended to any; and, there was soon a rumor by

July 27.

* *N. Eng. Judged*, 46–7. — The alleged failure of this embassy is said by many to have caused the premature death of Mr. Norton. See Eliot, *Biog. Dict.* 340. While the Quakers freely said "he was cut off by a sudden and unexpected stroke," for his exertions in exciting the Magistrates in their cruel proceedings against their people. Yet I do not find that there was anything very singular in the manner of his death. Having preached in the forenoon, he fell down dead in his own house before the service in the afternoon. "He was observed to fetch a great groan, and, leaning his head against the chimney-piece, was heard to say, 'The hand or judgment of the Lord is upon me,' and he sunk down and spake no more, and had fallen into the fire, had not an ancient man, then present, prevented it." — *Besse*, ii. 270.

way of Barbadoes, that all the Judges would be pardoned but seven. But the Act of Indemnity soon followed this rumor, and Whalley and Goffe were excepted.

They fixed their residence at Cambridge, whither they proceeded very soon after they landed in Boston. They seem to have been inmates for a time with Major Gookin, with whom probably they deposited their effects when it became necessary for them to retire into the caves of the surrounding wilderness to escape the pursuivants of the King.* This their personal safety soon compelled them to do.

May 29. Charles the Second was proclaimed in London the lawful King of England, and the news of it in due time reached Boston. It was a sad day to many, and they received the intelligence with sorrow and concern, for they had been warm friends of Cromwell and his government. They now saw the latter trodden under foot, and the grave of the former desecrated. But there was no alternative, and the people of Boston made up their minds to submit to a power they could not control. They, however, kept a sort of sullen silence for a time, but fearing this might be construed into contempt or opposition to the King, they formally proclaimed him in August.

July.

1661. Aug. 8.

Meanwhile, the Quakers, and perhaps some other enemies of New England, had obtained the King's ear, and he sent over a requirement calling upon the Government here to answer the complaints in England. This led to the sending over Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Norton, as agents, as has been stated. They were instructed by the General Court to represent the Colony as loyal and obedient, and to endeavor to take off all scandal which had been promulgated to its prejudice. This was an undertaking, of which it may be truly remarked, that men who had grown gray in political intrigues might have shrunk from in concern; for even the Clergy of the Colony had justified every circumstance of the course of Cromwell, and publicly lauded the piety, as well as justice, of the Court which had brought their Monarch to the scaffold.†

The requisition of the King for some to appear to answer the com-

* The King's Commissioners afterwards made the reception of these judges a ground of complaint against the Colony. They say, "Col. Whaley and Gough were entertained by the Magistrates with great solemnity, and feasted in every place, after they were told they were traytors and ought to be apprehended. They made their abode at Cambridge untill they were furnished with horses and a guide and sent away to Newhaven; for their more security, Capt. Daniell Gookin is reported to have brought over and to manage their estates; and the Commissioners being informed that he had many cattle at his farm in the King's province, which were supposed to be Whalyes or Gough's, caused them to be seazed for his Majestye's use, till further order, but Capt. Gookin, standing upon the priviledges of their Charter, and refusing to answer before the Commissioners, as soe, there was no more done in it. Capt. Peirce, who transported Whaly and Gough into New England may probably say something to their estate."—Hutchinson, *Col. Orig. Paps.* 419–20.—See also Stiles' *Hist. of the Judges*, a work deserving a beautiful edition and a competent Editor.

† Eliot, *N. Eng. Biog. Dict.* 340, gives it as his opinion that Mr. Norton made a great mistake in undertaking in a matter that required so much duplicity, and sums up by saying, that, "every man should mind his own business;" that all agreed Mr. Norton's death was caused by the unkind treatment he received for his services in the unthankful business which he undertook. That this caused him to die of apoplexy, many months after his return, may be quite as probable as the reason assigned for it by the Quakers, mentioned in a previous

plaints against the Government of Boston, caused much agitation in the General Court; and when it was finally decided to send over agents, it was not an easy matter to procure suitable persons; so sensible was everybody that the complaints to be answered had too much foundation to be easily excused, or by any subterfuge explained away.* And, had it not been for the influence which Lord Say and Seale, then a Privy Counsellor to the King, and Col. William Crowne had with Charles the Second, the Colony would, in all probability, have felt his early and heavy displeasure. Colonel Crowne was in Boston when Whalley and Goffe arrived here, and was among those who visited them, though he is at the same time called a "Noted Royalist." Returning to England soon after, had he been disposed, Crowne could have made statements of what he had witnessed in Boston relative to the persecution of the Quakers, and the reception of the Regicides, which might have caused the King to take a course altogether different from the mild and conciliatory one which, fortunately for Boston, he did take.† Both Lord Say and Seale and Mr. Crowne had interests in New England, and doubtless many personal friends; hence the influence they exerted in their favor. The latter afterwards received a substantial acknowledgment for his good will, which consisted in a grant of a valuable tract of land.‡

The immediate sequel to the mission of Bradstreet and Norton may be thus briefly given:— Charles, through the exertions of a few friends to New England — or doubtless more properly, Boston, — "graciously" received the letter forwarded by the General Court, and although he "confirmed the Patent and Charter," objects of great and earnest solicitude in their letter to him, yet "he required that all their laws should be reviewed, and such as were contrary or derogatory to the King's authority should be annulled; that the oath of allegiance should be administered; that the administration of justice should be in the King's name; that liberty should be given to all who desired it, to use the book of Common Prayer;" in short, establishing the Church of England in Boston. Scarcely anything in that day could have been more grievous to the Rulers and Ministers. Nor was this all. The elective franchise was extended "to all freeholders of competent estates," if they sustained good moral characters.

The Agents returning and bringing such a mandate from the King was the cause of confusion and dismay in the whole country. Instead

note. Yet Doctor Cotton Mather says, "There were many who would not stick to say that 'he had laid the foundation of ruin to all our liberties,' and that his melancholy mind imagined that his best friends began therefore to look awry upon him." — *Magnalia*, i. 297.— New Edit. 2 vols.

* It is worthy of note that the two persons who had been most forward in the harsh measures against the Quakers, should be chosen to go to England to excuse the matter. It is said that they were averse to going, and it is not unlikely. They sailed from Boston, Feb. 10th, 1662, and returned in the following autumn.

† Hutchinson has printed a letter from Lord Say and Seale to Gov. Endicott, which was brought over by Col. Crowne. It bears date 10 July, 1661. It will repay perusal in this connection. — See *Hist. Mass.*, i. 220–1.

‡ See an able article in the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vi. 46, &c., by Samuel Jennison, Esq., relative to William and John Crowne. John is there said to be a son of William.

of being thankful for such lenity, many were full of vexation and indignation; and most unjustly assailed the Agents for not accomplishing an impossibility. They did, without doubt, all that any persons could have done under the circumstances; but this was no security against the ebullitions of ingratitude which followed. To be thus disarmed in the presence of Churchmen, Antinomians, and Quakers, whom they had endeavored by all means to crush, was quite too humiliating to be submitted to without some retaliation; and it has often happened before as well as since, that friends were abused and maltreated for nothing but doing their duty. This is the most sure way to add to the triumph of an enemy, and thus unjust revenge meets its reward.

Among the deaths which occurred this year in Boston, there was one of special note; it was the accidental death of Major Humphrey Atherton, of Dorchester. He had been attending a military parade on the Common, and, as he was returning home in the dusk of the evening, his horse stumbled, and threw him with such violence, that it caused his immediate death.*

* This happened on the 16th of June, and he died the same night.—See *N. E. Hist. Gen. Regr.*, ii. 382; v. 395.—The Quaker writers remark upon the manner of Major Atherton's death; viewing it as a judgment upon him, because he favored the prosecutions against their people. They say, "Humfray Adderton, who at the trial of Wenlock Christison, did, as it were, bid defiance to Heaven, by saying to Wenlock, '*You pronounce Woes and Judgements, and those that are gone before you pronounced Woes and Judgements; but the Judgements of the Lord God are not upon us yet*,' was suddenly surprised: having been, on a certain day, exercising his men with much pomp and ostentation, he was returning home in the evening, near the place where they usually loosed the Quakers from the cart, after they had whipped them, his horse, suddenly affrighted, threw him with such violence, that he instantly died; his eyes being dashed out of his head, and his brains coming out of his nose, his tongue hanging out at his mouth, and the blood running out at his ears: Being taken up and brought into the Court-house, the place where he had been active in sentencing the innocent to death, his blood ran through the floor, exhibiting to the spectators a shocking instance of the Divine vengeance against a daring and hardened persecutor; that made a fearful example of that divine judgement, which, when forewarned of, he had openly despised, and treated with disdain."—*Besse*, ii. 270.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Alarming Dissensions. — A Synod appointed. — Samuel Whiting. — Disagreements in the Synod. — French Protestants. — Thomas Breedon. — Imprisoned and fined. — Thomas Lake. — The King's Proclamation treated with Indignity. — Its Effect in England. — Adam Winthrop. — Chiefs of the Wampanoag Indians. — Wamsutta. — His Death. — Its Cause. — Pometacom succeeds him. — Notice of his Dress. — New coining Regulation. — A Fast. — An Earthquake. — Obstruction of the Printing Press. — The Indian Bible. — Death of John Norton. — Dr. John Owen invited to settle in Boston. — Effects of the Restoration. — Agents expected from England. — The Charter committed to special keeping. — Arrival of Commissioners from the King. — Men raised to go against the Dutch at Manhattan. — The place capitulates and they are disbanded. — Capt. Davenport killed by Lightning. — Incidents attending. — Crops blighted. — Wheat has not recovered to this day.



WHITING.

NOTWITHSTANDING the rigorous course pursued by the Authorities against the Quakers, it does not seem to have occurred to the former that differences of opinion might arise among themselves, by which the safety of the State would be endangered. And yet, although this was the case at the very time of the persecutions already detailed, that was no reason why another sect should intrude itself into the community, and proceed in a manner tending directly to break down and undermine its government and laws. Those differences of opinion relative to certain theological points had at this time, in the opinion of the General Court, become alarming. To remedy the evil, that body ordered a Synod, or Council of all the Churches, to convene at Boston, in the month of September. This has been regarded by many as one of the most famous Councils ever convened in the Country. Few of its proceedings have been recorded. Over its deliberations Mr. Samuel Whiting, of Lynn, is believed to have presided ; a place for which his mind and manners were most happily adapted, and to similar places he was often called, as it were by common consent.*

It does not appear that this famous Synod was able to settle anything. Some of its troubles were about proper subjects for baptism, and "a Consociation of Churches." Pamphlets were afterwards published by some of the prominent Divines. Mr. Chauncy and Mr. Davenport were opposed by Mr. Allen and Mr. Richard Mather ; one party advocating and the other opposing certain propositions advanced in the Council.

* The Rev. Samuel Whiting was a native of Old Boston in Lincolnshire, and although he was not long a resident of "New England Boston," he is sufficiently identified with its early history to be noticed in this place. His arrival in Boston was on May 26th, 1636. Here he resided until he was settled in Lynn, which was in the following November. The name of Whiting is very ancient in Old Boston. Mr. Thompson, the Historian of that City, finds the name of *William Whiting* in the Subsidy Roll of Edward III. (1333), as an inhabitant at that time ; and the Arms of the family have been preserved at St. Lawrence Chantry not less than three hundred years. The connection of our Samuel Whiting with some of

The same General Court* that ordered the Synod, granted some French Protestants liberty to settle in the country. Application was made by Dr. John Touton, one of their number, an inhabitant of Rochelle.

the most remarkable men of the age will be found appropriately noticed in many places; especially in the excellent memoir of him by Dr. Cotton Mather in his Magnalia. He was son of John Whiting, Mayor of Boston in 1600 and 1608; and this office was held by his descendants from time to time for more than a century following. The annexed brief pedigree will furnish a clue to those who may have a desire to trace out the descendants of this early father of New England.

JOHN WHITING, Mayor of Boston, above mentioned =

Samuel, b. in Boston, Co. of Lincoln, 20 Nov., 1597, Emmanuel Col. Cambridge, A. B., 1616, A. M. 1620. He died at Lynn in 1679, a. about 82. He was twice married. His first wife d. in England. Of three ch. by her, one only survived, who came to N. E. with her father, and became the wife of Mr. Thomas Welde, of Roxbury. = Elizabeth, daughter of the Rt. Hon. Oliver St. John, Chief Justice of England, and own cousin to Oliver Cromwell. She d. at Lynn, 1677, a. 72.

John, Mayor of Boston, 1655.

Samuel b. 1633, in Eng., came to N. England. Minister of Billerica, d. 1713. = Dorcas, da. of Leonard Chester, one of the first settlers of Weathersfield, Ct.

John, returned to Eng., settled at Leverton, d. 1689. He was a grad. H. C. 1657.

Joseph, b. at Lynn, 1641, H. C., 1661; set. at Southamp. L. I., 1682, d. 1723. = Mary, da. of Governor Tho. Danforth.

Dorothy, m. Rev. Jeremiah Hobart of Topsfield, son of Rev. Peter H. of Hingham, who was grandfather of David Brainard, missionary to the Indians.

Elizabeth, m. Rev. Thomas Clarke, of Chelmsford, 1707.

Samuel, b. 1662, d. 1715. — Dorothy. — Joseph, b. 1669, d. 1701.

John, b. 1664; H. C., 1685, Minis. of Lancaster; killed by Indians, 1697. His wf. was Alice Cook of Cambridge.

Oliver, b. 1665, of Lancaster; d. 1736. = Anna Danforth.

John, b. 1681, H. C. 1700. ord. Minister at Concord, 1712; d. 1752. = Mary, dau. Rev. John Cotton, of Hampton, N. H., gr. gr. dau. of Rev. John C. of Boston, gr. gr. dau. of Gov. Simon Bradstreet, and gr. gr. dau. of Gov. Thos. Dudley, and gr. gr. dau. of Gov. Step. Goodyear of Ct.

Samuel, b. 1702, of Billerica; d. 1772; fourth son, Deacon, &c. =

Mary, b. 1713, m. Rev. Daniel Rogers of Littleton. — Elizabeth, m. Rev. Saml. Webster, of Salisbury.

John of Royalston, b. 25 June, 1716. — Stephen, b. 6 Aug., 1720.

Thomas, b. 25 June, 1717. = Mary Lake, a descendant of Captain Thos. Lake, merchant, of Boston. See pedigree of Lake, and *New Eng. Hist. & Gen. Reg.* i. 327.

Timothy, b. 24 Feb., 1732; d. 12 July, 1799; lived in Lancaster; Justice Peace, &c. =

Timothy, b. 17 June, 1758, Capt. in the Revolutionary army; d. 13 Jan. 1826; — lived in Lancaster. =

1. John, Col., d. 1852, a. 70.
2. Polly, d. *s. p.*, 1799.
3. Sally, d. *s. p.*
4. Samuel Kidder, b. 1787, Lawyer; d. 1817. Lt. Charles Jarvis, Surveyor General of California, is his son.
5. Levi, b. 1790; Col. U. S. A.; d. 1852. Lt. Wm. H. Chase, U. S. A., is his descendant.
6. Nancy W., b. 1793.
7. Thomas J., b. 1796.
8. Joseph, b. 18 July, 1798; d. 19 Mar. 1799.
9. Harriet, born 1800; m. Paul Willard, Esq., of Charlestown, 10 Oc., 1821; parents of PAUL W. jr., Esq., Counsellor at law, of Boston.
10. James, Esq. b. 1805, of Boston.

John, b. 24 Feb. 1760, d. 1810; General in Revolutionary army, &c.; lived in Lancaster. =

1. Timothy D., b. 1785; d. *s. p.*, 1851.
2. Julia, b. 1787, d. *s. p.*, 1817.
3. Henry, b. 1788; General U. S. A.; a brave officer and elegant scholar, author, &c.; d. 1851. Among his children are Lt. Henry Macombe, U. S. A., and Lt. William Danforth, U. S. N.
4. Sophia, d. *s. p.*, 1853.
5. Fabius, Major U. S. A.; d. *s. p.*, 1842.
6. Maria, b. 1794.
7. Solon, b. 1797.
8. Caroline Lee, b. 1800; wife of N. Mercellus Hentz of Florida; distinguished authoress.

Christopher, b. 27 Nov., 1761; d., *s. p.* =

1. William, b. 18 Oct. 1788, Concord, Mass. Col.; m. Hannah Conant, a descend. of Roger C. See p. 52, *ante*. These are the parents of WILLIAM WHITING, Esq., of Boston, the eminent Jurist, & Pres. of the N. Eng. Hist. Gen. Society.
2. Prentiss. 3. Henry. 4. George. 5. Mary. 6. Lucy. 7. Harriet. 8. Rebecca.

1. Thomas, of Boston, b. 1743; H. C., 1775, d. at Concord, 1820. He had ch. Lydia, Martha, Samuel, Joseph.
2. Mary m., 1st, Capt. Barron, U. S. A.; 2d, Judge Simeon Strong; ch. Mary Baron and Stephen Barron.
3. Lydia, m. John Mullekin, of Lexington; ch. Nathl. Deacon; John and Dr. Isaac, of Dorchester.
4. William, of Lancaster; b. at Concord, 1760, d. 1832; m. Rebecca, da. Rev. Josiah Brown, of Sterling; she was b. 1762, d. 1848.
5. John Lake, m. Olive, dau. of Ross Wyman, and had ch. *inter alios*, John Lake, Relief and Lucy.

*The legislators of those days employed quite as many hours in the public service as others have since, as appears from an original paper, of which the following is a copy: — "The Deputyes have voted to sitt till 4 a clocke afternoon, and to meet at 8, the 2d day. Our Honored Majists. consent hereto. *William Torrey*, Clerk. The Magistrates consent hereto. *Edward Rawson*, Secretary, 18th 8mo. 1662." — The following named gentlemen composed the Court of Assistants this year. — "John Endicott, Esq., Rich. Belengham, Esq., Samuell Symonds, Esq., Daniel Gookin, Esq., Symō Willard, Esq., Richard Russel, Esq., Wm. Hathorne, Esq., Eliazer Lusher, Esq." — *Orig. Paper.*

While these affairs were progressing, Capt. Thomas Breedon made considerable disturbance in Boston. He had done some mischief in England by his representations of the proceedings here relative to the Quakers, and other affairs; and though he may not have gone any further than the truth justified him in going, perhaps it would have been quite as well if the same could be said in respect to his discretion and motives. However this may be, he was at this time in Boston again, and for what he did in England against the people here, or upon some other account, he was called before the Court; and, behaving with insolence, the Court caused him to be imprisoned, and sentenced him to pay a fine of 200 pounds. How long he was imprisoned does not appear; but through the exertions of Capt. Thomas Lake he was allowed to give bail to the amount of 1000 pounds, and abide the future order of the Court. Afterwards, at the intercession of Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, who acted upon the suggestion of Sir Thomas Temple, the fine was remitted.

Oct. 18.

Breedon was a favorite of the Royalists, and hence his treatment was viewed by many as an indignity towards the King. If this were not sufficient to evince such indignity, another event occurred far less equivocal in its tendency. A copy of the King's Proclamation having been sent by the General Court to be published in Woburn, the Constable of the town, whose duty it was to publish it, refused to do so; and one of the Select men of the same town spoke disrespectfully of it.* These acts, if not treasonable, bordered very closely upon high misdemeanors. The offending parties were therefore proceeded against; but when they were arraigned, no tangible evidence could be found against them, and they were acquitted. This showed the Royalists clearly that all the parties which administered the laws were not on the side of the King; or, in other words, that they were all against him. These and previous proceedings, urged at the Court of England by aggrieved parties and their friends, served to bring about the stringent measures towards the country which soon after followed.

Oct. 18. Mr. Edward Hutchinson and Mr. John Richards petitioned the General Court "in behalfe of the Orphan Adam Winthrop." The Island then known as the Governor's Garden being held by the heirs of the late Governor Winthrop, on condition that two bushels of apples should be delivered to the Court annually in October, the prayer of the Petitioners was, "that the said penalty may wholly be taken off, considering the small advantage that thereby accrues to the said Court." The petition was granted.

The present year is remarkable for many important events; not the least of which was the accession to the chieftainship of the Wampanoags of one of the sons of Massasoit, whose name was Pometacom, afterwards known as King Philip. He succeeded his brother Wamsutta, who died about the beginning of August of this year. His death was

*See *Hist. and Gen. Reg.* v. 392.—Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.* i. 225.

sudden, and, as he had been treated with indignity by Major Winslow, that circumstance was believed by the Indians to have hastened, if it did not cause, his death. The circumstance was at least a very unfortunate one for the English, and is briefly as follows: — Some Boston men going down into the Narraganset country, there heard that Wamsutta, now called Alexander, was plotting mischief against the English, and was endeavoring to engage the Narragansets to join with him in it. The Boston men sent this information to Governor Prence of Plymouth. It is not likely that the Plymouth people had any very serious apprehensions that mischief was intended them, but, agreeably to their established policy towards the Indians, it was thought best to inquire into the matter, and at the same time to keep up the exercise of the assumed authority which had grown up gradually over the peaceful Massasoit, father of Alexander. Therefore, the Governor sent an order requesting the Chief to come to Plymouth to clear up the matter. It is said that he promised to do so; but if he made such a promise, he appears to have disregarded it, and it was rumored that, at the same time he was to have been in Plymouth, he went over into the country of the Narragansets. This, added to the former reports, caused the Governor to send Major Winslow with a few mounted men, well armed, to bring him to Plymouth. The Chief's principal residence was at Sowams or Sowamset, since Warren, in Rhode Island.

Sending thus unceremoniously for an independent Sachem, was, apparently, a high-handed, if not an unjustifiable, measure. However, Winslow proceeded into the woods, and, taking the well-known resorts of the Indians in his way, found a company of them in a wigwam when he had got about half way to Bridgewater. The Major and his party dismounted, seized the guns of the Indians, which they, being on a hunting excursion, had left standing on the outside of their shelter. They then entered and made prisoner of the Chief, and conveyed him to Plymouth. There is no material difference in the accounts of the affair thus far. By some it is said that this conduct of the English threw him into a raging passion, and that it brought on a fever, of which he died shortly after, as already mentioned. By others it is said he submitted to his captivity quietly, and very freely went to Plymouth, and there became sick and died, though he was treated in the kindest manner, and had the best medical attendance. Yet it is pretty well agreed, on all hands, that his death was much hastened by the proceedings of the Plymouth Government, whatever they were.

On the death of Alexander his brother Philip succeeded to the Chieftainship of the Wampanoags. Of him there will be occasion to speak more at length hereafter. He appears to have been of a temperament quite different from that of his father, or of his late brother. He was more cunning than magnanimous; could dissemble without appearing to do so; he was proud without much of ostentation, and more vain than arrogant.

About this time he came to Boston, dressed in the richest style, prob-

ably, that any Indian had ever appeared on the peninsula of Shawmut. His girdle was thick set with beads of various colors, wrought into grotesque and curious figures. His buskins were ornamented with the same material, and in similar pleasant devices. His dress was accounted to be worth the large sum of twenty pounds.

At the May session of the General Court, Mr. Hull, the Mint Master, was instructed to coin one half of the silver bullion, which should be brought in to be coined for a year, into two pence pieces; and one-fifth of the same kind of silver into pieces of the same denomination for the next following seven years. At the same Court a bounty of forty shillings was offered for every wolf killed. A fast was ordered to be kept on the fifth of June, for the success of the Agents in England, disunion, the "unsettled state of great troubles," and some other matters.

1663. Jan. 26. "At the shutting in of the evening there was a great earthquake, and the same night another something less than the former. And again, on the twenty-eighth of the same month, there was another about nine of the clock in the morning."* It does not appear that any considerable damage was occasioned by these earthquakes.

The sermon before the General Court this year was preached by Mr. Higginson, of Salem. It was recommended by Mr. Wilson, of Boston, and Mr. Whiting of Lynn. The last-named gentleman may have preached the election sermon the last year.

Some difficulty had grown up respecting the liberty of printing. How it originated does not clearly appear. It was of such a nature, however, as to cause a suspension of the Printing Press at Cambridge, since the meeting of the General Court of last year, much to the detriment of the printers, and owners of the establishment. At the May session of the Court for the present year, Mr. Thomas Danforth, "in behalf of the owners of the Press and Printers," stated to that body that notwithstanding Captain Gookin and Mr. Mitchell were "nominated and impoured" at the last session to authorize printing, they had not only refused to accept the trust, but they would allow of no printing at all.

Jan. 2. Whereupon the Court ordered that printing might be done "at the same liberty as formerly," until otherwise ordered by the Court.† How far the prohibition under Captain Gookin and Mr. Mitchell extended is uncertain, though probably only to prevent the issue of works; for the Indian Bible was finished this year at the Cambridge press, under the immediate superintendence of Mr. John Eliot, who had translated the whole into the language of the Massachusetts Indians.

One of the bereavements of this year was the death of Mr. John Norton, already incidentally mentioned. He was born at Starford in the County of Hertford, England, May the sixth, 1606. He came to New England in 1635, and preached the winter of that year at Plymouth, and was urged to continue there, but he soon became permanently settled at Ipswich. There he remained until the death of Mr. Cotton. He

* Morton's Memorial. † Original Paper.

soon after, agreeably to the dying request of that eminent man, took his place in Boston, as has before been stated. He was considered the greatest man in prayer of his time. "I have," says one,* "heard of a godly man in Ipswich, who, after Mr. Norton's going to Boston, would ordinarily travel on foot from Ipswich to Boston, which is about thirty miles, for nothing but the Weekly Lecture there; and he would profess that 'it was worth a great journey, to be a partaker in one of Mr. Norton's prayers.'" He died on the fifth of April.

After the death of Mr. Norton, great hopes were entertained that his place would be supplied by Doctor John Owen, as it was well known that he intended to come to New England. Therefore, the General Court authorized the Governor to write to that distinguished Divine, desiring him to come over and accept the place. A letter was accordingly sent, and even the ship was designated in which he was to sail; but he and "some choice ones" were "diverted, and that not from hopes of better times there, but fears of worse here."†

Oct. 20.

No sooner had the government of Cromwell been overturned, but the enemies of Massachusetts gained ground fast in England. This was to be expected, keeping in view the proceedings of the Government here, from its very infancy. The Rulers literally trembled at the restoration, and their fears daily increased after that event. News was brought, early this spring, that several men of war were ordered to proceed to New England, and that in them were coming certain gentlemen of distinction. Accordingly, at the meeting of the General Court,‡ orders were given to Captain Davenport, of the Castle, to give the speediest possible notice of the approach of the expected ships; a Committee was appointed to repair on board them, and to present the respects of the Court to the gentlemen expected; to acquaint those in command that it was the desire of the Authorities for them to give strict orders to officers and soldiers under them, that on their coming ashore, they would at no time come above "a convenient number," and those without arms, and to behave themselves orderly, and to give no offence to the people and laws of the place.

May 18.

In this, certainly, there was nothing unreasonable, and it shows how much at heart the Rulers at Boston had the morals of their little community. They well knew the dangers that the young would be exposed to if large numbers of sailors and soldiers were allowed to go on shore, and there left to follow their usual vicious inclinations.

The loss of their Charter was one of the things the people most dreaded. It had more than once been demanded, but the demands had thus far been successfully evaded, and singular circumstances happened which favored the course of the Rulers in that particular. Now the

*Mather, *Magnalia*, i. 301, *new ed.* In this work, and in Dr. Eliot's *N. Eng. Biog. Dict.*, are to be found good accounts of Mr. Norton.

†Extract of a letter of Capt. Gookin in Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 226.

‡Mr. Richard Mather of Dorchester preached the Election Sermon, from Haggai, ii. 4. "Yet now be strong, all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, and work, for I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts." If Clarendon had been present at the reading of this text, he might, with propriety, have exclaimed, as he did in his history, that the people here "were already hardened republicans."

situation of things was changed. If the Charter should be again demanded, the demand would probably be backed up by a power which could not be resisted; by soldiers on the spot and ships of war riding before the town.

Thus circumstanced, the Court thought it prudent to make some disposition of the Charter. They therefore ordered Mr. Rawson, the Secretary, to bring it into Court, preparatory to hiding it. It being brought in, and the matter duly considered, it was put into the keeping of four of their number. These were Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Leveret, Captain Clarke, and Captain Johnson; who were "directed to dispose of it as might be most safe for the country."

Meanwhile, four ships* sailed from Portsmouth with about four hundred and fifty soldiers, with orders to rendezvous at a given point in Long Island Sound; and after levying upon New England for additional forces, to proceed against the Dutch at New Netherland. This armament was under the command of Col. Richard Nichols, a gentleman of high respectability, who had been a soldier under Marshall Turenne, and was now one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the Duke of York. With Colonel Nichols were associated Sir Robert Carr, Col. George Cartwright, and Mr. Samuel Maverick, who had been formerly very ill-treated in Boston. These gentlemen had a commission from the King, constituting them Commissioners for visiting the colonies of New England, hearing and determining all matters of complaint, and settling the peace and security of the country; any three or two of them to be a quorum, Colonel Nichols being one.

The fleet having been separated in a fog, the Guinea, on board of which were the Commander in Chief, Colonel Nichols, and Colonel Cartwright, having made Cape Cod, proceeded up to Boston. On the Tuesday following the gentlemen laid their Commission before the Governor and Council; their chief business being now to obtain aid in men for the reduction of the Dutch at New Netherland, as before mentioned. As many as the country could spare were desired to be ready by the twentieth of August. The Commissioners promised, that if, in the mean time, the Dutch should be reduced, or a treaty should be concluded, the men would not be required to march.

July 23, 26.

It has been said, with something of plausibility, that the people here were very slow in complying with this requisition for men; shrewdly arguing, among themselves, that it was rather bad policy for them to assist in conquering the Dutch, that the conquerors might come and reduce them to an obedience which they had so long striven against successfully.† However this may have been, the General Court proceeded to raise two hundred men, and Colonel Nichols meanwhile sailed

* The Guinea, of 36 guns; the Elias, of 30; the Martin, of 16; and the William and Nicholas, of 10 — Brodhead's *Hist. of the State of New York*, 736.

† Mr. Brodhead insinuates this, in his *Hist. of New York*, p. 737. If this kind of policy did influence the Bostonians, to say the least, they were swayed by a very short-sighted one; altogether wide of their usual deep sagacity. See Smith's *Hist. of N. Y.*, 32–35, &c. ed. 1814.

upon his expedition. It was completely successful; the Dutch capitu-
Aug. 27. lated, and hence there was no occasion for the soldiers raised in Boston and its vicinity, and they were disbanded.

July 16. There was much damage occasioned this year by lightning. "Captain Richard Davenport, commander of the Castle, being fatigued with labor, laid down upon his bed to rest, and was struck dead. Three or four of the people were hurt, and a dog was killed at the gate. There was only a wainscot partition between the room where the Captain was killed, and the magazine of powder."* This year was noted also for other calamities; "it pleased God to smite the fruits of the earth, the wheat, in special, with blasting and mildew."† Little has been raised on the seacoast since.‡

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Return of the King's Commissioners to Boston. — Make a Bad Beginning. — Their Authority Opposed. — Proceed to Plymouth and Rhode Island. — Death of Gov. Endicott. — Commissioners return to Boston. — Interview with the Magistrates. — Unsatisfactory. — Disloyalty to the King very Apparent. — The Government consent to Proclaim the King. — Required to abstain Coining Money. — To allow other Religious Sects their Freedom. — The Government refuse to acknowledge the Authority of the Commissioners, and Appeal to their Charter. — Case of Thomas Deane. — The People called upon by the Government not to support the Commissioners. — A Proclamation to that Effect issued. — The Commissioners break off Intercourse with the Government. — Cause of their Ill-success. — Fate of Carr and Cartwright. — Carr's Difficulties in Boston. — Assaults a Constable. — Proceedings against him.



BRATTLE.

THE King's Commissioners, except Colonel Nichols,
Feb. 15. returned to Boston on the fifteenth of February, and soon held a sort of Court, preparatory to correcting whatever errors and abuses they might discover in the administration of affairs under the existing Government. They began by making a very strange request; which was, that the Authorities should summon all the people of the Province to assemble at the ensuing annual election. This very naturally caused some ill feeling in the Government. They could not understand what such a requisition meant, while they could very well understand that it was highly preposterous. Hence the

* Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 253. — Hubbard, *Hist. N. Eng.*, 642. — Besse speaks of this casualty, as among the judgments upon those who had persecuted the Quakers; but what is remarkable in this author, is his mistaking the name of Capt. Davenport. He says, "John Danfort, a member of the Church, and Captain of their Castle by Boston, as he lay, in the heat of the day, upon his bed, was struck dead, in a strange manner, by thunder and lightning."— *Sufferings of the Quakers*, ii. 270. — See also Bishop, *N. E. Judged*, 491. — The date of the accident is given July 15, by Hutchinson, but Judge Sewall, *Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vii 208, places it on the 16th.

† Morton, *Memorial, Ed. Davis*, 307.

‡ Lewis, *Hist. Lynn*, 152. — "This was looked at," says Morton, "by the judicious and consciencious of the Land, as a speaking Providence against the vnthankfulness of many for so great a mercy, and their murmuring expressed in their words, by slighting and undervaluing terms of it: as also against voluptuousness, and abuse of the good creatures of God, by licentiousness in drinking, and fashions in apparel; for the obtaining whereof, a great part of this principal grain was oftentimes unnecessarily expended."— *Memorial*, ed. 1669, p. 172–3. — See also Mather, *Magnalia*, (new edition) vol. i. page 80.

measure was opposed, and thus early did the Commissioners array themselves unnecessarily against the Authorities. The Council said the people were at liberty to assemble, but they should not encourage it, for two special reasons. One was, the great detriment it would be to the country to take the men from their business. Another was, the exposing of their families to the depredations of the Indians. To these objections Cartwright insolently replied, that the request was a very reasonable one, and that whoever opposed it was a traitor. The Commissioners then set about writing letters for assembling the people on their own authority, and soon after set out to hold courts in Plymouth and Rhode Island. The death of Governor Endicott occurred in their absence. The Plymouth Authorities appear to have submitted very readily to the purposes of the Commissioners, and the people of Rhode Island were no doubt glad to have an opportunity to retaliate, as far as words would go, in declaring the wrongs they had received from the people of Boston. However, having set affairs in a train according to their views, the Commissioners returned privately* and separately to Boston, about the latter end of April.

March 15.

The Magistrates having assembled the day before election to prepare for the business of that day, the Commissioners desired an interview. The Magistrates at first declined it, because they said there was no Court; yet they finally consented. At the interview several papers were communicated by the Commissioners. To the contents of these there could not have been much objection, judging from a few items which have been preserved. They were on the whole flattering to the Country, declaring the King's great kindness for the people, and his desire to advance their interests, who "had given so good an example of sobriety and industry to all others." It was stated, too, that so far was the King from wishing to abridge their liberties, he was ready to enlarge them. The Commissioners hoped by these protestations to be able to make such representations of their loyalty as would remove all causes of jealousy from their Royal Master. But it was of no avail. The word *loyalty* had too long been expunged from their vocabulary to find a quiet place in it again.

May 2.

At every step the Commissioners must have seen that whatever they effected, and whatever impression they made, would prove little better than foot-prints in the sand. Yet they proceeded in their duties. They requested that a map of the Colony should be prepared for them, that they might hear and determine claims regarding territory.

As soon as the business of the election was passed, the Court desired the Commissioners to communicate all of his Majesty's commands and requirements. But this they refused to do; saying, that when they had answered what had already been given them, they would

May 4.

* Their *returning privately*, is said to have been to avoid the honorable reception which they would otherwise have received. This reason appears to me to be a very strange one; for after what they had seen of the Bostonians I do not think they had any reason to apprehend any very *crushing* load of honors. See Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 234.

communicate more. The Court thought best to comply, so far at least as appearances were concerned. They therefore agreed that their allegiance to the King should be published "by sound of trumpet," and that Mr. Oliver Purchis* should proclaim the same on horseback; and that Mr. Thomas Bligh, Treasurer, and Mr. Richard Wait, should accompany him; that the reading in every place should end with the words, "God save the King." Another requirement of the Commissioners was that the Government should stop coining money; another, that Episcopalians should not be fined for not attending the religious meetings of the community, as they had hitherto been; another, that they should let the Quakers alone, and let them go about their affairs. These were only a part of the requirements, but they were the principal, and were partially complied with. They agreed also to celebrate the King's restoration by a Thanksgiving; also in the same manner the discovery of the "Gunpowder Treason."

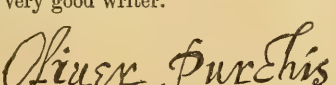
Notwithstanding a pretended acquiescence, on the part of the Government, to the requests of the Commissioners, it was evident from the first that little could be effected by the latter, from the evasive manner in which all their orders or recommendations were received. At length the Commissioners found it necessary to put the question to the Governor and Council direct, "Whether they acknowledged his Majesty's Commission?" † The Court sent them a message, desiring to be excused from giving a direct answer, inasmuch as their Charter was their plea. Being still pressed for a direct answer, they declared that "it was enough for them to give their sense of the powers granted to them by Charter, and that it was beyond their line to determine the power, intent or purpose of his Majesty's Commission."

May 19.

May 22.

There were those in Boston who had been suffering for their nonconformity to certain laws of the land, and they thought the present time afforded them a prospect for redress. Among the individuals was Mr. Thomas Deane,‡ a merchant. What his case was does not clearly

*So he spelled his own name. From the accompanying Autograph it would appear that he was a very good writer.



†The following passage in a communication which the Commissioners made to the General Court on the 18th of May, was very ill-calculated to gain the end desired. "We are heartily sorry," they say, "to find, that by some evil persuasions, you have put a greater value upon your own conceptions, than upon the wisdom of his Majesty and Council; which argues either an unreasonable jealousy and distrust of his Majesty's so often repeated graces and favors intended towards his subjects here, or that his Majesty is not a competent interpreter of your Charter."

‡He was established in Boston as a factor, and he and Mr. Lidget were the first who made advances on consignments of goods from England. He returned to England and died at Freefolk, Hants, 27 April, 1686, aged 46, as appears by an inscription in Freefolk Chapel. His second wife, Anne, daughter of William Farr, of London, died 31 Jan., 170$\frac{6}{7}$, aged 52. His first wife was daughter of William Browne, of Salem. Mr. Deane was of the family of Deane of Deanlands. James Deane was his father, whose will is in Doctor's Commons, London. — *Items furnished by* Mr. W. R. and Mr. J. Deane, of Boston. — See also *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, iii. 480. The accompanying copy of an autograph is from a power of attorney from Thomas Deane and Peter Sergeant of Boston, to John Walley of Boston, dated 2 Feb., 1633.



appear, nor is it of much importance in the present instance. It is sufficient that he applied to the Commissioners for justice, and they therefore notified the Court that they should be in session at the house of Captain Thomas Breedon, the next day, where the case of Mr. Deane and others, against the Governor and Company and Joshua Scottow, merchant, defendants, was to be heard, and desired their attendance by their Attorney.

May 23, 24.

This act of the Commissioners brought the contest between them and the Authorities to a crisis. The Commission was at this time full, though at what time Colonel Nichols joined the others does not appear. The Court, on receipt of the summons, issued a Proclamation (which would have very well suited the times of the Declaration of Independence) calling upon the people in his Majesty's name (!) not to consent unto, or to give approbation to, the proceedings of the King's Commissioners, nor to aid or abet them. This Proclamation they ordered to be published through the town by sound of trumpet, and oddly enough added thereto, "God save the King." (!)

May 24.

The same day the Commissioners sent a sort of threatening protest to the Court, in which they said they thought the King and his Council knew what was granted to them in their Charter; but that, since they would misconstrue everything, they (the Commissioners) would lose no more of their labor upon them. At the same time assuring them that their denial of the King's authority, as vested in his Commissioners, would be represented to his Majesty only in their own words. The Court, in its turn, summoned Mr. Deane before them, and notified the King's Agents that they might appear, "that justice might be done." Here all intercourse ceased between the Government and the Commissioners for this time.

The conduct of Colonel Nichols, at Boston, is spoken of in terms of high commendation; but Carr and Cartwright are represented as totally unfitted for the business they came upon. After all, it is difficult to see how any Commissioners, upon such an errand, could have given satisfaction. For, a moment's consideration is sufficient to convince any one that the difficulty was not so much in the Commissioners, as in the undertaking. The King, of course, knew nothing about New England affairs, except from interested parties, and hence, when he gave these Commissioners authority to come here and take the Government out of the hands of the people, he acted with the same kind of inconsistency which ruined his father. His advisers ought to have known better. They ought to have known that before they could succeed in assuming the Government at Boston, the original Charter of the country must be somehow disposed of. This was not done; and thus the Commissioners came lame into the country, and went out of it in disgrace.

The Fathers of Boston had cause not long after to speak of "a remarkable providence," by which much expected mischief was averted from their heads. The Commissioners had collected all the unfavorable circumstances they could against the Country, intending on their return

to England to use their information to the prejudice of New England. All the papers collected for this purpose were in the keeping of Cartwright, who, on his passage to England, fell into the hands of the Dutch, who stripped him of everything, even the papers in question, and he never could recover them. Carr, after spending some time at Pascataqua and Delaware, returned to England in 1667, but died at Bristol the next day after he landed, which was the first day of June. Maverick is the same who was here when Boston was settled, and has been often mentioned in previous pages.*

Before dismissing the Commissioners it will be proper to notice some of the difficulties given by one of them to the Authorities of Boston. This was Sir Robert Carr, who probably spent the winter of 1666–7 in Boston. In those days there was a noted tavern or ordinary, called the Ship Tavern, situated on the "opposite corner to what was called Clark's Shipyard," long after; and more recently its site answered to the corner of Clark and Ann streets, at the North End. Opposite to this tavern lived Mr. Thomas Kellond, a merchant, of whom there will be occasion to speak hereafter. That tavern was a favorite resort of the Commissioners, and as there was a law forbidding people to be found at taverns on a Saturday evening, advantage was to be taken of this law to seize Sir Robert Carr, who had recently committed an act of violence on a Constable named Richard Bennet, while in the discharge of his duty. It appears that Bennet went to the Ship Tavern, then kept by
Jan. 19. "John Vyals," and there, according to the complaint made by Bennet to Mr. Leverett, Carr assailed, beat and wounded him, in an atrocious manner. Mr. Leverett, instead of sending a force sufJan. 22. ficient to overcome Carr, wrote him a letter, which was conveyed to him by Capt. William Davis. In this letter Mr. Leverett said there had been a complaint lodged against him and his servant James Deane, for their "riotous and abusive carriage to his Majesty's officer, Richard Bennet, one of the Constables of the Town," and desiring him to appear the next day, between nine and ten o'clock, at his house, to answer. Mr. Leverett said, "from some considerationes he had chosen this way to give him notice thereof, that he and his man might be present to give answer to what should be aleged against them; and the honor and avthority of his Majesty in his officers be preserved, with the greatest respect to himselfe the case would admit of." Carr returned a written answer, the next day, saying he would not obey the summons.† Whereupon Mr. Leverett issued sumJan. 23. monses to both Carr and Deane to appear before him the same day; but this was also treated with contempt, and an insulting

* Hutchinson says he was here in 1667, with a message from Col. Nichols, "which is the last account given of him." — *Hist. Mass.*, i. 250.

† The answer was verbatim as follows: — "S^r^ yo^rs^ I receyved last night, in answer to w^ch^, as I am S^r^ Robert Carr, I would have complyed w^th^ yo^r^ desyers, bvt as I am w^th^ y^e^ Kyng's Commissiō, I shal not grant yo^r^ requests, both in respect of his Majestyes honor and my owne duty, and rest yours,

ROBERT CARR.

Boston, Jan. 23, 1666.

For Major General John Leverett, these."

reply was made in writing, at the same time the said Carr "swore divers oaths."* Then warrants were put into the hands of Nathaniel Renolds and John Button, constables, with orders to apprehend the offenders. Jan. 25. The officers proceeded to the house of Mr. Edmund Downes, where Carr then had his lodgings, but were denied admittance. They read their warrant, however, in the hearing of Carr, who "said he would not come to Authority." The Constables then "commanded Mr. Downes to open the doare, and he said he could not, for Sr. Robert Carr had got the Key when he was gone ovt of the doares, and he could not get it agayne; and there was in the house of Edmvnd Downes, Capt. Tho. Breedon, and tooke the names of those that weare there to assist" them. This return being made to Governor Bellingham and Mr. Leverett, a Council was called, "whoe mett at Charelestown so soon as the weather gaue leaue." It is supposed that when the "weather did giue leaue," another attempt was made to arrest Carr, and by an officer of spirit and firmness, whose name was Arthur Mason. Whether he succeeded in arresting him, however, is not stated. Mason found Carr with some companions at the house of Mr. Kellond. Going in among them with his staff of authority, he remarked, that "it was well he had not found them at the tavern opposite, for if he had he would have arrested them all;" and that "he wondered that they had been so uncivil as to beat a Constable and abuse authority." Carr said "it was he that beat the officer, and that he would do it again." Mason replied, that "he thought his Majesty's Commissioners would not have beaten his Majesty's officers, and that it was well for them that he was not the Constable who found them there, for he would have carried them before Authority." Sir Robert asked him if "he dare meddle with the King's Commissioners?" "Yes," said Mason, "and if the King himself had been there I would have carried him away." Upon this Mr. Maverick cried out "Treason! Treason! Mason, you shall be hanged within a twelvemonth." Sir Thomas Temple being of the company, Carr spoke to him and others to take notice of what passed. The next day Maverick sent a note to the Governor, charging Mason with high treason, and requiring his arrest. It does not appear that, in the mean time, Mason made any attempt to take Carr into custody, nor does it appear how the affair with Carr ended. However, the Governor informed Mr. Maverick that he was ready for him to appear and prosecute his charge against Constable Mason for treason. Maverick, however, did not appear, though the Governor thought proper to hold Mason for trial, and took sureties for his appearance in five hundred pounds. Maverick soon after sent another note to the Governor,

* "Sr I receved yor menacing warrant by yor Marshal Richard Wayte, and another to my servt, and for the same shal cal you to acompt in tyme and place convenient, as I am his Majestyes Comissioner for New Engld, before whome I am to giue an acovnt for my actiones, and doe requyer you in his Majestye's name to take care that myself and servant be not molested or affronted by any in this jurisdiction of the Massachusets, as you wil answer it at yor and theyr perils. Dated in boston, the 23 of jā: 166$\frac{5}{7}$. ROBERT CARR.

To Mr. John Leverett."

Original paper of the time.

desiring the prosecution might stop; "being satisfied," he said, "that, although the words were rash and inconsiderate, yet that there was no premeditated design in Mason to injure the King or his government." This was characteristic of Mr. Maverick. He had formerly been much injured in his feelings and estate by the Government of Boston, and the only retaliation that was ever attempted by him appears to be in endeavors to bring about religious liberty in the place. Governor Bellingham duly appreciated this service, and, to proceed counter to Maverick, he determined not to overlook Mason's offence of Treason, and the prosecution proceeded; but, at the trial, the jury gave a verdict corresponding exactly with Mr. Maverick's wishes; yet the Court sentenced Mason to be admonished in a solemn manner by the Governor.

CHAPTER XL.

Petitions in Favor of acknowledging the King's Authority. — Hon. Robert Boyle's Advice to Gov. Endicott. — Description of Boston at this Period. — Cambridge. — The College. — Small-Pox. — Baptist Movement. — Baptist Church formed. — Names of the early Members. — Date of the Foundation of their Church. — They are Persecuted. — Fined and Imprisoned. — A Petition in their Favor. — Case of Gould — of Turner and others. — Letter of Goodwin and others. — Brewster's Islands. — Rope-making — First in Boston. — Death of John Wilson. — Old South Church founded.



WILLOUGHBY.

MR. Richard Bellingham was chosen Governor, and Mr. Francis Willoughby, Deputy Governor. The latter resided in Charlestown. He was a gentleman of wealth, and highly respectable, and yet was among the Magistrates who opposed the Commissioners.*

The opposition to these Commissioners was not entirely universal or unanimous among the people. They had, however, a less number of friends in Boston, probably, than in any other town in the country, according to its population. There were good people, who thought it both unwise as well as unjust to oppose the King's Commissioners, which they viewed as nothing less than treason, though they had too much good sense to give it that name; and there were so many substantial and influential men in the other principal towns, of the same way of thinking, that the Government, on its part, was obliged

* Mr. Willoughby was son of Col. William Willoughby, of Portsmouth, in Hampshire, England, by his wife Elizabeth; was admitted an inhabitant of Charlestown, 22 Aug., 1638, and from 1640 to the time of his death, he was almost constantly in the public service. He was Deputy Governor till his death, which occurred on the 4th of April, 1671. He was largely engaged in merchandise, and much improved his adopted town by building wharves, &c. In 1641 he built a ship at the point now called Warren Bridge avenue. He lived near the Square, between Harvard and Bow streets, on the estate on which the house stands that was, a few years since, occupied by Mr. Edward Everett, now of the U. S. Senate. See Frothingham's *Hist. Charlestown*, 141–2, and Farmer's *Reg.*, 321.

to receive a petition* from them respectfully,† while, for presenting a much less obnoxious one a few years before, its authors were imprisoned, fined, and otherwise severely dealt with. But Winthrop and Endicott were dead, and how the present petitioners would have fared, had one or both of them been alive, no opinion is necessary to be offered. These petitioners reminded the Court that the "advice of the wise man was to keep the King's commandment," that "this place was a part of the King's dominions, whence it is evident that if any proceedings of this Colony have given occasion to his Majesty to say that we believe he hath no jurisdiction over us, what effectual course had need be taken to free ourselves from incurring his Majesty's further displeasure, by continuing in so dangerous an offence? Such an assertion would be no less destructive to our welfare than derogatory to his Majesty's honor. The doubtful interpretation of the words of a patent, which there can be no reason to believe can ever be construed to the divesting of a sovereign Prince of his royal power over his natural subjects, is too frail a foundation to build such a transcendent immunity and privilege upon." They at the same time intimated a separation from the party opposed to the King, if the opposition were persisted in; that they might be compelled to address his Majesty "to clear themselves from the least imputation of so scandalous an evil as the appearance of disaffection, or disloyalty to the person and government of their lawful Prince and Sovereign would be."

The Rulers were desirous to be thought loyal in England, and professed to be so; while a determination on their part to do as they pleased, was too manifest to be disguised. But the proceeding against Carr is sufficient to show that the Government had begun to waver in its course. It saw that there was no alternative but to yield. Even that excellent friend of the country, the Honorable Robert Boyle, wrote a letter to Governor Endicott and the General Court, dated two days after Mr. Endicott's death, in which he said, in answer to some observations made by them, "in your last addresses to his Majesty, and letters to the Lord Chancellor, there were passages much more unexpected than welcome;" "that not only those who are unconcerned in your affairs, but the most considerable persons that favor you in England, have expressed to

* Printed entire in Hutchinson's *Coll. of Orig. Papers*, 511–13; also reprinted in 8th, 2d Ser. *Mass. Hist. Colls.*, though the Editors of the latter forgot to give the date to it. It was presented to the Court in October, 1666. The names of the Boston signers were,

John Jolliffe,	William Taylor,
Hab. Glover,	John Woodmansey,
Robert Gibbs,	Samuel Bradstreet,
Thomas Kellond,	John Bushnell,
Bernard Trott,	John Conney,
Antipas Boys,	Thomas Breeden,
Thomas Savage, Sen.,	Thomas Deane,
Richard Wharton,	Nicholas Page,
John Winslow,	Thomas Brattle,
John Freake,	Simon Lynde,
Samuel Scarlette,	Ephraim Turner,
James Whitcomb,	Richard Patteshall,
Richard Price,	Henry Taylor.

Petitions, also, of the same import, were handed in from Salem, Newbury and Ipswich. There were 33 names on that from Salem; 39 on that from Newbury; 73 on that of Ipswich.

At the head of the Salem petitioners stood the name of Zerubbabel Endicott, son of the late Governor Endicott, and at the head of those of Ipswich was John Appleton. That of Newbury was not less respectably signed. The Brownes, Atkinsons, Woodbridges, Gerrishes, Lowles, Somerbies, Coffins, Noyses and Knights were upon it. Yet Hutchinson says these Petitioners were censured for intermeddling. The censure was probably rather slight; as the parties petitioning were quite too respectable, both in character and numbers, to be otherwise treated.

† Mather, *Magnalia*, ii. 532, *new ed.*

me their being unsatisfied in some of the particulars I am speaking of; and it seems generally unreasonable, that when the King had so graciously remitted all that was past, and upon just and important inducements, sent Commissioners to promote the welfare of your Colony, you should (in expressions not over warily and respectfully worded), be importunate with him to do an action so likely to blemish his wisdom or justice, or both, as immediately to recall public ministers from so remote a part of the world, before they, or any of them, be so much as accused of any one crime or miscarriage."

Hence, the Government were given to understand that their request to the King to recall his Commissioners was a highly offensive proceeding. Indeed, an entirely independent State could not have made a bolder request. It was as much as to say to the King, "We do not wish to be looked after. We can take care of our own affairs."

While the King's Commissioners were in New England, they drew up, or caused to be drawn up, an account of the country and its concerns, which is a document of great value and interest. In this it is said of Boston, that "it is the chief Town in the Country, and seated upon a peninsula in the bottom of a bay, which is a good harbor and full of fish. It was fortified, this year,* with two block houses. They had, before, a castle upon an island in the road where ships must pass, about five or six miles from the Town. Their houses are generally wooden, their streets crooked, with little decency and no uniformity; and there, neither months, days, seasons of the year, churches nor inns, are known by their English names."† What the Commissioners say of Cambridge is quite too characteristic of the times as well as of themselves to be omitted in this connection. "At Cambridge," they say, "they have a wooden Collidg, and in the yard a brick pile of two Cages for the Indians, where the Commissioners saw but one. They said they had three or more at scool. It may be feared this Collidg may afford as many scismaticks to the Church, and the Corporation as many rebells to the King, as formerly they have done, if not timely prevented."‡ These inferences were drawn after the information elicited from the Government, which was, that "they might say, without boasting, that more than an hundred able preachers, physicians, and other useful persons, had issued from the small college at Cambridge."

About forty persons died of the small-pox this year in Boston, and "divers are slain by lightning."§

Soon after the arrival of the Commissioners, the silenced Anabaptists, as well as the Quakers, thinking they should now be protected in their religious opinions, the former began to consolidate themselves into a

* 1665. A slight mistake, as will have been seen. They mistook repairs for original work. They said "the fort or keep at the entrance of the harbor had five or six guns."

† In certain answers to the Commissioners last year, the Government stated that the number of their ships and vessels was then as follows: — "About 80 from 20 to 40 tons; about 40 from 40 to 100; and about a dozen ships above 100 tons." — Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 244.

‡ See the Narrative in Hutchinson's *Colls. Orig. Papers*, 421.

§ Sewall, in *New. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vii. 208.

Church; some of whom had been in the country from the first settlement at Charlestown.* But they found it necessary "to reserve their particular opinions to themselves."†

Notwithstanding the Commissioners had authority to give liberty to people of all religious denominations, they could not bring the Bostonians to second them, and the Government continued their prosecutions against heretics; and, in the course of the year 1665, William Turner, Thomas Gould, Edward Drinker,‡ John George, and Thomas Osborne, were prosecuted for "gathering themselves into a pretended Church estate."

May 28. Before this, Gould, Osborne, and Drinker, had been baptized, and joined with Richard Goodall, William Turner,§ Robert Lambert, Mary Goodall, and Mary Newell, in a solemn covenant. Goodall came recommended from Mr. Kiffin's Church, in London;‖ Turner and Lambert came from Mr. Stead's Church, in Dartmouth; "having been regular walkers in the Baptist order" before they came to this country. Gould and Osborne separated from the Church in Charlestown. Drinker and George had lived here many years, but had not united with any

Aug. Church. About this time they began to hold regular meetings; "prophecyed, one by one, and some one among them administered the Lord's-supper, after he was regularly excommunicated by the Church at Charlestown; they also set up a lecture at Drinker's house, once a fortnight." Before 1669, Isaac Hull, John Farnum, Jacob Barney, John Russell, Jun., John Johnson, George Farlow, Benjamin Sweetser,

*"Seth Sweetser, who came over to Charlestown in 1638, from Tring, in Hardfordshire, [Hertfordshire] was one of those early Baptists. I find by the records that he was received a free man that year. His son Benjamin was long a useful member of the Baptist Church in Boston, and he has left a numerous posterity; one of whom has been Schoolmaster and Town-clerk in Charlestown for sundry years past." — Backus, *Hist. N. Eng.*, i. 355. It should be remembered that Mr. Backus printed his history in 1777. In the first *Boston Directory*, 1789, there was a Joseph Sweetser, "retailer, in Prince St.;" John, "gentleman, Ship St.;" John, Jr., "shop-keeper, 80 Newbury St." But four of the name Sweetser appeared in the Directory, twenty years later, 1809. The last year, 1853, there were eighteen.

†Mather, *Magnalia*, ii. 532, *new ed.*, who extracts an observation of "the noble martyr, Phillpot," expressing his opinion of the early Anabaptists. He says "they are an inordinate kind of men, stirred up by the Devil to the destruction of the gospel; having neither scripture nor antiquity, nor anything else for them, but lies and new imaginations, feigning the baptism of children to be the Pope's commandment." — *Ib.* In an examination of Mr. Gould before the Church at Charlestown, it was demanded why he now disowned infant baptism, when once he believed in it? He answered, "You were once for crossing in baptism — why do you now disown it?" The interrogator was silent. — Backus, i. 365. — Gould died Oct. 27th, 1675.—Winchell's *Jubilee Sermons*, p. 16. Backus, i. 414.

‡For curious as well as interesting items concerning the family of Drinker, see *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vii. 169, and references. Edward Drinker was a son of Philip, of Charlestown, by his wife Elizabeth. Philip names but two sons in his will (dated 21 : 4 : 1647), Edward and John. He died 23 : 4 : 1647. One of the family emigrated to Pennsylvania, and had a son born on the banks of the Delaware about two years before William Penn arrived, and on the spot afterwards named Philadelphia. That son's name was Edward. He lived to be 102 years old, dying 17 Nov. 1782. By one wife he had 18 children. See Watson's *Annals Phila.*, i. 513, 2*d. ed.*

§The same who was afterwards a Captain in Philip's War, and was, with his company, the chief instruments in saving Northampton from the sword of the Indians. He perished after the memorable Fall fight, a fight in which the power of the Indians was fatally broken. His grandson, also named William, lived a while in Swanzey, but removed to Newport, R. I., where he died in 1759. He had a daughter, who married a Miller, who, with a son, William Turner Miller, was living in Warren in 1774.

‖Rev. William Kiffin's Church, no doubt. The same Mr. Kiffin who wrote the life of Hanserd Knollys. See *ante*, p. 255.

Mrs. Sweetser and Ellis Callender* had joined the Baptists. Their meetings in Boston were not held until about three years later. The date of the first Baptist Church in Boston is reckoned from the time of Mr. Gould's removal to Noddle's Island, ascertained to be in the year 1668. From this date the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Church was celebrated in 1818.†

Several of the Baptists, who attempted to establish their sect in Boston in 1665, were fined for not attending the established worship, imprisoned for heresy, and banished. In July, 1668, a warrant for the commitment of some of them to jail, was signed by Mr. Bellingham, Eleazer Lusher and Edward Tyng, where they appear to have laid till the fall term of the General Court. Then a petition was presented, in the mournful and supplicating language of that time, by which it is seen that Thomas Gould, William Turner and John Farnum "now lie in prison, deprived of their liberty, taken off from their callings, separated from their wives and children, disabled to govern or to provide for their families, to their great damage and hastening ruin, how innocent soever; besides the hazard of their own lives, being aged and weakly men, needing the succor a prison will not afford; the sense of this, their personal and family most deplorable and afflicted condition, hath sadly affected the hearts of many sober and serious Christians, and such as neither approve of their judgment or practice." Notwithstanding this petition expressed the feeling of some of the best men in Boston, it met with a fate similar to that presented by the Churchmen of 1646. Its chief promoters were fined, and obliged to ask pardon of the Court for the freedom they had taken with it. Among the signers were Capt. Edward Hutchinson‡ and Capt. James Oliver. Mr. Willoughby, Mr. Leverett and Mr. Symonds were also known to have been against the persecutions. §

It seems that some of the prisoners were liberated in the following winter, on the presumption that they were to leave the Colony; whereas they only went to Noddle's Island, and there established themselves,‖

* He joined the Church, 9 Nov., 1669. "The next members who joined were Joshua Turner, Thomas Foster, John Russel, Sen. (afterwards their pastor), William Hamlit, James Landon, Thomas Skinner, John Williams, Philip Squire, Mary Gould, Susanna Jackson, Mary Greenleaf, &c." — Backus, i. 414.

† Winchell's *Jubilee*, p. 33. — Speaking of the persecutions of this time, the same author remarks. "The relation of these facts is painful in the extreme, but they are just such facts as are connected with a history of this Church, which included nearly the whole of the Baptist interest in Massachusetts for above forty years." — p. 13.

‡ Capt. Hutchinson always belonged to the more liberal part of the community, and, though the other party took many occasions to injure him, he was always prominent in the Government of the Town. In 1664, the Magistrates fined him £10, for "putting in a vote on the day of election, contrary to law, thereby openly contemning the authority of the Court," and ordered him to be disfranchised; but the Deputies would not consent to the decision, and the fine only was exacted. — *Original Paper*.

§ Hutchinson, i. 227, 269 — Backus, i. 380–382. — Winchell, 38–9.

‖ "We keep our meeting at Noddle's Island every first day, and the Lord is adding some souls to us still, and is enlighting some others. The Priests are much enraged." "Brother Turner's family is very weakly, and himself too. I fear he will not trouble them long; only this is our comfort, we hear if he dies in prison they say they will bury him." — Drinker's Letter in *Backus*, i. 400. "The Town and Country are very much troubled at our troubles, and especially the old Church in

and were afterwards taken and sent to prison again.* The following year. The Court of Assistants allowed Gould and Turner, by giving sufficient security, to visit their families for three days.

March 2.

While these persecutions against the Baptists were going on, a letter, "subscribed by no less persons than Dr. Goodwyn, Dr. Owen, Mr. Nye, Mr. Caryl, and nine other very revered ministers," and Puritan fathers in England, was received in Boston, strongly discountenancing the course of the Government. †

The same arguments had been made use of for putting down Baptists as for banishing Quakers and other sectaries, but not with the same confidence in their infallibility; for not only did a sect increase in proportion to the severity practised towards them, but the community became daily more equally divided upon the question whether persecution could be justified upon any grounds. Experience had begun to enlarge the views of Rulers and the Priesthood. They probably now heard from some of their best friends in England, that "persecution is bad in wicked men, but is most abominable in good men, who have suffered and pleaded for liberty of conscience themselves."

One of the historians of the Baptists, though he acknowledges himself sensible that "the Divine judgments are a great deep, and that love or hatred is not to be known by such outward events," could not forbear bringing before his readers several "striking examples of judgments ‡ upon the Ministers who had moved the Rulers of Massachusetts to exert such force against the Baptists, though they saw the chief procurers of that sentence struck dead before the time came for its execution, and many more of them about that time." § Other affairs now demand attention; making it necessary to take a retrospective step.

Boston, and their Elders; both Mr. Oxonbridge and Mr. Allen have labored abundantly, I think, as if it had been for their best friends in the world."— *Ibid.*

* From a letter written by Edward Drinker to Mr. John Clarke, at Newport, dated 30 Nov. 1670, it appears that William Turner was then in prison in Boston, where he had been "about a month;" that warrants at the same time "were in two marshals' hand for brother Gould also, but that he had not been taken, because he lived on Noddles Island, and they waited to take him at Town." The same letter discloses that "there were six Magistrates' hands to the warrant to take them up, viz., Mr. Bradstreet, Maj. Denison, Thos. Danforth, Capt. Gookin, Maj. Willard, and Mr. Pinchon. But all the Deputies of the Court voted their liberty, except one or two at most, but the Magistrates carry against all; and because some others of the Magistrates were absent and some that were there were, Gallio like, as one Mr. R. B. G." [Richd. Bellingham, Gov.] Upon which passages Mr. Backus comments: — "Thus a few men at the head of the Government, by the Clergy's help, carried on their oppressions against the minds of those worthy rulers, Willoughby, Symonds and Leverett, a whole house of Deputies, and the best part of the whole community." — *Hist. N. Eng.*, i. 399.

† A long extract from that excellent letter may be read in the *Magnalia*, ii. 534, *new ed.*; also in *Backus*, i. 395–397. Its date is 25 Mar., 1669. "It probably did not reach Boston till May or June."— *Backus.*

‡ "Mr. Henry Flint, of Braintree, and Mr. Samuel Shepard, of Rowley, died about the time of their dispute with the Baptists in Boston. Mr. Mitchel, who was most active in procuring the sentence against them, died July 9, aged 43; and Mr. John Eliot, Jun., Oct. 13, 1668, aged 35, both of Cambridge; Mr. John Reyner, of Dover, and Mr. Richard Mather, of Dorchester, both died in April, and Eleazer Mather, of Northampton, on July 24, 1669, aged 32. Mr. Sims, who had treated the Baptists so ill, and Mr. John Allen, of Dedham, one of the disputants against them, both died within two years after, as well as many others." — *Backus.*

§ The regular succession of the ministers of the First Baptist Church is thus recorded by Mr. Winchell and others: — Thomas Gould,

1663. May 27. A difficulty existed at this time about the ownership of Brewster's Islands. Nathaniel Bosworth and Thomas Colier petitioned the General Court, "by the order and in the names of y^e^ rest of the inhabitants of Hull," to be defended against the claim of Capt. John Leverett, to whom about 1652, "with reference to the deserts of his father," "some conditional and indefinite grants of Islands" had been made. A committee, consisting of Mr. Richard Russell, Mr. Edward Johnson and Mr. Joseph Hills, reported unfavorable to the Petitioners; but, as it now appears from some original papers, with very questionable justice.

June 9.

The same Committee, at the same Court, reported a bill allowing two barrels of powder per annum "for saluting of ships" at the Castle. But one barrel had been allowed hitherto. The report was upon the petition of Capt. James Oliver, of Boston, who says, that "now by the increas of shiping, coming and going, itt proues mch to litle for the honorable efecting of the worke." Mr. Hills, who drew up the report, said the Committee were of opinion, that one barrel was "to litle, considering the increase of shipping beyond what hath been formerly, and some expense at the time of eleccon of General Officers."

The business of rope-making appears to have been set up in Boston about 1641, by one John Harrison, who came from "Salisbury," on "mocon of some gentlemen of this Town." Here "he purchased a habitation and ground to work vpon, sutable to his calling." He had, by his business, "with other his labours, sometime by planting at the Islands and otherwise," maintained "his wife and family in some competent manner," which, in 1663, consisted of eleven persons. In this latter year Mr. John Heyman, of Charlestown, had liberty of the Select-men to make ropes in Boston,* "during the pleasure of the Town." But "on further consideration, was prohibited making ropes, and had libertie onely to make fishing lines." This, however, was soon found to interfere with Mr. Harrison's income, and the Select-men ordered Mr. Heyman "to take vp his posts on a certain penaltie, in order to his departure out of the Town, which posts were, shortly after the time limited, taken vp," but being left near the spot, as if to be set up again; and besides, he would not leave the Town, but continued to collect material for carrying on his business. This, together with a scarcity of hemp, caused Mr. Harrison to fear his ability to support his family would fail him, for he was now aged, "having spent the best part of his life in the business in Boston," and had brought up some of his children in the same employment, "who might be useful in that way in after ages." How the matter was finally settled, is not known,

1665 to 1675; John Russell, 1675 to 1680; John Miles, 1683, went to Swanzey; John Emblen, 1684 to 1699; Ellis Callender, 1708 to 1718; Elisha Callender, 1718 to 1738; Jeremiah Condy, 1739 to 1764; Samuel Stillman, 1765 to 1807; Joseph Clay, 1807 to 1809; James M. Winchell, 1813 to 1820; Francis Wayland, Jr., 1821 to 1826; Cyrus P. Grosvenor, 1827 to 1830; William Hague, 1831 to 1837; Rollin H. Neale, 1837, who is yet (1854) officiating.

* His permission bears date 25 : 6 mo. 1662. He was ordered to desist from "making fishing lines," 27 : 2 mo. 1663.

but at the last accounts it was in the hands of the Select-men. The progress of the manufacture of cordage occupies an important place in the history of manufactures in Boston. It may hereafter be more fully considered. Its beginning is thus briefly stated, perhaps for the first time in anything now extant. In this early day a Rope-Walk was probably as little thought of as a Dry Dock or a Marine Railway. Rope-making was performed in the open field. Posts were set in the ground firmly enough to suspend cords and ropes of no inconsiderable circumference and length. The arrival of the first rope-maker in a commercial place is indeed an era in its history. John Harrison was the first in Boston, if not in New England, so far as has been ascertained. Before his arrival nearly every kind of rigging and tackle for vessels was brought from England. The business went on steadily increasing for nearly a century, when there were fourteen extensive rope-walks in operation. Then a disastrous fire consumed seven of them at one time. Those were in the vicinity of what is now Atkinson street. This must have caused a severe check to the business, but it was only temporary. The most extensive walks, being at the west end of the town, were not damaged by the calamity which fell upon the others.

Aug. 7. This year was rendered memorable by the death of the venerable and reverend Mr. John Wilson.* He was in the seventy-ninth year of his age. From its beginning to the age of thirty-seven years, he had witnessed Boston's progress through every vicissitude. He was perhaps one of the most rigid of the Puritans, and while he was one of the most earnest against the Baptists and Quakers, their historians will hereafter, perhaps, think that he was honest and sincere in his zeal against their early fathers. Time corrects the judgments of men. The Rev. Richard Mather, of Dorchester, preached the sermon at Mr. Wilson's funeral.

The country was considered, at this time, in a lamentable condition, judging from the Preface† to the Election sermon, which, however, was not printed till 1671. It had for its title, "Nehemiah on the Wall in Troublesome Times," and was "by that faithful servant of Christ, Mr. Jonathan Mitchel, late pastor of the Church of Christ at Cambridge." Mr. Mitchel died the next year (1668). A Fast was appointed on account of the small-pox in Boston and the burning of London.‡ Persecutions were continued against Quakers; many were fined, some imprisoned and some whipped.

1668. Jan. 14. Notwithstanding the distressed state of the country, a Thanksgiving was appointed to be kept for the peace which had sometime

* See *ante*, p. 93.

† It commences: — "The still outstretched hand of God's powerful wrath over this poor Country, in smiting down our pillars, plucking up our stakes, and taking from us the breath of our nostrils, is a matter so doleful and solemnly awful and tremendous, that we may well sigh out our sorrows in the words of the lamenting Church, Lam. 5: 16, 17," &c. The Preface is signed J. S., which probably stands for the Rev. John Sherman of Watertown.

‡ Hutchinson very appropriately remarks upon this period: — "The Plague, the Fire of London, the discontents among the people of England, caused by their jealousies of a design to subvert the Constitution there, may well enough be supposed to have been the cause of a respite in favor of the people here."—*Hist. Mass.*, i. 269.

before been concluded between England and Holland. The custom of clergymen's regularly visiting among their parishioners, became this year more regularly practised than heretofore. It was com-
March 8. menced at the recommendation of the Governor and Council, who urged it on the ground of its being practised by Ministers of the Congregational faith in England. The practice has continued to this day, and among most, if not all religious sects. The General Court at the same time made an order, that all the Baptists should leave the Colony by a given day, or renounce their belief. This was agreeable to the will of an Assembly of the Clergy lately convened in Boston, and the order was specially intended to apply to the society of Baptists within the bounds of Boston.

June 13. Robert Page, of Boston, was presented for "setting sailie from Nahant, in his boate, being loaden with wood, thereby profaining the Lord's daye."* The "profaning the Lord's day" had of late grown more prevalent than hitherto, probably, as the Court of
Oct. 14. Assistants thought it necessary to make a law "against travelling to improper places on the Sabbath."

The Old South Church dates from this year, and this was the Third Congregational Church. Its origin is traced to the Synod of 1662, before spoken of, which was appointed mainly to settle the question, "Who are the subjects of baptism?" It has also been stated, that instead of settling anything, that Synod actually unsettled the minds of the people, as well as the minds of its own members more than they were before. The First Church of Boston was deeply agitated, while the members of the Synod set about writing pamphlets, one against the other. Mr. Wilson was now dead, and a pastor was to be chosen in his place. The members of the First Church, or many of them, were decided that they must have a minister educated in England, and not a young man. Nobody seemed to fill their minds but Mr. John Davenport, of New Haven.† He had written against the majority opinions of the late Synod. The Church were divided into Synod and anti-Synod parties. A division took place, a new Church was formed, and thus originated the South Church. Over this Mr. Thomas Thatcher was installed, February the sixteenth, 1670; the same person so remarkably preserved from shipwreck when Mr. Avery and many others perished, as has been before mentioned.‡ He was considered an eminent and learned divine, learned also in mechanics and medicine; the latter of which he skilfully practised. Mr. Thatcher continued the minister of the South Church till his death; nearly nine years. §

The Third Church, like the First, was formed at Charlestown, on the

* Lewis, *Hist. Lynn*, p. 153.

† The party in the First Church, which was at first a minority, soon became a large majority, and voted a call to Mr. Davenport, Sept. 24th, 1667. He accepted it, though at the age of about 70 years, and came to Boston. His installation took place 9 Dec., 1668, and he died 15 Mar. 1670, aged 72.—See p. 76, *ante*.

‡ See *ante*, p. 186.

§ The following is a complete catalogue of the Ministers of the Old South Church:—

Thomas Thatcher,	installed 16 Feb., 1669–70,	deceased 15 Oct. 1678,	aged 58.
Samuel Willard,	" 10 April, 1678,	" 12 Sept., 1707,	" 67.

twelfth and sixteenth of the third month, which is May, 1669. Its original members were William Davis, Hezekiah Usher, John Hull, Edward Raynsford, Peter Bracket, Jacob Eliot, Peter Oliver, Thomas Brattle, Edward Rawson, Joshua Scottoe, Benjamin Gibbs, Thomas Savage, Joseph Rocke, Theodore Atkinson, John Wing, Richard Trewsdale, Theophilus Frarye, Robert Walker, John Aldin, Benjamin Thurston, William Salter, John Morsse, Josiah Belcher, Seth Perry, James Pemberton, William Dawes, Joseph Davis, Thomas Thatcher (afterwards the first Pastor), and Joseph Belknap.*

The ground on which the Old South stands is a part of an original grant to Governor Winthrop,† who, in 1643, conveyed it to his son Stephen. After the death of Stephen Winthrop, his widow, Judith, in 1639, then "of the cittie of Westminster," England, by her executors, conveyed it to Mr. John Norton, late Pastor of the First Church, for two hundred pounds.‡ Agreeably to a provision in Mr. Norton's will, Mrs. Norton, in 1677, gave it to the Old South Church, with the house in which she had resided. The house was of wood, two stories high, and stood nearly opposite the end of School street, fronting south; and, till the first Meeting-house was erected, there was upon the spot no other building; and the premises presented an appearance corresponding with the name by which it was before known, "The Green." This was skirted along the street by a row of beautiful buttonwood trees, which with the house were burned for fuel by the soldiers of George the Third in the winter of 1775 and 1776. Long before this (in 1710) another parsonage house was erected on Milk street, which just one hundred years after (in 1810) gave place to two ministerial mansions.§

Ebenezer Pemberton,	ordained	28 Aug. 1700,	installed	13 Feb., 1717,	aged 45.
Joseph Sewall, D.D.,	"	16 Sept., 1713,	"	27 June, 1769,	" 80.
Thomas Prince,	"	1 Oct., 1718,	"	22 Oct., 1758,	" 72.
Alexander Cumming,	installed	25 Feb., 1761,	"	25 Aug., 1763,	" 36.
Samuel Blair,	"	26 Nov., 1766,	dismissed	10 Oct., 1769,	
John Bacon,	"	25 Sept., 1771,	"	8 Feb., 1775,	
John Hunt,	ordained	25 Sept., 1771,	deceased	30 Dec., 1775,	" 31.
Joseph Eckley, D.D.,	"	27 Oct., 1779,	"	30 April, 1811,	" 61.
Joshua Huntington,	"	18 May, 1808,	"	11 Sept., 1819,	" 33.
Benj. B. Wisner, D.D.,	"	21 Feb., 1821,	"	9 Feb., 1835,	" 40.
Samuel H. Stearns,	"	16 April, 1834,	dismissed	8 Mar., 1836,	
George W. Blagden,	installed	28 Sept., 1836.			

* These names are given as they were published by the Church in 1833. Most of the members probably had wives. The following names, as published by Mr. Wisner from the book of "Admissions," he regards as among the founders of the Church:— Mrs. Margaret Thatcher; Mrs. Elizabeth Gibs, now Cowin; Mrs. Mary Norton; Hanna Frarye; Mary Salter; Mrs. Judith Hull; Mrs. Mary Savage, now Stoddard; Ranis Belcher; Elizabeth Rainsford; Sara Pemberton; Elizabeth Thurston; Sara Walker; Mary Tappan; Elizabeth Alden; Elizabeth Rocke; Sara Oliver; Mary Eliot; Mary Bracket; Susanna Daws; Joanna Mason; Alice Harper; Mrs. Rachel Rawson; Sara Bodman."—*Hist. Old South*, 83.

† This may account for some part of the opposition to erecting the First Church here in 1639. Mr. Winthrop being the owner of the ground, his wishes were doubtless consulted, and very properly too.—See *ante*, p. 243.

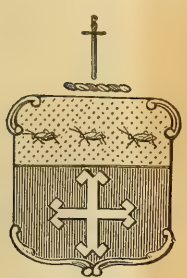
‡ It is described in the deeds as "one acre, more or lesse, now in the tenor of John Norton or his assigns—which messuage and garden platt doe abutt on the high way leading from Boston to Roxbury on the west, on the ground of Amos Richardson the highway there leading to the spring and the ground late of William Tilley on the north part, upon the ground late of William Hilliard, Esq. and Robt. Knight on the east, on the highway there leading to the sea side on the South." The original plat was less than half that now owned by the Society.

§ Wisner, *Hist. Old South*, 53–4.



CHAPTER XLI.

History of the Old South concluded. — Opposition from the First Church. — The Contention made a political one. — Separation of Church and State the Consequence. — Gov. Bellingham opposed to the Old South Society. — The Selectmen allow them to build. — Reconciliation of the two Churches. — Deaths. — Josias and the Mohawks. — Squaumaug and Philip. — Philip at Boston. — Has difficulty with Plymouth. — A murder. — Philip again at Boston. — A treaty at Plymouth. — Deaths. — Josselyn in Boston. — Account of his Visit. — Gov. Stuyvessant. — Description of Boston, 1671.



THACHER.*

IN glancing at the history of the Old South, or Third Church of Boston, in the last chapter, notice was taken of its having originated in a difficulty among the members of the First Church; that the nature of the difficulty was to be traced in the proceedings of the Synod of 1662. The course of the party which formed the Third Church was censured by a considerable part of the community, and on the other hand, seventeen ministers † made a public testimony against the proceedings of the three Elders‡ of the First Church, for their course in settling Mr. Davenport. Thus a controversy was commenced, which finally led to the separation of Church and State. It was carried on with much acrimony for several years, and ran "so high, that there was imprisoning of parties and great disturbances." § The inhabitants of the Town were generally disposed to favor the more liberal party, while the Governor and most of the Magistrates were on the other side. In this manner the subject was carried into politics, and elections turned on the point as to whether the candidate was in favor of the Old Church or the New Church. "The House of Deputies" adopted the report of a committee of its members, which censured the conduct of the New Church, "as irregular, illegal and disorderly." But the people reversed their decision in a manner which could not be mistaken; for, at the very next election of Deputies, nearly all those who censured the New Church proceedings were left out of office, and new ones, known to be in favor of that Church, elected in their stead.

Notwithstanding this strong indication of the minds of the people, Governor Bellingham was for proceeding to prevent the New Society from erecting a Meeting-house; but his Council had begun to think it

* See New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg., vol. viii. p. 178.

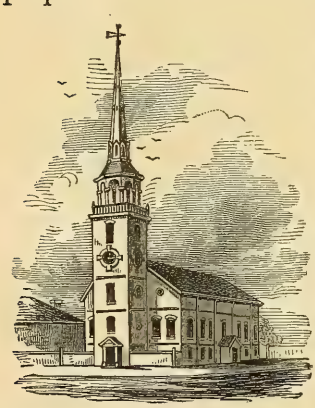
† John Allen, John Higginson, John Ward, John Wilson, Edmund Browne, Samuel Whiting, Thomas Cobbet, John Sherman, Samuel Phillips, Thomas Shepard, Increase Mather, Samuel Torry, Zachery Symmes, John Brocke, Edward Bulkley, Samuel Whiting, Junior, and John Hale.

‡ John Davenport, James Allen, and James Penn, the Ruling Elders.

§ "About baptisme and their members joyning in full communion with either church." Randolph's Letter, Hutchinson's *Col.*, 532.

was impolitic, at least, to interfere further, and advised the Governor to let them go on; but if they went counter to any law, then they said would be the time to proceed against them. Affairs standing thus, the New Society applied to the Select-men for liberty to erect a
1669. July 26. House. And, as if their vote was not sufficiently expressive of their opinions, they added, that, "there was need of another Meeting-house." Therefore, after much difficulty, the way was cleared for the erection of a house of worship; and one of wood was commenced immediately, and upon the spot on which the present edifice stands. It was built of cedar, had a steeple, galleries, square pews, and pulpit on the north side. From its location in respect to the other Meeting-houses, it was called the South Meeting-house; and by this name it continued to be known until another House was erected in Summer Street, still farther south, and then, to distinguish it from this, it was called the Old South. This was in 1717.

Still the First Church held out against the "seceders," as the members of the South Church were called, and refused to have any church-fellowship with them. This temper continued for almost thirteen years; notwithstanding the South Church made repeated overtures in the mean while for the restoration of that harmony so necessary to all people, and especially to those calling themselves a Christian people. At length, in 1682, at a meeting of the First Church, it was agreed that proposals should be made to the South Church, "to forgive and forget all past offences," and to live "in peace for time to come." This the latter had always been ready to do, and they at once embraced the proposal.



The first house stood until 1729. It was then taken down, and in the following year one of brick was erected on the same spot, which has stood till the present time. It is perhaps the most noted Meeting-house in the United States. In it discourses have been delivered on many great occasions; in it the fervid eloquence of Warren carried all before it. There his denunciations were echoed against that power under the countenance of which the King Street tragedy was perpetrated. "Here were repeatedly held the meetings of oppressed Freemen, which called forth those peals of patriotic eloquence, which roused this whole country, and shook the British Throne." The first election sermon was preached in it—the Old House—in 1712.

1669. Coaches are at this time mentioned as being in use in Boston. The oldest man in New England died this year. His name was Boniface Burton, and he was aged one hundred and thirteen years.*

* Judge Sewall called him "Old Father Boniface Burton," and noted his death in an Almanac, 13: 4: 1669. Little appears to be known of him excepting this bare record of

April 22. Early this year died also the venerable Richard Mather, of Dorchester, at the age of seventy-three. He was taken ill in Boston, at the house of his son Increase, and, being conveyed home, died in a few days after.

It is incidentally noted that "this year were many Earthquakes;" but as they probably did no damage in this vicinity, no particulars are given.*

The Indians in the immediate vicinity of Boston had been involved in a war with the Mohawks for about six years. It was now terminated, and its end was very disastrous to the Massachusetts Indians. Chikataubut, called by the English Josias, nephew of old Kutchamokin, was the commander-in-chief of the Indians. Himself and about fifty of his Captains fell in their retreat; "a wise and stout man of middle age," says Major Gookin, who had long known him. This was a severe disappointment to the Massachusetts Indians, and they never recovered from the mortification which it brought upon them; especially as they would not be dissuaded by their English friends from going out upon the expedition.†

An irruption of the Mohawks followed that of Chikataubut, which not only threw the Indians in these parts into great consternation, but it caused the English considerable alarm. The extent of their depredations is unknown. It is however recorded that they slew or carried into captivity several of the tribe of the Wamesits. This came particularly to the knowledge of the English, because they were Christian Indians.

1670. Some difficulty had existed for several years between Chikataubut and King Philip, in respect to the boundaries between their lands, which caused the English some trouble. On the death of the former he was succeeded in his chieftainship by his brother, named Squaumaug. Through the agency of the English, probably, Philip

July 12. met Squaumaug at the house of Mr. William Hudson, at Wading River,‡ and there they agreed that the "Patent line," dividing Plymouth from Massachusetts, should also be their boundary, and thus the matter was finally settled.§

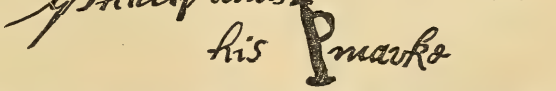
Sewall. He settled early at Lynn, where, Mr. Lewis tells us, he was a farmer.—*Hist. Lynn*, 63. He is presumed to be the oldest Englishman then in New England, and one whose birth dates earlier than any emigrant yet known. He probably came over in the early part of 1635, at which time he was about 70 years old.

* There is indeed a legend to be met with, which cannot fail to be of interest in this age of *spiritual manifestations*. A certain traveller then in New England says, that the Indians told him "of a river, whose course was not only stopped by an earthquake, in 1668 (as near as he could remember), but the whole river was swallowed up;" and that he had heard it reported from credible persons, "that at this time there happened a terrible earthquake amongst the French [in Canada], rending a huge rock asunder, even to the centre, wherein was a vast hollow, of an immeasurable depth, out of which came many infernal spirits"!

† See Book of the Indians, last ed., p. 109.

‡ A branch of Taunton River.

§ *Original paper*, signed by King Philip, but not by Squaumaug. The signature of the latter was probably considered of no consequence, as Philip was the aggressor, and the



Early this year there were strong indications that Pometacom, now generally called King Philip, was by no means cautious in his carriage towards his English neighbors, and that he would quite as soon offend as please them. His example extended to other Indians about him, and insults and murders were the consequence. The people of Plymouth complained of Philip at Boston, and, by the articles of confederation of the United Colonies, Massachusetts was bound to stand by that Colony, should the conduct of Philip require its interference. This coming to the knowledge of Philip, irritated him, and his conduct become so overbearing, that the English resolved to put a stop to it. In the mean time Philip came to Boston, and preferred charges against Plymouth. However, according to the English accounts, he could not substantiate his allegations, and he withdrew dissatisfied.



KING PHILIP.§

Philip was evidently less willing to incur the displeasure of Boston than he was that of Plymouth, nor did he perhaps well understand the nature of the league between them. However, it was determined by the Colonists to ascertain what Philip's real intentions were, and he was invited to meet delegates at Taunton, and to settle, if possible, whatever difficulties there might be found to exist. Accordingly there went down to Taunton from Boston, Captain William Davis,* Mr. William Hudson,† and Mr. Thomas Brattle.‡ These gentlemen were to hear and decide upon the points at issue. Judging from the "submission" which Philip and his Council signed, the Indians had seriously aggrieved the Plymouth people; but no record remains of the evidence adduced on either side, upon which the umpires made up their judgment. The paper to which Philip set his hand, makes him acknowledge, that, "through

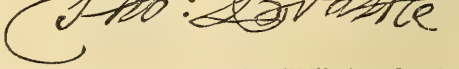
April 10.

settlement was considered complete as soon as his hands were tied. The instrument is formally sealed, and the following individuals said, by their signs manual, that they saw Philip sign and seal the same: — William Hudson, Daniel Fisher, John Wussausmon, William Hahatin, Tom Sompointeen, and Vmpatkis. The two Indians first named wrote their names very well. The two last made their marks. The residence of the Massachusetts Chief was, at this period, at Punkapog, since Stoughton. Hence it is pretty clear that Philip was not very far from pushing his claims to Boston itself, and thus leaving the now reduced Massachusetts without any territory at all.

* His Autograph, *ante*, p. 340.

† Ibid., p. 289.

‡ Afterwards active in the war. His Autograph is copied from an original paper of 1680.



§ This engraving of King Philip is reduced from one published with "*The Entertaining History of King Philip's War*," in 1772, by Thomas Church, Esq., at Newport, R. I. The costume is no doubt very correctly represented, as the belts and other ornaments worn by King Philip were then to be seen. The Rev. Ezra Stiles is believed to have supervised that edition of Church's work, though his name does not appear in it. His agency about it was probably rendered at the request of the publisher or printer, Mr. Solomon Southwick, and

the naughtiness of his heart, he had violated and broken his covenant with" the English, "by taking up arms with evil intent against them;" that he was "deeply sensible of his unfaithfulness and folly;" that "the English had always been kind to him;" and that, to prove he intended no wrong in future, he agreed "to give up all his English arms to the government of Plymouth." It soon appeared, however, that if Philip understood what he had set his name to, he regarded it as little as other treaties have been regarded at a much later day. Plymouth soon after complained at Boston that he had not delivered up his arms, and that he continued his insulting carriage. It should be stated, that, at the time he executed the treaty, he surrendered all the arms which he then had with him at Taunton.

Misfortunes, it is said, seldom come alone; and with equal truth it may be observed, that errors and crimes are not far from their companions. At the very time that the attempt was made to conciliate Philip at Taunton, two Indians, said to have belonged to his jurisdiction, robbed and murdered one Zachary Smith in Dedham woods. The perpetrators of the deed were discovered not long after, and one of them was hung on Boston Common, where a part of his body was to be seen upon a gibbet for five years after.* Philip, however, was in no way implicated in this matter.

The disturbance between Philip and Plymouth continuing, both appealed to Boston for support. A council of war was appointed at Plymouth, and Philip was notified to be present, but, instead of that, he
Aug. 13. came with his Counsellors to Boston, and gave the Governor and Council his side of the story. Upon this they wrote to Plymouth, representing Philip's case in rather a favorable light; whereupon the Council at Plymouth sent a messenger to Boston to invite the Commissioners of the United Colonies, then there, to come to Plymouth.
Sept. 24. Accordingly, Governor Winthrop of Connecticut, Major General Leveret, Mr. Thomas Danforth, Capt. William Davis, "with divers others, came to Plymouth." Philip likewise came; and the complaints against him being investigated, were so far sustained, in the opinion of the Commissioners, that they condemned his conduct, and recommended him to alter his course; to "humble himself," and do better in future; or, they said, "he might expect to smart for it." He submitted to their judgment, in appearance at least, and signed an-
Sept. 29. other treaty or submission, by which he agreed to pay one hundred pounds, "in such things as he had," and to send yearly to the Governor of Plymouth five wolves' heads, for five years, — "if he could get them." Such was the relation of Philip to the English at this period, and thus it remained until the murder of John Woosausamon, in 1674–5, which was the immediate cause of the war which ensued.

his name may have been withheld from an unwillingness to let it go out with a work holding such a low literary rank as that of Church does.

* He was a son of Matoonas, a Nipmuck Sachem, taken and hanged in 1676, for his participation in Philip's war. He was the first Indian who begun the war in Massachusetts Colony, as it was said, by killing some of the inhabitants of Mendon.— See Book of the Indians, 263, 264, 698.— See also Dr. I. Mather's *Prevalency of Prayer*, page 6.

May 4. Among the eminent men who died this year, were the Hon. Francis Willoughby, already mentioned;* the Rev. Mr. John Allen, Aug. 26. pastor of the Church at Dedham, at the age of seventy-five. He wrote in defence of the Synod of 1662, in opposition to the views of Mr. Chauncy. The venerable Elder, James Penn, was Sept. 30. also among those whose labors were closed by death. He had long been an important man in Boston; was chosen beadle of the first Church in 1630; having probably come over with the second Colony in the spring of the same year.†

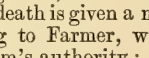
The visit of Mr. John Josselyn to Boston, in 1638, has been noticed in its appropriate place.‡ In 1663 he visited it again, and resided in the country eight years and some months. In his own quaint manner he says, "Anno 1663, May the three and twentieth, I went down to Gravesend, it being Saturday; I lay ashore till Monday, the fifth; about eleven o'clock at night I went aboard the Society [a ship], belonging to Boston, in the Massachusetts Colony of English in New England, of 200 and 20 tun, carrying 16 iron guns, most [of them] unserviceable, man'd with 33 sailers, and 77 passengers, men, women, and children."§

Such was the departure of the voyager for these shores. His voyage seems to have been quite destitute of incidents; and, excepting a shoal of turtles of some forty miles in extent; finding a shallop which had run away from Jamaica, with ten men in it nearly famished; and meeting with "a Plimouth man come from St. Malloes in France, ten weeks out, laden with cloath, fruit and honey, bound for Boston in New England," there is little of interest. Of his arrival he thus speaks: "The six and twentieth we had sight of land. The seven and twentieth we anchored at Nantascot. In the afternoon I went aboard of a ketch, with some other of our passengers, in hope to get to Boston that night, but the Master of the ketch would not consent. The eight and twentieth being Tuesday, in the morning about five of the clock he lent us his shallop and three of his men, who brought us to the western end of the town where we landed, and having gratified [satisfied] the men, we repaired to an ordinary (for so they call their taverns there), where we were provided with a liberal cup of burnt Madeira wine, and store of plum-cake. About ten of the clock I went about my affairs."‖

Mr. Josselyn continued in and about Boston until September following his "arrivage," "about the twelfth hour of the eighth day" of which month, he says, "I shipt myself and goods in a bark bound for the Eastward, meeting as we sailed out, the Dutch Governor ¶ of New

* On page 375, *ante*. The date of Gov. Willoughby's death is given a month earlier, which is according to Farmer, who is probably Mr. Frothingham's authority; but in an Almanac printed at Cambridge in 1673, preserved by Judge Sewall, it is stated that he died May 4.

† His age is not mentioned, but he must have been far advanced in years. A copy of his autograph in 1661 is here given. He owned considerable landed estate in Boston, which, it is believed, descended, in the female line, to the Townsends.



‡ *Ante*, p. 238–40.

§ Account of Two Voyages, p. 35.

‖ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¶ This was Peter Stuyvessant, the "Director General" of New Amsterdam. Josselyn's meeting him coming up the bay on the 8th of September, shows that he was not here before that date, as might otherwise be inferred from

Netherlands, who was received and entertained at Boston by the Governor and Magistrates with great solemnity." *

In another place † he relates that he made this voyage to New England "upon an invitation from his only brother." What he says of Boston is referred to this year, as his description necessarily has reference to the place at the time he left it, which is as follows:

"Boston is built on the south-west side of a bay large enough for the anchorage of 500 sail of ships. The buildings are handsome, joyning one to the other as in London, with many large streets; most of them paved with pebble stone. In the high street towards the Common, there are fair buildings; some of stone; and, at the east end of the Town, one, amongst the rest, built by the shore, by Mr. Gibs ‡ a merchant, being a stately edifice, which, it is thought, will stand him in little less than 3000 pounds before it is fully finished. The Town is not divided into parishes, yet they have three fair meeting-houses or churches, which hardly suffice to receive the inhabitants and strangers that come in from all parts. § Having refreshed myself here for some time, and opportunely lighting upon a passage in a bark belonging to a friend of my brother's, and bound to the eastward, I put to sea again; and on the fifteenth of August I arrived at Black Point, otherwise called Scarborow, the habitation of my beloved brother, being about an hundred leagues to the eastward of Boston. Here I resided eight years, and made it my business to discover all along the natural, physical and chyrurgical rarities of this new-found world." ‖

Josselyn appears to have been a man of science, according to the notions of that day, and had the good sense to follow scientific pursuits rather than to disturb the country by opposing any of the existing prejudices of the people. However, after about eight years, he seems to have become tired of it, and returned to England towards the close of 1671. Of his departure he says, "The year being now well spent, and the Government of the Province [of Maine] turned topsiturvy; being heartily weary, and expecting the approach of winter, I took my leave of my friends at Black Point, and on the 28th of August, being Monday, I shipt myself and goods aboard of a shallop bound for Boston," where he arrived "about three of the clock in the afternoon." He says he "found the inhabitants exceedingly afflicted with several diseases, as fever and ague, &c."

Mr. Brodhead's Hist. of N. Y., p. 718. He came at this time to meet the Commissioners of the U. Colonies, who began a session on the 3d of the same month, to assert the right of his Government to certain territory which Connecticut had given him some trouble about. He was baffled and put off "till next year;" and, as we have seen, the next year he was obliged to submit his whole country to the English under Col. Nichols. Dr. Holmes makes no mention of this important visit of the Dutch Governor to Boston in 1663, nor does Hutchinson speak of it.

* *Ibid.*, 197.

† *New England's Rarities Discovered*, p. 1. This volume he printed in 1672, soon after he returned to England.

‡ Mr. Benjamin Gibbs, probably.

§ "The passage from Boston to Charles Town is by a ferry, worth forty or fifty pounds a year." — Josselyn, *ib.*, 163.

‖ *Rarities*, p. 1–2.

Oct. 10. After remaining in Boston about a month, he sailed for England in a ship called the New Supply. She was 190 tons burthen, "her guns being small, and for salutation only, the master, Captain Fairweather, her sailors, sixteen, and as many passengers." On the twenty-seventh of November he landed at Woolwich, where, he says, "I refreshed myself for that night. Next day I footed it four or five miles to Bexley in Kent, to visit a near kinsman." He soon after returned to the ship "lying before Radcliff." Then he says, "I cleared
Dec. 1. my goods, shot the bridge and landed at the Temple about seven of the clock at night, which makes my voyage homeward seven weeks and four days; and from my first setting out from London, to my returning to London again, eight years, six months and odd days."

In speaking of Boston in his last voyage, Mr. Josselyn borrows the most of what he says from Captain Johnson's work, which has been extracted in this history.* To that account, however, he has added the following, which is of sufficient interest to require notice. "The houses are for the most part raised on the sea-banks, and wharfed out with great industry and cost; many of them standing upon piles, close together on each side of the streets, as in London, and furnished with many fair shops. Their materials are brick, stone, lime, handsomely contrived, with three Meeting-houses or Churches, and a Town-house, built upon pillars, where the Merchants may confer. In the chambers above they keep their monethly Courts. The town is rich and populous. On the south there is a small but pleasant Common, where the Gallants, a little before sunset, walk with their Marmalet-madams, as we do in Morefields, till the nine-o'clock bell rings them home to their respective habitations; when presently the Constables walk their rounds to see good order kept, and to take up loose people."† He speaks of the farms owned by the inhabitants at Muddy-river; "that they keep their cattle there in summer, but bring them to Boston in the winter."

* See *Ante*, p. 327–8.

† *Account of Two Voyages*, 162.

CHAPTER XLII.

Fears from the Dutch. — The Town prosperous. — Death of President Chauncy — of Eleazer Lusher — of Gov. Bellingham. — Extensive Fortification. — Statistics of Boston and of New England. — The Castle burnt. — Fears from the Indians. — Their Numbers and Condition. — The Wampanoags suspected. — Position of King Philip. — Murder of Sassamon. — Circumstances of the Murder. — Philip suspected of causing it. — Three Wampanoags executed at Plymouth as the Murderers. — Philip and his men arm. — Benjamin Church. — His Proceedings to prevent a War. — Philip sends to all the bordering Indians to enlist them in his Cause. — Plymouth attempts to reconcile Philip, without Success. — Philip prevents his Warriors from insulting the Messengers.



CHAUNCY.

AT the Election, Mr. Thomas Shepard, of Charlestown, preached the sermon. It was not published, however, until the next year. Samuel Green, of Cambridge, was the printer. It was a quarto of fifty-two pages, and John Sherman and Urian Oakes gave it their "Imprimatur." Mr. Thomas Thacher wrote a Preface to it.

May 15.

Boston was in a state of alarm, owing to a war between the mother-country and the Dutch. Consequently a formal declaration of war was proclaimed in Boston. Throughout this and the following year the people were under much apprehension from Dutch ships of war, which were reported from time to time to be hovering on the coast.*

May 28.

It is a good indication of the prosperity of Boston at this period, that in a contribution made by the Colony for the rebuilding of Harvard College, amounting to 1890 pounds, Boston gave 800 of it.

The venerable Charles Chauncy, President of the College, died, at the age of eighty; a man distinguished for his learning and piety. He had been President of the College since 1654; came originally from Hertfordshire, England, and was son of Mr. George Chauncy, of Yardly in that County. He arrived at Plymouth in New England in 1638, and was a preacher there three years. After that he settled at Scituate, where he preached about thirteen years; at the end of that period he came to Boston, and was making preparations to return to his native country, probably in conformity to the wishes of the people at Ware, in Hertfordshire, from whom he had been driven during the Laudean persecution. By the influence of the most distinguished gentlemen of Boston he was induced to forego his return to England, and to accept the presidency of the College at Cambridge, as before observed. And thus were the services of the most learned man in America secured to Boston and its vicinity; the good effects of which are continued, even to this day.

Feb. 19.

* See *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Regr.*, vii. 213.

Nov. 3. Another man of note died this year. This was Eleazer Lusher, Esquire, one of the Assistants, and the "Major of the Suffolk regiment." His residence was in Dedham. And, in about one month after, the people of Boston were called to mourn the loss of

Dec. 7. their Governor, Richard Bellingham, Esquire, in his eighty-first year. He was, perhaps, one of the most rigid of his time, and the Quaker writers have pronounced judgment upon his character in tones of much harshness. In Mr. Endicott's time, they say he was an "active instrument in whatever laws were enacted against them." This is unquestionably true; and likewise, that "his power was less extensive than that of his predecessor," although, "he caused Solomon Eccles, and Nicholas Alexander of Jamaica, who was a Justice of the Peace there," to be banished from Boston; and that, only

Aug. 1. a few months before his death "he imprisoned James Lancaster, John Stubs, John Rance, Thomas Eaton, and Robert Hornden, five strangers, and George Heathcot." They add, that "he died distracted." * In drawing the character of Governor Bellingham some † have considered him as inclining to democratic principles, and at the same time violently opposed to all innovations in religious matters. Of the former there does not appear to be much evidence, while of the latter there can be no question. He was a devout and sincere Christian, as well as a strict observer of external forms. At times he was melancholy, and suffered from temporary intellectual aberration, and his last moments were probably passed without his reason. This is what the Quaker historian above cited called dying distracted. ‡

May 7. At this annual Election, John Leverett, Esquire, was chosen Governor, and Mr. Samuel Symonds, Deputy Governor. The deputies in the General Court from Boston were the same as they had been since 1665; namely, Mr. Anthony Stoddard and Captain Thomas Clarke; except that Junior is added to that of the latter. Mr. Urian Oakes, of Cambridge, preached the Election Sermon, and Mr. John Sherman and Mr. Thomas Shepard prefaced it. It is without any "Imprimatur."

The fears of an invasion from the Dutch may have given rise to a stupendous project for fortifying the town. A circular wall was ordered to be erected, extending from one extremity of the Cove to the other; or, its terminations were the Sconce, at the point now occupied by India Wharf on the south, and Captain Scarlett's wharf at the foot of Fleet street on the north. Its length was considered to be about 2200 feet.

Sept. 5. It was at first proposed that the work should be done at the expense of the Town; but at a Town meeting held on the fifth of September, a vote could not be obtained to authorize it. The Town, however, instructed the Selectmen, that if they could dispose of the Flats to be included by the contemplated wall or wharf, so as to meet

* Heathcot's offence was "delivering the Governor a letter and not putting off his hat." — Besse, *Sufferings of the Quakers*, ii. 259.

† Snow, 159.

‡ A few other facts concerning Gov. Bellingham have already been given. See p. 176, *ante*.

the expense of it, they had liberty to proceed with the work. It was to be twenty-two feet wide at the bottom, and twenty at the top, "to be convenient for a breastwork to play guns on," and was to be about fifteen feet in height. The circular line to be built upon was to touch the channel at the nearest point before the Town, and between the wall and the seaward extremities of the wharves built, and to be built, one hundred feet space for vessels was to be left.

As great as this undertaking was in its day, it was commenced with spirit, and successfully completed in due time. Forty-one persons undertook the work, which was let out into lots of from twenty to one hundred and twenty feet. No undertaker allowed to engage for less than twenty feet. In 1681, the proprietors of this work had an act of incorporation from the Council, who had first proposed the work to the Town. Fortunately it was never used "to traverse guns on" against an enemy; for, while it had an existence, no enemy ever passed the Castle; and it may now be said, that from its disappearance to the present time its want for the purpose of defence has never been felt.

This great structure fell gradually into decay, and it has been long since any vestiges of it were to be seen. Its exterior was probably of wood. It went by the name of the Old Wharf, as long as any of it remained.*

The successful accomplishment of so vast an enterprise as this was is more than a tolerable certainty that Boston was at that period in a very prosperous condition; of which the Government in England, as it will appear, was not an idle observer. This is evident from a curious paper† believed to have been drawn up this year, which is probably still to be seen in the State Paper office in London. The well known Edmund Randolph had a copy of it afterwards, to assist him in his statistical knowledge of the country. In that paper, New England was

* From an ancient paper (among a large number of others) kindly put into the hands of the author by the Hon. Francis Brinley, the following facts are taken: — "The Out Wharfes from Scarlett's wharfe outward to [the] Middle Opening, measure, — the first Outlet or Opening, 27 feet; John Anderson, 40 do.; John Kine for Rob. Cox, 30; Anthony Checkley for B. Beale, 50; John Wensley, 30; Maj. Tho. Clarke, 90; Vacant, or 2d Opening, 66; Ailce [Alice] Thomas, 30; Maj'r. Clarke he filled 3½; do. for Edwd. Grant [?] 20; do. he built 50; Daniel Stone, 20; Danl. Turell, Junr., 22½; Maj. Clarke for Tho. Bill, 22½. [against these two is a brace, and 'Charnech' against the brace.] Jno. Scarlet or Dolbery, 25; Henry Cooley, 40. ['Clark & Compy.' against these two.] Edmund Muntforth [Mountford] 30; Wm. Greeno, 35; Jos. Cox, 34; Jno. Sweet, 30; Timo. Prout, 30; Jos. Baster, 25; Jno. Phillips, Danl. Turell, Senr., and Adams, 113; [Capt. Samuel] Scarlet, 48; Edwd. Wanton, 30; Edw. Winslow, 56; Benj. Gibs, 54; Jno. Scarlet, 43; Augustus Clemens, 25; Tho. Lake and Jno. Winsley, 61; the Middle Opening by Woodmancy's, 70; Woodmancy's, 120; Eliak. & E. Hutchinson, 60; Davis, 40; Perry & Shippen, 30; Alford, 100. Proprietors of ye Sconce Division of wharfing on ye flats taken out of Mr. Kendall's booke. Elisha Cooke, Esqr., and Old Church, 180; Ephr. Nicolls, 25; Gillam & Compy., 83; Joyleife & Compy., 89½; Mr. Hallowell, 34; Mr. Marshall, 31½; Mr. Bromdon, 58½; Oliver, 55¾; Henchman & Compy., 164; Brattle & Fairweather, 54; M. White, 30."

There are some variations from the above, as entered upon the Town Records; as, "Daniel Turine, Jr., Humphrey Warren, Wm. Davis, Hon. John Leverett, Capt. Benjamin Gillam, Capt. Thos. Savage, Joseph Gillam, Wm. Halowel, John Man, Wm. Alford, Seth Perry, Edward Sheppen, John Poole, Danl. Hinksman, Theodore Atkinson, Senr., Thomas Pecke, John Woodmansey, Peter Guy, Obediah Gill, Joseph Prout, Jr., Benj. Bayle, and Theodore Atkinson, Jr."

† An abstract of it, though not a very intelligible one, is printed in Chalmer's *Political Annals*, pages, 434–5.

estimated to contain 120,000 souls; fifteen merchants were worth 5000 pounds each; not twenty houses in Boston which contained ten rooms apiece; its number of families were 1500.* "The three provinces of Boston, Main, and New Hampshire, were three-fourths of the whole in wealth and strength" of New England; no musicians by trade; a dancing-school had been set up, "but it was put down;" a free man must be worth about 200 pounds.

Mar. 21. The Fort on Castle Island, built chiefly of wood, was accidentally consumed by fire.† The circumstances attending the conflagration are not mentioned. When Mr. John Josselyn was here, in 1671, he thus remarked upon it: — "There is an island on the south side of the passage, containing eight acres of ground. Upon a rising hill within this island, is mounted a castle commanding the entrance; no stately edifice, nor strong; built with brick and stone; kept by a captain, under whom is a master-gunner, and others." ‡

May 27. The Governor and Deputy are reëlected, and Boston chose the same Representatives as last year. Mr. Samuel Torrey, of Weymouth, preached the sermon. On the same day, the General Court ordered it to be printed, and appointed William Houghton, and Thomas Clarke, Esquires, Capt. Hugh Mason, Mr. William Parkes, and Mr. Peter Bulkley, to give the thanks of the Court to the author. It was printed at Cambridge by Marmaduke Johnson, and a long and interesting preface accompanies it, by Mr. Increase Mather.

Since the King's Commissioners left the country, Boston had made rapid strides in wealth and population. But a sad reverse was at hand. Before the fears from Dutch cruisers had subsided, a much more formidable calamity threatened the country. This arose from the hostile attitude of the Indians. Before this last trouble was thought to be serious, however, there was much said in the pulpit about "Apostacies in these goings down of the sun;" that "divine expectations had not been answered" by the people here. Yet a saving clause was sometimes thrown in, that "there were grounds of hope that the Lord was not wholly gone from them." §

The Indians had been so effectually frightened by the issue of the Pequot war, that for many years after they looked upon the English as invincible, and it had become the fashion throughout the country to

* Yet for several years after this there were no streets paved, excepting a few sections of some of the principal ones, and those of a few rods' extent. Two years later (23 Aug. 1675) we read in the Records, "Whereas Anthony Chicklie [Checkley] hathe erected posts before his ware-house adjoining to Robert Cox, vpon the towne land or highway, without the consent of the Selectmen, it is ordered that the said Chicklie forthwith take away the said posts, or pay 2*s.* 6*d.* in money pr. an. for the standing of them dureing the Towne's pleasure. And said Chickley and Robt. Cox have paved the streete before their dore," &c.

† Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i., 284, mentions the fact in a note, under 21 Mar. 1673, but without stating his authority, which was doubtless *Sherman's Almanack* for 1676; and, not being particular in noting that all dates were then Old Style, he has made an error of a whole year. So that, instead of the Castle's being burnt in March, 1673, it was burnt in March, 1674, as above stated. Snow copied the error.

‡ *Two Voyages to N. England*, p. 159.

§ Dr. Increase Mather's *Preface to the Election Sermon of* 1674. See also a tract by the same author, entitled *Ichabod: or The Glory Departing from N. England.*

speak contemptuously upon their power. And, at this period, the English far outnumbered them, and though scattered thinly over a wide extent of country, the Indians were much more thinly scattered over nearly the same extent of territory; for while the latter did not probably exceed 30,000 souls, their white neighbors exceeded four times that number. Besides, much had been done to christianize them, and not an inconsiderable number had renounced savage life, and, in the event of a war, these could be counted upon, at least, as neutral. Such was the state of things up to the close of the year 1674. The natives frequented Boston and other places of the English as usual, except Plymouth. Between that place and the Wampanoag country there was less intercourse, and an increasing jealousy.

Early in 1675, there began to be suspicious circumstances that the Wampanoag Indians, the leader of whom was King Philip, were preparing for war. There was a special reason for these suspicions on the part of the English, because they had lately executed three of Philip's men, for the murder of a Christian Indian. And, although this was immediately a Plymouth affair, it was plain enough by this time, to the Indians, that all the English were leagued together, and that, if an open rupture occurred, they had got to contend with them all. It is improbable, however, that Philip himself intended to begin a war, at least, at the time he did; but circumstances made it his only alternative. He well enough knew the strength of the white people, and consequently knew that a war must end in his ruin. It was not so with the young men of his tribe; they thought more of revenge and plunder than of the consequences of war. Three of their brethren had been executed, as they conceived, in a barbarous manner, for killing a vagabond traitor, as they considered the Indian to be, who had been by them killed. Philip was by no means an old man at this time, — perhaps not above thirty-seven years of age; but he had had more intercourse with the English settlers than the young men of his tribe, and was far better able to calculate the consequences of a war.

To understand the nature of the immediate origin of the war which soon after followed, it will be necessary to be a little more particular. The Indian killed by Philip's men, is usually, in the accounts extant, called Sassamon, but his real name was Wussausmon, as is shown in the margin.* He was a Massachusetts Indian, and was probably born within the ancient limits of Dorchester; perhaps at Punkapog. However, his father and mother lived in Dorchester, and he became one of

John wusSausman

* In a previous page (388) it is mentioned that with others, Sassamon was a witness to an instrument signed by King Philip, July 13th, 1670. The 27th of December of the same year, in a conveyance executed by Squamaug, "Ahaton, Momentaug, and John Wosassamon," are mentioned as his Council. Ahaton, Nahaton, and Hahatun, denote the same individual. He was a noted Christian Indian, and was preacher among the natives till his death, which happened on the 21st of July, 1717. In 1711 he was stationed at a place called Pecunet. He left a son Amos, and perhaps other children. — MSS. of Judge Sewall. For other facts, see *Gookin's Hist. Praying Indians.*

the Christian Indians, and was educated for a missionary among them, some time before 1662. Not liking his profession, or from some other cause, he apostatized, and went off with Philip's Indians. As he understood English and could write, Philip took him into his service as a kind of Secretary; and there are several letters existing, which he wrote, by Philip's direction or dictation, to his English neighbors. At length, becoming tired of living among his "heathen" brethren, he abandoned them and returned again to the Christian community; and, after showing proper contrition for his apostasy, he was admitted into fellowship. Not long after this, he was sent among some of Philip's people about Assawomset, in Middleborough, to preach to them. While there, it is supposed, he learned that the Wampanoags were preparing for war; for he communicated such intelligence to the authorities of Plymouth, about the close of 1674. A little time after this, Sassamon was missing,

Jan. 29. and, search being made, his body was found in Assawomset pond, under such circumstances, and with such marks upon it, that the magistrates of Plymouth were satisfied that he must have been murdered. Thereupon inquiry was made for the perpetrators. Three of Philip's men were soon fixed upon, one of whom was his Counsellor.

June 8. These were brought to trial at Plymouth, condemned and executed. One of them confessed he saw the other two commit the murder, but that he had no hand in it; and the other two died protesting their innocence.

While the trial of the accused Indians was in progress, there was a good deal of stir among the natives from Narraganset Bay to Massachusetts. Several of the Christian Indians in the vicinity of Boston, reported it as their belief that the other Indians intended to begin a

April, May. war. Among others, Waban went to Major Gookin and told him, that as soon as the trees were leaved out, he feared there would be trouble. Soon after, it was reported that Philip's warriors were "marching up and down the country armed as for war," and there was much reason to fear that Philip had enlisted the Narragansets in his designs. This suspicion was soon ascertained to be well founded, by advices from Mr. Benjamin Church,* who had the year before settled at Sogkonate, now Little Compton. A numerous clan of Philip's people inhabited there, and Mr. Church was much beloved and respected by the chiefs among them. They were, therefore, unwilling to join Philip in a war against the English without first consulting so good a friend as Mr. Church was.

The principal leader of the Sogkonates at this time, was a female chief, named Awashonks. To her Philip sent six messengers, who stated to her, that "the Umpames (the Plymouth people) were gather-



* The autograph of this distinguished man, Col. Benjamin Church, copied from an original paper of 1672, in possession of the author. He died on the 17th of Jan. 1718. He was at Boston on the previous June, which was probably his last visit to the metropolis. — *Judge Sewall's MSS.*

ing a great army to invade Philip's country," and requesting her to arm with him against them. Believing this to be the case, she made a great
June 6. dance, as was the custom of the Indians, and summoned her people far and near to attend it. But her confidence in the friendship of Mr. Church, caused her to send for him, though the preparations for a great war-dance went on. As soon as he received
June 7. the message, Mr. Church mounted his horse, and, taking with him his tenant's son, by name Charles Hazelton, a good interpreter of the Indian language, proceeded to the place appointed. There "they found hundreds of Indians gathered together;" the dance was begun, and "Awashonks herself, in a foaming sweat, leading it." But the moment Mr. Church's arrival was announced, she broke off, and entered into a conference with him. She related what Philip's men had said about the English preparations to attack him, and desired to know the truth of it. He assured her that it was untrue; that he was at Plymouth but a few days before, and that the English were making no preparations for war. She was inclined to believe him, and he promised to go to Plymouth and to intercede with the Government, that in the event of a war she should not be disturbed, provided she would not take part with Philip. This being agreed to, Mr. Church began to make preparations to proceed to Plymouth upon the proposed embassy.
June 8. Meanwhile, the execution of the three Indians for the murder of Sassamon took place, as already related. That event fanned the already glowing embers into an immediate flame, and nothing now could stay its progress. Philip, it was said, expected to be called to an account for the same murder, and that drove him to desperation. However that may be, his young warriors were full of revenge and fury, and beyond all control, had Philip desired to control them. Some of them had, perhaps with his consent, visited all the tribes and clans from Marshpee to Wachusett, and from Paugatuck to Chickopee, and delegates from many places had assembled at Mount Hope, while the three Indians were awaiting their trial at Plymouth, and war-dances were commenced and kept up for many days together.

Having good grounds to suspect what was going forward among the Indians, and thinking the agitation was occasioned by Philip, on account of his fears for his safety, as the planner of Sassamon's death, the Government of Plymouth hoped to calm him by assurances that he was not to be questioned or troubled about it. The Council, therefore, drew
June 14. up an amicable letter, and Mr. James Browne, of Swanzey, was charged with its delivery and explanation. Taking with him Mr. Samuel Gorton as interpreter, when he arrived at Philip's quarters he found him surrounded with a great number of warriors, all armed and painted, who behaved insolently, and Philip himself "very high and not persuadable to peace." Some of the warriors proposed to kill Mr. Browne; but Philip prevented them, saying, that Massasoit, his father, had charged him always to be kind to that gentleman. This speaks not a little in Philip's favor, and is a testimony against the

integrity of those who have branded him as lost to all humanity. Many instances are to be found where he exercised all the authority he possessed to prevent the injury of English families which had been his or his father's friends.

June 16. Mr. Church, as he proceeded to Plymouth, took Pocasset in his way, in order to ascertain how the Pocasset Indians were likely to incline in the event of a war. This clan or tribe was considerably numerous, though not so much so as the Sogkonates; and like the latter they were under a Squaw Sachem, whose name was Weetamoo. She had been the wife of Alexander, Philip's brother, but now had a husband named Petananuit, but as written by the English, Peter Nunnuit. Mr. Church, falling in with Peter, was by him conducted to Weetamoo, usually denominated Queen of Pocasset. He found her almost deserted by her men, who, she said, were "all gone to the dances." She promised Mr. Church that she would go to Rhode Island, and would not join Philip in a war. Mr. Church then proceeded directly to Plymouth to make a report upon the situation of affairs in the vicinity of Mount Hope.

June 17. Arriving at Plymouth early on Thursday morning, Mr. Church immediately had an interview with the Governor and some of the Council of War. His intelligence confirmed other accounts they had received of the hostile attitude of Philip, and they hastened their preparations to meet the exigency with the utmost despatch. As a further proof that war was really intended on the part of the Indians, certain information was received at Plymouth, that those about Mount Hope had sent their wives and children to the Narragansets for safety. This also showed the English clearly that the Narragansets had joined with Philip against them.

Philip's warriors had now become so clamorous to be permitted to begin the war, that they would listen to no proposals of delay; and the only plan Philip could devise to prevent an immediate outbreak, was to promise them, that on the next Sunday they might rob the houses of the English nearest them, while the occupants were at meeting, and to kill their cattle in the fields; and he strictly enjoined it upon them that they should not be the first to shed blood; for, there was a superstitious whim entertained by Philip, and perhaps his old men, that the party which shed the first blood would be conquered. This probably had the effect to prevent immediate murders, while it did not cause a

June 18 or 19. full compliance with Philip's orders, for some of his men went to the house of Job Winslow,* broke into and rifled it.

* Who he was, or whereabouts he lived, the Records of the U. Colonies do not state; but Amos Otis, Esq., of Yarmouth, from original papers in his possession, confirms Judge Mitchell's statement, that he was son of Kenelm Winslow, and grandson of Gov. Edward Winslow, and that he settled in Freetown. *MS. Letter of* Mr. Otis, and Mitchell's *Bridgewater*.

CHAPTER XLIII.

War begins at Swanzey. — News brought to Boston. — Capt. Hutchinson sent to the Narragansets. — The English shed the first blood. — Men raised in Boston for the War. — Proceed to Swanzey. — Eclipse of the Moon. — First Skirmish. — Pursuit of the Indians. — They escape. — Lieut. Oake's Exploit. — Scalps brought to Boston. — Forces march into Narraganset. — Treaty. — Capt. Hutchinson sent to treat with the Nipmucks. — Is ambushed and mortally wounded. — Siege of Brookfield. — Mohegan Indians engaged with the English against Philip. — Above sixty come to Boston. — A House attacked in Dorchester. — Capt Beers attacked and suffers considerable loss.



SAVAGE.

June 20. AGREEABLY to the permission of Philip, his warriors sallied forth upon Swanzey; burnt two houses and rifled several others, but killed none of the people. They were greatly alarmed, however, immediately began to abandon their dwellings, and were soon collected into three garrisons. Early next morning, or in the preceding night, messengers were

June 21. despatched to Boston and Plymouth. The Council at Boston met in the afternoon of the same day, and passed an order concerning the Narragansets. This was embodied into a sort of manifesto, and Capt. Edward Hutchinson, of Boston, was forthwith directed to repair to that nation. He was also directed to call upon Mr. Roger Williams, for whom he had letters, and to obtain his counsel and advice respecting his mission. The manifesto set forth that "Philip, Sachem of Mount Hope, did yesterday make assault upon some English houses, and was marching on upon the town of Swanzey;" that some of the Narragansets were already with him, and that he "speedily expected others to come to his assistance." The Narraganset chiefs were therefore ordered, in the most peremptory manner, to call home all their warriors, and to break off all correspondence with Philip, and to furnish the English authorities "the best intelligence they could of this wicked design." Meantime, the Government of Plymouth ordered its forces to rendezvous at Taunton. The Governor invited Mr. Church to accompany the forces, which he did, at the head of a small volunteer corps of English and friendly Indians. With this force he marched as an advance guard. What time they arrived at Swanzey does not appear, and very little is heard of their operations until the arrival of the Boston troops, several days after.

June 23. While the Massachusetts forces were being concentrated at Boston, two messengers were despatched by the Council for Mount Hope, with instructions to try to divert Philip from committing

June 24. hostilities, if possible. These messengers, arriving the next day in the vicinity of Swanzey, were surprised to find the war

already begun, as they came upon dead men in the road, recently shot down by the Indians. They therefore retraced their steps to Boston, giving the alarm wherever they came.

As the Indians intended, the first blood shed in this war was shed by the English. One of the inhabitants of Swanzey was so provoked by an Indian's persisting in killing his cattle, that he fired upon and wounded him; and, though not mortally, it served to remove the scruple, which the Indians were under, as to the issue of the contest, and thus was begun a most bloody and disastrous war.

June 23.

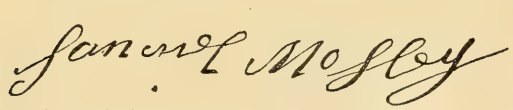
On the return of the before mentioned messengers to Boston, "drums beat up for volunteers, and in three hours' time were mustered up one hundred and ten men." Of these, Capt. Samuel Mosley,* became the leader, who, for his courage and conduct on some former occasions, was very popular. There was, at the same time, a Dutchman lying in Boston jail, under sentence of death for piracy; and, perhaps others with him.† They were allowed, on certain conditions, to march under Mosley against the Indians. One of them, a Dutchman, was afterwards pardoned for his services in the war, and had liberty to leave the country, and nothing further is known of him. His name was Cornelius Consert.

Agreeably to the recommendation of the Governor of Plymouth, a Fast was observed in that Colony. Taking advantage of this, the Indians beset the people at Swanzey, as they were returning from meeting, killing at once about ten or twelve persons.

June 24.

The Government at Boston, with its best efforts, could not get the forces intended for the expedition against Philip ready till two days after the bloody work was begun. But towards evening, on the twenty-sixth of June, a company of foot under Capt. Daniel Henchman, and another of horse under Capt. Thomas Prentice,‡ marched out of Boston for the scene of hostilities. Captain Mosley was not ready to march with them, being delayed, probably, by arrangements for putting the before named criminals under him. Just before the two companies reached Neponset river, the moon began to be eclipsed. This, some of the men construed to be ominous of an unfortunate issue

June 26.



course of the war. Several of his letters are extant, written while in this service, which discover something of the character of the rough and sanguinary soldier. From one of these his autograph is copied. When or where Capt. Mosley died has not come to my knowledge.

* One of the most conspicuous officers in Philip's war was Capt. Samuel Mosley. He was by trade a cooper, which he probably early relinquished and became a skilful mariner, and "was allied by marriage to some of the first families in Boston. His wife, Anne, was the daughter of Thomas and Anne Leverett, parents of the Governor."—Letter of T. W. Harris, M. D., to the author. The alliance of Capt. Mosley to Gov. Leverett and other distinguished persons in Boston being known, it is not difficult to account for the easy manner in which he was allowed to pass through some seemingly arrogant assumptions of responsibilities in the

† Hubbard, in his history of the war, speaks of "the whole body of the Privateers under Mosley." Mosley, himself, is said to have "been an old *Privateer* at Jamaica." He had probably been privateering during the war between England and the Dutch.

‡ Three Christian Indians only were employed in this first expedition; two of the name of Quannapohutt, and Zachary Abram. They were attached to Capt. Prentice's command, and did excellent service. See Gookin's *Pray. Inds.*

to the war, and they moved onward with faltering steps. However, when "the moon had waded through the earth's dark shadow," they resumed their march, and arrived at Woodcock's house, about thirty miles from Boston, the next morning. At this place they halted to take some rest, and to give Captain Mosley time to join them, which he did with his company in the afternoon. Thence they proceeded to Swanzey, where they arrived before night. They now joined the Plymouth forces, who had been in garrison there several days, and "under whose very noses the Indians had shot down two sentinels."

June 27.

June 28.

The enemy were still lurking in the bushes, in all directions about the camp, and, although it was near night, several of Captain Prentice's troop volunteed to go in pursuit of them. The party had proceeded but a short distance when they were fired upon by about a dozen Indians in ambush, who killed their guide, William Hammond, wounded Corporal Andrew Belcher,* whose horse was shot down under him. Quartermaster John Gill,† was struck in the side by a ball; but being clad in a buff coat, with several thicknesses of paper under it, his life was preserved. Mr. Church was in this unfortunate skirmish, and through his efforts the body of Mr. Hammond was rescued from the Indians and brought off.

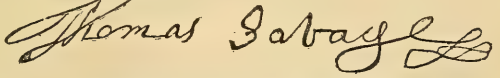
June 29.

The next day the enemy showed themselves, and were immediately pursued by Mosley's company and some of the others. As they were proceeding down into Mount Hope neck some confusion occurred, and one party of the English fired upon another, badly wounding Ensign Perez Savage in the thigh; yet "he boldly held up his colors" at the head of his company.‡ The Indians exposed themselves but little; but as they fled from one shelter to another several shots were made upon them, and some five or six were killed, as the English heard afterwards. The expedition into Philip's dominions, however, was of small moment. Philip and his followers retreated into the Swamps of Pocasset, as soon as they had done all the mischief they could in and about Swanzey; a few only remaining to deceive the English. The weather coming on rainy, the forces returned to the garrisons. In the evening, about six o'clock, Major Savage arrived from Boston with supplies, and several other gentlemen with him. He was Commander-in-Chief of the Massachusetts forces.§ Major Savage and Major James Cudworth, Com-

* The Christian name of Belcher is not given in any of the histories, but I suppose he is the same who was of Boston in 1703, and father of Gov. Jonathan Belcher. If this supposition be correct, he was son of Andrew Belcher, who was of Sudbury, 1640, and Cambridge, 1646, and was now about 28 years of age.

† Mentioned only by Church, and without a Christian name, which I have conjecturally supplied. That author says Gill and Belcher were Quartermasters.

‡ He was of Boston, son of Hon. Thomas Savage, a "young martial spark," says Hubbard, "scarce twenty years of age;" and Church, who was on the spot, says he was "a noble, heroic youth." He was at the Narraganset Swamp fight afterwards, and was again wounded, but survived, and died in Barbary, according to Farmer, in 1694.



§ Subjoined is the autograph of Major Savage when he was Speaker of the House of Deputies, 1660. He was the emigrant ancestor of a large and respectable race of Savages. — See *Farmer*.

mander-in-Chief of the Plymouth forces, determined to march to the vicinity of Mount Hope, hoping to surprise Philip, or to force him to a battle; but they had not then learned the wiles of Indians in warfare, as is manifest from their operations. Philip, as before mentioned, had passed the river to Pocasset. However, the weather becoming more favorable, the "whole army" * marched out about noon for Mount Hope. About a mile and a half from camp "they passed some houses newly burned," and "not far off one of them they found a Bible newly torn, and the leaves scattered by the enemy in hatred of our religion." Two or three miles more brought them to Keekamuit, since Warren, where they found the heads of eight Englishmen, which had been killed at Matapoiset Neck, set upon poles. These they took down and buried. After marching about two miles further "they found divers wigwams of the enemy. Half a mile further, as they passed through many fields of stately corn,† they found Philip's own wigwam," but no Indians in all their march. The next day the army returned to head-quarters at Swanzey, except the troop under Captain Prentice, who went to Rehoboth to make what discoveries they could, and to encamp there for the night.

June 30.

July 1.

July 2. As Captain Prentice was proceeding to head-quarters the next morning, a scout, under Lieut. Edward Oakes, surprised a small company of the enemy, killed a Sachem named Thebe, and another chief, one of Philip's Counsellors, and two or three others. Oakes lost John Druce, one of his men. The Indians killed in this encounter were beheaded and scalped, and both heads and scalps were brought to Boston and exhibited, which, it is said, were the first scalps ever seen in the town.

Major Gookin had orders, on the second of July, to raise a company of Praying Indians to serve in the war. He at once despatched messengers to all the Praying Towns, with directions to the Chiefs to send him one third of their able men. They obeyed with alacrity, and in four days after, about fifty-two of them marched, under Capt. Isaac Johnson ‡ of Roxbury, who delivered them to Major Savage, the commander at Mount Hope. These Indians acquitted themselves courageously and faithfully, according to the testimony of Major Savage, Captain Prentice, and Captain Henchman.

July 6.

July 4. The forces being concentrated at Swanzey, while the officers were deliberating upon what next should be done, Capt. Edward Hutchinson arrived from Boston with instructions to proceed into the Narraganset country, to prevent the tribes in that region from partici-

* The number of men composing the *army*, as it was called, is nowhere mentioned. It probably did not exceed 350 men.

† The writer of the "*Present State of New England*," in the Old Indian Chronicle, says there were at Mount Hope "a thousand acres under corn," which the English afterwards gathered for their own use; that they took whatever the Indians had "that was worth taking, and spoiled the rest; taking all Philip's cattel and hogs that they could find."

‡ The same who fell afterwards in the Narraganset fight.

Isaac Johnson

pating in the war ; while Major Cudworth, with the Plymouth forces, proposed to maintain the ground already gained, and to act on the offensive, as occasion might offer.

July 15. It was the fifteenth of July before an understanding could be effected with the Narragansets, and then but a few of them were found to take any part in it, and those appear to have been inferior chiefs or irresponsible persons. On the part of the English were Major Thomas Savage, Capt. Edward Hutchinson, his brother-in-law, and Mr. Joseph Dudley, on the part of Massachusetts ; Major Wait Winthrop and Mr. Richard Smith, on the part of Connecticut. A treaty, as it was called, being drawn up in a number of peremptory articles, and the place of negotiation surrounded with two or three hundred armed soldiers, it was literally executed "at the point of the sword." Such a treaty could not be otherwise than worse than none, for coercion must and will have its reaction, and it proved thus in this case, as will be seen in the sequel. Such is a brief outline of the treaty of Petty-quamscot, so called from the place where it was made.

While the treaty purports to have been made on the part of the Indians by "Agamaug, Wompsh alias Corman, Taitson, Tawageson, Counsellors and Attorneys to Canonicus, Ninigret, Matataog, Old Queen Quaiapen, Quananshit and Pomham," the names only of "Tawageson, Taytson, Agamaug and Corman," appear as its signers. The witnesses were Capt. Daniel Henchman, Capt. Thomas Prentice, Capt. Nicholas Paige of the dragoons, Joseph Stanton, interpreter, Henry Hawlaws, Pecot Bucow, and Job Neff. *

Meantime there was some sharp fighting in Pocasset, but the Indians had the advantage. This elated them, and they committed depredations in every direction. News also was received at Boston, in the course of July, that the flame of war was breaking forth along the eastern coast. The Nipmucks also were thought to be uncertain in their neutrality or friendship. It was therefore determined to send a small force up into their country to ascertain how they were affected by the war. Captain Hutchinson, who had just returned from the treaty with the Narragansets, and Captain Thomas Wheeler, marched from Boston upon that service. Unfortunately, Philip's emissaries were before them, and the Nipmucks had enlisted in his cause. Captains Hutchinson and

July 28. Wheeler went upon this expedition with about twenty dragoons, and at Brookfield were joined with a number of the inhabitants of that town. A meeting was appointed with the Nipmucks in that neighborhood, but when the English came to the place there appeared

Aug. 2. none of the other party. Not suspecting any treachery, they proceeded four or five miles further, in the direction of the prin-

* It was at this time probably, that Potok, "a Narraganset Chief of great subtlety," insisted that an article should be inserted in the Treaty, "that the English should not send any among them to preach the Gospel, or call upon them to pray to God." It is likewise probable, that it was owing to the refusal of the English to comply with that request, that his name does not appear to the treaty. Near the close of the war, Potok surrendered to some of the English forces, who took him to Newport, on R. Island. There he was im-

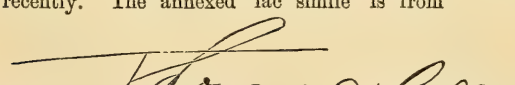
cipal town of the Nipmucks; but this proceeding seems to have been anticipated by the Indians, for when the English came to a narrow pass, lying between a steep hill on the one hand, and a "hideous" swamp on the other, they were fired upon by "two or three hundred Indians" in ambush. Eight men were in a moment shot down; Captain Hutchinson was mortally wounded, and Captain Wheeler desperately; * yet both commanders succeeded in reaching Brookfield. In all, thirteen were killed and died of their wounds. In Captain Hutchinson, Boston lost one of its most worthy inhabitants; one always forward in that kind of public service, in which duty to his country, and not the emoluments of office, guided his actions. After the siege of Brookfield was raised by a force under Major Simon Willard, Captain Hutchinson was removed to Marlborough, where he died on the nineteenth of the month, seventeen days after he was wounded. †

One of the eight men who were killed in the first attack was Zechariah Philips, also of Boston. That any escaped from that perilous onset, is matter of surprise, and is said to have been owing to the Indian guides, who conducted the English in an unaccustomed path to Brookfield. There were three of those guides, one of whom was made prisoner by the enemy. ‡

Aug. 4. Before the enemy were driven from Brookfield they burned all the houses except one, into which the inhabitants were crowded. This, but for the timely arrival of Major Willard, just mentioned, would also have fallen into their hands in a short time.

prisoned some time; but, on a requisition from Massachusetts, he was brought to Boston and shot. Gookin writes his name Potucke. In the Old Indian Chronicle it is written Potucke and Potuck, and by Hubbard, Potock. — See *Postea*.

* He was shot through his body, and his horse killed under him, but was preserved by the extraordinary bravery of his son Thomas; also wounded, his arm broken. Yet, seeing the peril of his father, he dismounted and succeeded in mounting his father upon his own horse, and both escaped. This Capt. Wheeler I believe to be the same once the owner of the Point still bearing his name. He was of Concord at this time, having gone there recently. The annexed fac simile is from



an original paper of this year. Capt. Wheeler published a Narrative of this affair, and also of the siege of Brookfield, the same year of their occurrence. It is now of extreme rarity, but may be found reprinted in the *Colls. of the N. H. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii.

† A small plain stone marks the place where the body of Capt. Hutchinson was buried; on which is the following inscription:

Captain Edward Hvtchinson,
aged 62 years,
was shot by
Treacherovs Indians,
Avgvst 2. 1675.
Dyed 12 Avgvst,
1675.

It will be observed that, by the inscription, Capt. Hutchinson died seven days earlier than he did according to the published accounts. The date on the stone is probably wrong, owing perhaps, to its not having been put on till some time after his interment. I am indebted to Mr. John H. Dexter of Boston for the copy of the inscription.



‡ This disaster, and the alarming state of the country, occasioned a Fast, which "was ordered by the Old Church (of which the Governor is a member), being lecture-day at Boston, and at the contribution there was collected £69, which was for the distressed families' relief." And on the following Wednesday, August 11th, another Fast was kept by Mr. Mather's Church, and a contribution taken on the same account, which amounted to £68. — Tract of the time in the *Old Indian Chronicle*.

Aug. 5. Philip had now arrived in the vicinity, and the besiegers met him in a great swamp not far from Brookfield. There he distributed a quantity of wampum to the principal chiefs, and congratulated them on their successes.

Meanwhile, messengers were sent from Boston to Uncas, Chief of the Mohegans, to solicit his assistance against the hostile tribes. He complied readily with the requisition, and in a few days the messengers returned, having with them three of the sons of Uncas, and about sixty

July 26. Mohegan warriors. These were soon distributed under the different English Captains, and rendered effectual service against the enemy.

A few days before this a depredation was attempted in the very neighborhood of Boston. An Indian came to the house of John Minot,* in Dorchester, on a Sunday, while all the family were at meeting, except a servant girl, and two small children. The girl had taken the precaution to bar the door, and when the Indian found he could not readily enter that way, he shot off his gun several times into the house; but the girl having secured the children under two brass kettles, ran up into the chamber, charged a gun which was there, fired upon the Indian, and wounded him in the shoulder. He then broke through a window, but when he had crawled partly into the house, the young heroine met him with a shovel of burning coals, which she applied to his face, and this decided the victory in her favor. The Indian escaped, but was found dead in the woods not far off in a short time after. †

Aug. 26. Capt. Thomas Lothrop and Capt. Richard Beers, with about one hundred men, met a large body of Indians near Northfield, and a sharp skirmish ensued, in which twenty-six of the former and ten of the latter were killed. ‡

* In the *Genealogical Register*, i., 172, the Author of the *Minot Genealogy* says this affair took place at the house of a John Minot, who died in 1669, which cannot be true. If the Minot's name were John, he could have been no other than the John who married Elizabeth Breek, as he lived till 1690.

The house which was the scene of this tragedy was recently standing, and has been pointed out to the writer. It is about five miles from Boston, on the turnpike leading from South Boston to Milton.

† Aug. 25th. There was a fast at Charlestown, "whereto several of Boston went." A contribution was made, which resulted in a collection of £78.

‡ Capt. Beers had been in New England *forty-five* years; "an inhabitant of this jurisdiction ever since the first beginning thereof." He served in the Pequot war; "in two several designs;" "hath many children, and hitherto not any land of the country and of the Town but one acre and a half besides that he hath purchased." — *Petition of* 1664. *MS.* He was of Watertown. There is an account of the Beers family in Hinman's *Catalogue of Puritan Settlers*.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Philip's War continued. — Relative Condition of the contending Parties. — Christian or Praying Indians. — Destructive Tempest. — Defeat and Death of Capt. Beers. — Jury for trying Indian Captives. — Deputation of Indians from Ninigret. — One seized and hanged. — Others shot by Capt Mosley's order. — The Mob threaten to murder Prisoners. — Spirited Course of Capt. Oliver. — Quakers punished for refusing to serve in the War. — Defeat and Death of Capt. Lothrop. — An Execution. — Capt. Appleton's Services. — Burning of Springfield. — Hatfield attacked. — Maj Pynchon recommends Winter Expeditions. — A large Force ordered to be raised. — Narraganset Chiefs come to Boston and make a Treaty. — Expedition against Narraganset. — A strong Fort. — It is attacked. — The first that entered it discovered. — It is taken. — The killed and wounded.



MOSLEY.*

UPON the whole, thus far, the Indians had almost continued success; but the summer, so favorable to their circumstances, was soon to be ended, and the war had afforded them but small opportunities to provide for the winter. The march of large bodies of the English from place to place during the summer gave them fine chances for capital exploits. They had no baggage trains to guard. The surrounding wilderness during half the year afforded them all the provisions they required; and, as though that season never could end, they laughed and mocked at the snail-like movements of their adversary. By their spies they could often ascertain the points of destination of a body of troops, and with celerity would assemble a formidable number of their companions in some favorable pass among the hills and swamps, and fall upon their pursuers at great advantage.

The Christian Indians had not yet been generally taken into the service of the English, and they became daily more and more exposed to the worst afflictions from both parties. The Indians who attacked Lothrop and Beers were considered to belong to the Praying Indians, but they were far removed from the other communities, and Philip had probably prevailed with them to enter into the war on his side. To prevent other Christian Indians from a like proceeding, the Council at Boston sent forth a proclamation forbidding them to go more than a mile from their villages unless accompanied by an Englishman. The resi-

Aug. 30.

* Arms, — Quarterly, first and fourth sa., a cheveron between three pick-axes, ar.; second and third or, a fess, between three eaglets displayed, sa. — Crest,— On a wreath an eagle displayed ermine. — Such was the arms of Moseley of Hough's End, parish of Manchester, and County Palatine of Lancaster. That Capt. Samuel Mosley was a branch of this family there is not much question. Branches were allied with the Saltonstalls, Davenports, Whitmores, and other names equally well known in New England.

dences or towns of these Indians at that time were "Natick, Punquapaog, Nashoba, Wamesit, and Hassanamesit."*

Two days before this, there was witnessed at Boston "one of the most violent storms of wind and rain hitherto known." The Indians gave out that it was caused by their Powwows.†

Lancaster, Northampton, Deerfield and Northfield, had already suffered at the hands of the enemy. Captain Beers, with a small company
Sept. 3. of about thirty-six men, was cut off at the last named place; but very few escaping. Among the feeble settlements at the eastward the work of death was going on also. In the mean time, a few Praying and other Indians had been captured and were in
Sept. 9. prison in Boston, and the following named gentlemen were chosen by the Town to sit as jurors at their trial; namely, "Capt. James Oliver, Mr. Thomas Deane, Mr. James Whittcombe, Ens. Richard Woody, and Mr. John Fairweather."‡ The day following an embassy
Sept. 10. came to Boston from Ninigret, consisting of eight of his men. They brought a letter from Capt. Richard Smith, of Narragansett, which was their protection. They came, it appears, to offer the services of the Niantics to the English in the war. Having finished their mission, a pass was given them by the Authorities, and they were dismissed. As the populace were much enraged against all Indians, the ambassadors of Ninigret fixed their pass upon a staff, that it might be seen at a distance. In proceeding out of town two men came up and seized the man who held up the pass, and dragged him away to prison. The two men were brothers, and, at the trial of the Indian two days
Sept. 12. after, they made oath that he had been fighting under Philip against the English, and that they knew him to be the man who had killed their brother. On this testimony he was hanged. In the course of Captain Mosley's excursions with his Boston Company, he took prisoners two Praying Indians, who, by examinations, he found to have been among those who killed Captain Hutchinson at Wickabaug pond; whereupon they were both shot. This was "towards the latter end of August." About the same time Mosley sent into Boston eight other Christian Indians, who were tried for their lives. Against these nothing seems to have been proved, but the populace were greatly enraged when they learned they were to be set at liberty, and a mob was collected to break open the prison and murder the prisoners. Captain

* Major Gookin, the Governor of the Praying Indians, and well acquainted with most of them personally, as well as their places of residence, gives the names of the latter as follow: —"Wamesit [formerly in Chelmsford, now chiefly included in Lowell]; Okkokonimesit [Marlborough]; Hassanamesit, [Grafton]; Makunkokoag [Hopkinson]; Natick [still so named]; and Punkapog alias Pakomit [Stoughton]". The whole number of Indians in these places did not probably exceed 450, or 500 souls.

† "It blew up many ships together that they bulged one another; some up towards Cambridge, some to Muddy river, doing much hurt to very many; also it broke down many wharffs, and blew down some houses thereupon." — Tract of the time in the *Old Indian Chronicle*, p. 30.

‡ Mr. David Anderson and Mr. Thomas Tucker were chosen by Charlestown; John Bowles, Senr. and Mr. Thomas Gore by Roxbury; William Summer and Richard Baker for Dorchester; and Joseph Tantor and Cor. William Bond for Watertown. — *From an original paper in the Mass. Archives*

Gookin was one of the Judges. Against him much abuse was directed. Mr. Eliot came in for a share also; but he was only an advocate for the accused, and consequently was less offensive. The mob mistaking Captain Oliver to be on their side, by something which he said, or was reported to have said, they therefore went to his house about
Sept. 10. nine of the clock in the evening, and requested him to lead them in breaking open the Jail. Whereupon the Captain, taking his cane, "cudgelled them stoutly." This damped their ardor for prison-breaking for the present, but such was the clamor and rage of the people, that, to quiet them, one of the Indians was given up and executed, and in a manner so revolting, that, were the truth alone related, the reader's belief might be confounded.

Early in September another company, composed chiefly of Boston men, was despatched against the Indians, under Capt. Daniel Henchman. For some cause not explained, when these soldiers arrived in Roxbury they refused to proceed under that officer, and the Council sent Capt. Thomas Lake to take his place. Nothing further appears respecting the movements of this Company.*

Several of the inhabitants of Boston, "some whereof were Quakers," refusing to bear arms in the country's service, were punished by being compelled "to run the gauntlet." Efforts had been made to keep a large force in the field, and complaints were loud from those in actual service, and their families and friends at home, against the Quakers, and all such as endeavored to avoid military duty, whether from scruples of conscience or any other cause. This may have led to the barbarous and ignominious punishment above mentioned. However, there were, by the end of August, probably not less than about six hundred horse and foot of Massachusetts men in the dangerous service of hunting Indians in the surrounding wilderness.

Notwithstanding this force was comparatively large for that time, yet it could not prevent the recurrence of many fatal disasters. Captain Lothrop, who had fought with Captain Beers at Northfield, was
Sept. 18. ambushed, and attacked in the furious manner of the Indians, on his march at Deerfield, and with about ninety men, "the flower of Essex county," slain, with almost his whole company.† The next day a party attacked Deerfield, but with small success.

Captain Mosley having sent to Boston five Christian Indians,
Sept. 21. prisoners, under the charge of Cornelius Consert, they were ordered to be delivered to Mr. Samuel Shrimpton, to be employed on

* The objection to Capt. Henchman at this time may have arisen from his efforts to prevent violence to the Indian prisoners. He was continued in the service, and was in such favor with the Council and other members of the Government, that, at the close of the war, on his request to be allowed to resign his commission, they refused to receive it. This request was made Sept. 6th, 1676, from which the accompanying signature is copied.



† Capt. Lothrop belonged to Beverley, and had done exploits in the Pequot war. — *Letter from Boston*, dated 28th Dec., 1675. *Harleian Miscel.*, v. p. 400, 4to ed.

Noddle's Island; "he returning them to the order of the Council."

Sept. 22. On the next day, an Indian, named Little John, was hanged in Boston for shooting one Stoughton at Taunton.

The frontier along the Connecticut river being in great danger and alarm, since the defeat of Captain Lothrop, the General Court commis-

Sept. 24. sioned Mr. Samuel Appleton, one of its members, to command a company of one hundred men, and to lead them into that remote region. He proceeded at once to the relief of the distressed settlements, and was soon after appointed Commander-in-Chief in those parts;* Major John Pinchon not being able to attend to the service.

Oct. 5. Taking advantage of the absence of the soldiers from Springfield, a numerous body of the enemy fell upon and burnt the greater part of that town, — thirty dwelling-houses and about twenty-five barns, the mills and other buildings, and killed several people. Fearing the towns below would next be attempted, Major Appleton

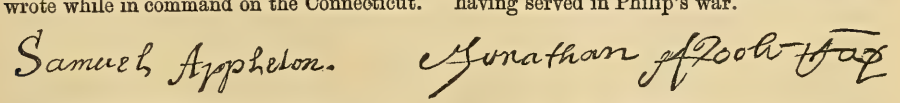
Oct. 19. fixed his head-quarters at Hadley; Captain Mosley and Captain Jonathan Poole† were stationed at Hatfield, and Major Treat, of the Connecticut forces, at Northampton. Suddenly, in the evening of the nineteenth of October, seven or eight hundred of the enemy made an attack upon the former place. After killing several of Captain Mosley's men who were upon an outpost, and cutting off a scout, they entered that end of the town where the Commander-in-Chief was, who, with great courage and resolution, drove them out with loss, while Captain Poole succeeded in forcing them to retire from the other end, where he was posted. In this affair Major Appleton narrowly escaped with his life; a bullet passed through the hair of his head,‡ and one of his sergeants, Freegrace Norton, was mortally wounded by his side.

From this time till the next spring there was not much trouble given to the western settlements; the enemy thinking it time, perhaps, to provide a winter's retreat and means of support. However, some con-

Oct. 29. tinued about Northampton, waylaying the people as they went into their fields, killing several, and burning four or five houses. Two days before, they killed three of the inhabitants of Westfield.

In a letter of Major Pynchon to the Council, early in October, he recommended falling upon the enemy in the winter; having seen that

* The accompanying Autograph of Major Appleton is copied from a letter which he wrote while in command on the Connecticut.



† I have conjecturally supplied Capt. Poole's Christian name. The General Court, 8: 4: 1671, appointed "*Jonathan* Poole Quartermaster to the troops commanded by Capt. Edward Hutchinson." I have supposed Capt. Poole of 1675 to be the same person. The name of "Capt. Jonathan Poole" is found upon the Treasurer's books of the Colony, as having served in Philip's war.

‡ "By that whisper telling him," says Hubbard, "that Death was very near, but did him no other harm." — *Narrative*, 43. Ten of the English were killed, while the loss of the Indians could not be known, as they carried off their killed and wounded.

little could be effected against them in the summer, and that they must of necessity be more confined to certain localities in the time of frost and snow. Accordingly, when the Commissioners of the United Colonies met at Boston, it was agreed that one thousand men should be
Nov. 2. raised, in addition to those already in the service ; and that they should be in readiness to march "att one houres warning" ; that as the Narragansets had not delivered up the Wampanoags, according to treaty, an army should march into their country, and proceed against them as enemies. Over this force Governor Josiah Winslow, of Plymouth, was appointed Commander-in-Chief. Of the thousand men, Massachusetts was to furnish 527, Plymouth 158, and Connecticut 315.

It is remarked that the winter came on much earlier this year than usual, and it was pretty soon ascertained that the Indians had chosen for their retreat a dismal swamp in the Narraganset country. There they had laid in a large amount of provisions of various kinds for the winter. On an island of several acres they had erected a strong fortification by felled trees. Within this were their wigwams and provisions, and there were collected, as was judged, two or three thousand Indians of both sexes, old and young.

Before the meeting of the Commissioners just mentioned, the Authorities at Boston had sent messengers to Narraganset to ascertain how the Chiefs appeared disposed, and to invite them to Boston to confer with them upon the state of affairs. Soon after, four Chiefs came to Boston accordingly, and executed a treaty. By this they
Oct. 18. confirmed that of Pettyquanscot, made in the beginning of the war ; they agreed also that in ten days they would deliver at Boston all those Indians who were fled to them, and who had been in hostility against the English. The signers of this treaty were the great Chiefs Quanonchett,* or Canonchet, Manatanoo, Ahanmanpowet, and Cornman, on the behalf of Ninigret. Richard Smith, James Browne, Samuel Gorton, Junior, and John Nowhenetts, were witnesses. The two last were interpreters.†

As might have been, and probably was, expected by the English, no part of the treaty was observed. Therefore, on the tenth of December,

* Believed to have been the greatest Chief then living among the Narragansets. He was son of the unfortunate Miantonimo, and was sometimes called Nanuntenoo. Whether he and his companions understood the nature of the treaty which they executed at this time may admit of question. For it was next to an impossibility for them to have surrendered the Wampanoags if they had really been disposed to do so. However, they were accused of the worst kind of treachery for not performing their engagements. And when, in the following April, Nanuntenoo was taken prisoner by the Connecticut army, his captors taunted him with breaking his promise to deliver up the Wampanoags, he indignantly replied, "I will never deliver up a Wampanoag, nor the paring of a Wampanoag's nail to Englishmen." And when told that then he should be put to death, he replied, "I like it well. I shall die before my heart is soft, or have said anything unworthy of myself." He was not long after shot at Stonington, and his body shared the ignominious fate of that of King Philip.

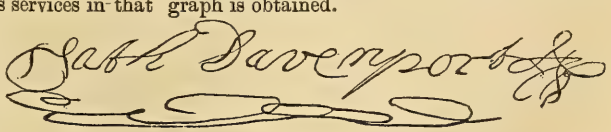
† Calls for help from the inhabitants upon the Pascataqua were at this time very urgent, and Governor Leverett issued an order, that, "William Walderne hath liberty for a berrell of powder and eight gones to carry to the Eastward." It was dated 28 Oct., 1675. — *Original Paper.*

Dec. 10. seven companies of foot and horse marched from Boston for the Narraganset country. Over these, Major Appleton had the chief command. The general rendezvous was at Capt. Richard Smith's, and here the forces all assembled from the three colonies, and on the
Dec. 18. eighteenth of December marched for the Indian fort, intending to quarter at night at the garrison of Mr. Jerah Bull; but that had been taken by the enemy two days before, and all the people slain, seventeen in number. So "there was no shelter left, either for officer or private soldier," and they were obliged to march on through a deep snow, still falling, and the weather was extremely cold; "finding no other defence all that night, save the open air, nor other covering than
Dec. 19. a cold, moist fleece of snow." At one of the clock the next day they came to the fort, and after three or four hours of hard fighting, succeeded in taking it, and putting the Indians to flight. There was but one entrance into it, and that was on a long tree, so felled as to reach from the upland outside to the breastwork; and this entrance was defended by a sort of block-house in front, and flankers on each side of it. When the English came to the place, the men would not be restrained, but rushed on without waiting for the word of command, and a soldier, named John Raymond, of Middleborough, was the first to enter the fort.*

The army, coming suddenly upon the enemy, "had no time either to draw up in any order or form of battle, nor yet opportunity to consult where or how to assault." However, the Boston men led the van, and Mosley was the first captain who succeeded in scaling the Indian breastwork. To attack even Indians under such circumstances, was to rush into the very jaws of death. Of the seven Massachusetts captains, three were killed; namely, Captain Isaac Johnson of Roxbury, Captain Joseph Gardner of Salem, and Captain Nathaniel Davenport of Boston. The first named was shot dead upon the tree, as he was undauntedly leading on his men; and the last was mortally wounded after he had entered the fort; receiving at once three fatal wounds.† Before he expired, he called Mr. Edward Tyng, his lieutenant, to him, gave him his gun in charge, and committed to him the command of his company, and immediately died. Being dressed in a full buff suit, it was supposed the Indians took him for the Commander-in-Chief, and many aimed at him at once. Tyng was wounded in the course of the fight, but recovered. Captain Davenport's men were extremely grieved at the death of their leader; he having, by his courteous carriage much

* This John Raymond, or Rayment, survived the fight. A son of his, also named John, received from the General Court a grant of land in consideration of his father's services in that desperate enterprise. The family removed from Middleborough, it is believed, and the name was not for many years known there, and perhaps not since the removal of this family.

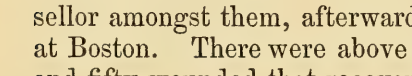
† From a document in the Mass. Archives, drawn up 4 December preceding, the accompanying copy of Capt. Davenport's Autograph is obtained.



attached them to himself, although he was a stranger to the most of them when he was appointed their captain. On which occasion he made "a very civil speech," and allowed them to choose their sergeants themselves. Lieut. Jeremiah Swain, of Major Appleton's company, was also wounded, as was also Phineas Upham, lieutenant to Captain Johnson, mortally, though he survived several months; and Lieut. Perez Savage, the same wounded in the beginning of the war.

The number of Indians slain in this sanguinary battle was never accurately known; but, according to the best Historian of the time,* they "lost seven hundred fighting men, besides three hundred that died of their wounds: the number of old men, women and children, that perished either by fire, or that were starved with hunger and cold, none of them could tell." This was "confessed by Potock, a great Counsellor amongst them, afterwards taken at Rhode Island and put to death at Boston. There were above eighty of the English slain, and a hundred and fifty wounded that recovered afterwards." †

* The Rev. William Hubbard, in his *Narrative*, p. 54. That eminent gentleman's autograph, being of rare occurrence, is copied here.



† This estimate is probably too low, as by papers in the *Massachusetts Archives* it appears that 93 were killed and wounded of the Massachusetts forces. As a complete list of them has never been printed, one here follows: —

"Soldiers killed and wounded at the battle of Narraganset Fort."

Of Major Appleton's company: — Samuel Taylor of Ipswich, Isaac Illery [Ellery?], Gloucester; Daniel Rolfe, Newbury; Samuel Taylor, Rowley; *slain, four.* Lft. Jeremiah Swain, Reading; Roger Marks, Andover; Isaac Ilsley, William Standley, Daniel Somersby, Jonathan Emery, John Harvey, Newbury; John Denison, George Timson, Thomas Stone of Ipswich; Symon Gowen, of Rowley; Benjamin Webster, Salem; Elijah Thathan, Woburn; Thomas Abey, Wenham; Benjamin Langdon, Boston; Solomon Watts, Roxbury; John Warner, Charlestown; Samuel Bouterick, Cambridge; *wounded, eighteen,* and left at Rhode Island, except Lieut. Swain and Roger Marks.

Of Capt. Mosley's company: — John Farmer, Richard Barnam, Jerre Stockes, of Boston; William Bourle, Charlestown; Edmund Chamberlaine, Malden; Richard Updick, Narraganset; *slain, six.* Lieut. Perez Savage, John Brandon, Boston; John Sherman, Watertown; James Updick, Boston; James Chadwick, Malden; John Fuller, Dedham; John Shepheard, Jacob Coole, Charlestown; Richard Addams, Sudbury; *wounded, nine.* Five left at Rhode Island to attend the wounded, namely, Samuel Fordich, Thomas Weales, James Dighenton, Joseph Low, and Joshua Silverwood; to whom no residences are assigned.

Of Capt. Oliver's Company: — Thomas Broune for Paul Bat, Alexander Forbes, Splende Dreror, servant to Daniel Turner, Jr., James Thomas, Henry Hall for Mr. [Peter?] Ligett, of Boston; *slain, five,* except Henry Hall, who is set down as *lost.* Sergt. Peter Bennet, Sergt. [Henry] Timberley [Timberlake in the Treasurer's books], James Lendall, William Kemble, servant to John Cleer, Ezekiel Gilman, Mark Rounds, servant to Henry Kemble, Alexander Bogell, Boston; John Casey, servant to Thomas Gardner, Muddy River; *wounded, eight,* seven of whom were left at R. Island.

Of Capt. Davenport's Company: — Capt. Nathaniel Davenport, Sergt. Theodore Atkinson, Boston; George Howard, Concord; John Hagar, Watertown; *killed, four.* Samuel Swayn, Samuel Read, Cambridge; Samuel Stocker, Medford; Nathaniel Hely, Isaac Learned, Watertown; Thomas Browne, Abraham Temple, Concord; David Batchelor, Reading; Caleb Symonds, John Barker, Zachary Snow, Woburn; *wounded, eleven.*

Of Capt. Johnson's Company: — Capt. Isaac Johnson, Roxbury; Thomas Danfort, Dorchester; Jonathan Pitcher, ————; Allen Duglen, Weymouth; *killed, four.* John Watson, Wm. Linckorn, Roxbury; John Spur, Dorchester; Benjamin Crane, Milton; John Langley, John Taxton [Thaxter?], John Bull, Hingham; Isaac King, Weymouth; Lieut. Phineas Upham, Malden; *wounded, eight,* and were at Rhode Island, 6 Jan. 1675–6.

Of Capt. Gardiner's Company: — Joseph Price [?], Samuel Pikeworth, Salem; Mark Batchiler, Wenham; *killed, three,* on their march before they arrived at the fort; Capt. Joseph Gardiner, Salem; Abra Switchell, Marblehead; Joseph Soames, Cape Anne; Robert Andrews, Topsfield; *killed, four,* at the fort. Charles Knight, Thomas Flint, Joseph Holeton, Salem; Nicholas Hakins, John Farrington, Lynn;

This was the first, or by far the greatest blow they had received since the war began. Their aged and wise men, and Counsellors, as well as a vast number of their warriors, were in this encounter cut off. Nor did their misfortunes end here. Their store-houses and their stores perished with them. Despair and desperation were depicted in their countenances; famine and the severities of a long winter stared them in the face.

The bravery displayed by the English soldiers at the Narraganset fort fight has many parallels, but none superior in the records of history. All the three colonies were well represented in it, and there is nothing to the discredit of either to be met with in the often-written story. The soldiers of each colony seem to have vied with the others in sharing its hazards as well as its glories. On casting an eye upon the lists of the officers, it will be seen that those of Connecticut and Plymouth suffered about equally with those of Massachusetts. Of the former, Capt. John Gallop, of New London, Capt. Samuel Marshall, of Windsor, and Capt. Robert Seely, of Stratford, were killed in the engagement; Capt. William Bradford, of Plymouth, was wounded by a musket-ball, which, he carried in his body ever after; Capt. John Gorham, of Barnstable, who, though he escaped the arrows of the enemy, died of a fever, occasioned by the hardships of the expedition; and, the afterwards celebrated Captain Church, a volunteer in the staff of General Winslow, was severely wounded

Robert Cocks, Marblehead; Eben Baker, Joseph Abbot, Andover; Edward Hardin, Cape Anne; Christopher Read, Beverly; *wounded, ten.*

Of Capt. Prentice's Troop: — John Wyman, [no residence given] *slain;* Nathaniel Richardson, Nathaniel Belins, [Billings?] Woburn; Samuel Stone, Cambridge; *wounded, three.*

CHAPTER XLV

Winter Excursions. — Sudbury attacked. — Lancaster burnt. — Medfield attacked. — Praying Indians accused. — Fearful Clamors. — Many Houses burnt at Groton. — Furious Attack on Northampton. — Praying Indians sent to the Islands in the Harbor. — Extensive Burnings at Marlborough, Simsbury, Rehoboth and Providence. — Praying Indians employed. — Defeat of Capt. Wadsworth. — Capt. William Turner. — Marches for the Connecticut Valley. — Saves Northampton. — Plans an Expedition against a large body at the Falls above Deerfield. — Surprises them with great Slaughter. — Is killed in his Retreat. — Fall of King Philip. — Executions. — Peter Jethro's Perfidy. — Sagamore John. — Execution of other Chiefs. — James the Printer. — Fate of Capt. Thomas Lake. — Suffering Condition of the Inhabitants. — Relief from Ireland and England.



TURNER.

EXCURSIONS by horse and foot were constantly made in various directions during the winter, and many small clans of the enemy were broken up, many captives taken, and many killed.* In these excursions, the Christian Indians bore a conspicuous part. However, there were enough of the enemy left to do much mischief, and they were found to be collecting in the Nipmuck country; a small party surprised Sudbury, killing and carrying off ten persons,

Feb. 1.

and on the tenth of February, Lancaster was chiefly laid in ashes, and about fifty people killed, and carried into captivity. Five days after, Captain Mosley was ordered to march with his company to that place. A few days later, Philip with a large company attacked Medfield, within about twenty-two miles of Boston, killing near twenty of its inhabitants, and doing mischief to the amount of about 2145 pounds, exclusive of buildings.

Feb. 10.

Feb. 15.

Feb. 21.

Complaints continued against the Praying Indians, and clamors ran so high against them in Boston, that there were fears of serious tumults. Thomas Jay was held for trial for "reproaching General Winslow, the authorities of the country, and other misdemeanors." And one Richard Scott was soon after imprisoned for threatening the lives of Captain Gookin and Mr. Thomas Danforth.

Jan. 5.

On the thirteenth of March about forty houses were consumed at Groton, and the next day Northampton came near being all destroyed; being attacked at three points at once, eleven people killed and wounded, and eleven buildings were set on fire. As the spring advanced, the Indians were able to proceed in their old mode of warfare; scattering themselves in small numbers, in all directions,

Mar. 13.

* Jan. 6th. At a meeting of the Council "It is ordered that the Secretary issue forth warrant to Comissary John Fayreweather, forth with to impress and provide seven Colours, made of red sarcenet, each to be a yard square. One to be made with a blaze of white in it, the others to have each of them a figure of white in them, No. from 1 to 6. And four small drums, to be sent up to the army of Narraganset, for the use of the severall companies there belonging to this Colony." — *Original Minutes.*

shooting down the unsuspecting, killing their cattle and burning their buildings. Throughout March, April, May and June, a continued record of mischiefs is found. Many of the Praying Indians are taken from their residences and sent to the islands in the harbor, as no other means for their preservation seemed to be attainable.

Mar. 26. In a single day of March, several people are killed at Springfield, most of the houses burned in Marlborough, and Simsbury in Connecticut is laid in ashes. Two days after, sixty-six buildings are burnt at Rehoboth, and on the following day, fifty-four houses are

Mar. 26. burnt in Providence. But the saddest event of that single day of March remains to be recorded. Capt. Michael Peirse, of Scituate, Brother of Captain Peirse, of London, was ambushed at Pawtucket, and slain with almost his whole force, consisting of fifty English and about twenty friendly Indians. This spread a cloud of the darkest gloom over the country. Still, the Government did not relax its exertions, while its soldiers were dearly purchasing wisdom, and learning to proceed with more caution against an enemy which many had held in too much contempt. Captain Gookin and others had all along urged the Government at Boston to employ and send out bands of the Praying Indians against the enemy, under discreet English officers; but their fidelity was so strongly suspected by the multitude, that their services were at this time nearly neglected. But it was, at this crisis of the war, decided to increase the opposing force by employing some of those Indians; and finally a company of them was put under the command of Capt. Samuel Hunting,* and others under officers from among themselves, and all of them rendered services fully equal to the expectations of their friends, and to the corresponding confusion of their enemies.

In the mean time, through the good offices of some of these Indians, a correspondence was opened between the authorities in Boston and the hostile party in the Nipmuck country, which eventually led to the redemption of several prisoners out of their hands; among whom was Mrs. Mary Rowlandson and her family, taken captive when Lancaster was destroyed. She was the wife of the Rev. Joseph Rowlandson, the minister of that town.†

Notwithstanding the severe losses in men which the country had sustained, great numbers were still ranging the woods in search of the enemy. Capt. Jonathan Poole, Capt. John Whipple, Capt. Samuel Hunting, Capt. John Cutler, Capt. John Jacob, Capt. Thomas Brattle,

* He was at this time of Charlestown. In many important expeditions the Praying Indians were led by him.



† She was redeemed after a captivity of eleven weeks and five days. On the 3d of May she arrived in Boston, and in the narrative which she afterwards published, she says, "The twenty pounds, the price of my redemption, was raised by some Boston gentlewomen, and Mr. Usher, whose bounty and charity I would not forget to make mention of."—INDIAN CAPTIVITIES, 56. Mrs. Rowlandson was a daughter of a Mr. John White, of Lancaster. —Willard, *Hist. Lancaster in Worcester Magazine*. Her *Narrative* was very popular, and has passed through many editions.

Capt. Richard Sutton, Capt. Joseph Sill, Capt. William Hathorne, Capt. Thomas Clarke, Capt. William Turner and Capt. Edward Cowell, Capt. Hugh Mason, Capt. Nathaniel Reynolds, and several others, were at different times upon expeditions into the Indian country. In defiance of all these, however, Philip was able to concentrate a body of about four hundred of his followers near Sudbury, and to ambush
April 21. Capt. Samuel Wadsworth, and Capt. Samuel Brocklebank, with about seventy men, as they were upon a march from Boston to relieve Marlborough. A desperate fight ensued, in which both the commanders were slain, and above half of their men; "as brave soldiers as any ever employed in the present service." A party of the same Indians the same day fell in with Capt. Cowell, of Boston, with about eighteen men, attacked him, and killed several of his party.

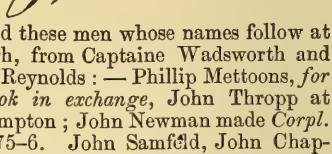
Capt. William Turner, of Boston, an old soldier, offered his services to the Government, in the commencement of the war, but they were slighted and refused. It was not agreeable to the feelings of some in power, to take into their service one whom they had formerly almost ruined, because he could not conscientiously renounce his religion. Affairs were now in some degree changed, and Captain Turner was requested to raise a company and to take the field. He said the chances for his usefulness in the war, he feared, were past; for the men, who were then ready to follow him, were many of them gone from Boston, or were otherwise employed. Notwithstanding, like a true lover of his country, he consented to enter upon the service; and, with Mr. Edward Drinker for his lieutenant, and a company of about one hundred men,* he was soon ready to march.

* "A list of Capt. Wm. Turner's men, as they came from Boston, taken at Medfield, 1675–6; namely: —

"William Turner, *Capt.;* Edward Drinker, *Lieut.;* William Parsons, Ezekiel Guilman, *Sergeants;* Philip Squire, Thos. Elliot, Thos. Barnard, James Knott, *Corporals;* Jona. Orris, Wm. Turner, Jr., Ephm. Roper, John Sawey, Richd. Cheevers, Josiah Man, Elias Tyffe, Robert Seares, Saml. Rawlins, Thos. Brisantine, Josiah Tay, Roger Jones, Jas. Verin, Thos. Chard, Henry Dawson, Saml. Davis, Mark Wood, Robt. Miller, John Conneball, Richd. Staines, Joseph Gallop, John Roberts, Hee. Steward, James Burges, Matthias Smith, Saml. Gallop, Barthol. Whitwell, Saml. Judkins, Richd. Knight, Joseph Priest, Peaceful Clarke, Henry Kerby, Edward Wrignt, Phillip Jessop, Thos. Skinner, *Cler.;* John Newton, *cleared by Council at Medfield;* Nathl. Adams, *sick at Medfield;* Robert Briant, *wounded at Dedham.*

"A list of them cleared at Marlborough: — Henry Timberleggs [Timberlake], *Ensign;* Wm. Wade, Clement Hamblinge [Hamblen], Jacob Hanson, John Brackenbury, Nathl. Babcock, John Carthew, Thos. Condy, John Smith, Joseph Dindly, Amos [*Indian*], Henry Wright, Saml. Holmes, James Parker, Fearnot Shaw, Wm. Robbins, James Travis, John Jay.

"This is a true list of such as came out of Boston with me, as witness my hand, Feb. the 22d. 1675–6.



"Received these men whose names follow at Marlborough, from Captaine Wadsworth and from Capt. Reynolds: — Phillip Mettoons, *for whom I took in exchange*, John Thropp at [North] Hampton; John Newman made *Corpl.* 17 March, 75–6. John Samfield, John Chapple, Henry Beresford, Thos. Wells, Jas. Burrell, John Walker, Joseph Lamson, Joseph Bickner, Wm. Clow, Wm. Twing, Joseph Lyon, Richd. Francis, Wm. Hartford, Solomon Lowd, Wm. Bosway, John Glide, Joshua Lane, James Hewes, Jonathan Duninge, William Jaques, Wm. Manly, George Riply, Phill. Sandy, Diggory Serg[ean]t, John Broughton, John Rolestone, Wm. Jemison, Edwd. Sampson, John Avis, Joseph Griffin, Henry Finch, Samll. Chesy, Joseph Bateman, James Machrenell, *killed at* [*North*] *Hampton*, Mar. 14. *These men* [*following*] were left at Quabaug the 4th of March, 1675–6: — Henry Pellington, David Crentch, John Gromwell [Cromwell?], Richd. Sutton, David Jones, Tho. Brisanton, Tho. Stacy, Thos. Chapman, Augustine John, James Cullen

They were ordered to proceed to the Connecticut river valley, for the relief of Northampton and the other towns there, under the command of Major Savage. It was while Capt. Turner was at
Mar. 14. Northampton, that the Indians so furiously beset that place, and it was owing to his exertions, and those in his company, that the town was saved from total ruin, and the Indians forced to retire.

Captain Turner continued in that region until the nineteenth of May following, having for some time sustained the chief command, with which Major Savage had invested him on his returning to Boston some time before. About the second week in April it was ascertained that a large body of the enemy were at the Great Falls in the Connecticut river, above Deerfield. They had taken up their quarters there to improve the fishing season, and from this point parties set out against the settlements of the English. Captain Turner determined to surprise them. He, therefore, planned a secret expedition, taking with him Capt. Samuel Holioke, of Springfield, and about one hun-
May 19. dred and eighty men. The surprise was complete, and the destruction of the enemy was very great. But in the retreat the English were met by a fresh party of the enemy, who attacked them at disadvantage, as they were crossing Green River, killed Captain Turner, and about thirty of his men. Thus perished the "brave and resolute Captain Turner." Captain Holioke, though he survived the fight, died of a surfeit brought on by it, "in September following about Boston." He was twenty-nine years old, wanting four days.

The Fall Fight, as it was for a long time called, was the last great battle of the war; and, as a chronicler of the time said, "The enemy now went down the wind apace." Their great haunts and hiding-places were broken up. Philip retreated out of the Nipmuck country, and he and his great chiefs were hunted from place to place until, one after another, they fell into the hands of their pursuers. Philip had many narrow escapes, but, on the twelfth of August, he was
Aug. 12. surprised at Mount Hope, near the very place where he had begun the war, about fourteen months before. He was not taken alive, nor did an Englishman kill him. One of his own men betrayed his hiding-place to the indefatigable Captain Church, who with a small number of trusty followers surrounded him at dawn of day, and before he was aware of the presence of his enemies. When Church had done this, the alarm was given, and Philip, in attempting to escape from the swamp in which he had taken refuge, came upon two of Church's sentinels, an Englishman and an Indian. The gun of the former missed fire, but that of the latter, charged with two bullets, was true to its mission; sending one directly through his heart, and the "other not above two inches from it." The chief "fell upon his face in the mud

Chas. Duckworth. The rest continued under my command till ye 7th of Aprill, att which time 4 were left in Hadly by order of ye Counsell, and part of the companie marched vnder the conduct of Lieut. Drinker, with Major Savage; some by order staying here with me. WILLIAM TURNER."

Then follow lists of Hadley, Northampton and Hatfield soldiers, who served under Capt. Turner; of these, in all about 130 men.

and water, with his gun under him." Church ordered one of his Indians to behead and quarter him, which being done, his head was carried to Plymouth and set upon a gibbet, where it was to be seen for twenty years. His hands were cut off, and one of them was given to the Indian who shot him, and the other was carried in triumph to Boston, where it was for some time exhibited.

Aug. 17. Such was the joy caused by the news of Philip's death, that, in five days after, it was celebrated by a Thanksgiving. The "Grand Rebel" was now slain, and there was not much to be feared from such of his followers as remained. The horrors of war may now be said to have been past; but there were many captives in prison in Boston, and upon the islands in the harbor, and at Plymouth, whose fate was to be decided. While the war was raging, sanguinary and vindictive measures were to be expected, but after its dangers were ended, it would have been well had the shedding of blood by way of retaliation ceased. A pardon had been offered to those who would surrender themselves at Boston by a given day, but in the proclamation holding out the inducement to surrender, exceptions were made, and many were executed in cold blood. Yet a few of the cunning leaders had the address to escape; but they purchased their own lives at a cruel price, — no less than the betrayal of their own relatives into the hands of their enemies. A remarkable instance of this kind took place among the Nipmucks. A Chief, called by the English, "Old Jethro," lived near Sudbury when the war begun. His own family consisted of about twelve persons, and all of them belonged to the party of Praying Indians. Fearing Jethro and his party would join Philip, an attempt was made to bring him to Boston, but he escaped, and was afterwards suspected of being engaged in the war, and was charged with committing murders and depredations. He had a son Peter, who, to save his own life, and understanding the terms of the proclamation before spoken of, delivered his father into the hands of the English, who hanged him in Boston in September of this year. This depravity caused a writer of the time to exclaim, "That abominable Indian, Peter Jethro, betrayed his own father, and other Indians of his special acquaintance, unto death." He had been educated by the English, and had been employed to instruct his brethren.

July 27. Another of the Nipmuck Sachems, called "Sagamore John," influenced about one hundred and sixty Indians to surrender at Boston. One among them, old Matoonas, he brought in by force, being "bound with cords." He was immediately condemned to death; for, he was not only the father of him who was hung in Boston several years before, but he was charged with being the first to commit murder in Massachusetts Colony in this war. His betrayer, "Sagamore John, was desirous that he and his men might be the executioners; wherefore Matoonas was carried out into the Common, and being tied to a tree, they then shot him to death."

Another of those Chiefs was John Monoco. He was the leader at

the burning of Groton in March preceding, but Mr. Willard's, the Minister's house, and Captain Parker's house, being strongly garrisoned, he could not destroy them. He was a bold and insolent Indian, and to show his contempt of the English religion, after he had burnt the meeting-house, he called to Mr. Willard, saying, "What will you do for a house to pray to God in now?" Yet, at the same time, he talked to Captain Parker about making peace, "mixing with his discourse bitter sarcasms, with blasphemous scoffs." He boasted that he had burnt Medfield and Lancaster; that now he would burn Groton, and next Chelmsford, Concord, Watertown, Cambridge, Charlestown, Roxbury and Boston; adding, that he had four hundred and eighty men, and said, "What me will, me do." But, "within a few months after, and only with a few more bragadocios like himself, Sagamore Sam,* Old Jethro, and the Sagamore of Quabaog, were taken by the English, and was seen marching towards the gallows, through Boston streets, which he threatened to burn at his pleasure, with an halter about his neck, with which he was hanged at the town's end, September twenty-six, in this present year, 1676."

July 1. Another notorious Indian, who had the address to save his neck from the halter, was named James the Printer. He had rendered himself exceedingly obnoxious, but ventured to surrender, and came in to Boston on the strength of the proclamation. He had professed Christianity, could read and write well, and was also skilled in the art of printing. Soon after the war broke out he became a "notorious apostate," and, "like a false villain, ran away from his master." He had been the chief scribe to the hostile Indians, wrote the insulting proclamation stuck up at Medfield,† and several of their letters to the Government at Boston.‡ Notwithstanding, on his "promising for the future to venture personally against the common enemy," his life was spared. It was doubtless much in his favor, that he could work at printing; for Mr. Eliot said, afterwards, that he was "the only man able to compose the sheets and correct the press of the Indian Bible, with understanding." Hence, to that "notorious apostate," the world is under no small obligation for his agency in bringing into existence one of the most extraordinary editions of the Bible. He learned his trade of Mr. Samuel Green, of Cambridge, and probably followed the

* He was Sagamore of Nashaway, "a proud salvage," who, but little while before, "insulted over the English, and said if they would first begge peace of him, he would let them have peace, but he would never ask it of them." Tract in the Old Indian Chronicle, p. 130. Sam was taken, or perhaps surrendered, at Pascataqua about the end of August, and with another Indian, was put on board Capt. Nath. Fox, at Portsmouth, who had Major Waldron's warrant to deliver them at Boston; dated, "y^e 2d Sept. 1676." Original Warrant, MS. Sam's Indian name was Shoshanim, which, in the time of the war, was changed to Uskatuhgun. He was nephew to Matthew, who was nephew to Sholan, the ancient Sachem, and possessor of Lancaster. — Harrington, *Century Sermon*, p. 16.

† It may be seen in The Book of Indians, p. 221. In one yet unpublished, they say to the Governor and Council, "All you fine houses you lost, and you squaws and you child, — you eyes much big with crying, and now on you backside stand." According to his own autograph, Printer's Indian name was Wowaus.

‡ *Ibid.*, 267, 231.

printing business until 1709. From Cambridge he came to Boston, and was for some time in partnership with Bartholomew Green, in the printing business. He was employed by the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians as early as 1708, and resided at or near Mendon not long after. He died about 1714, but his widow was living in the end of the year 1717.*

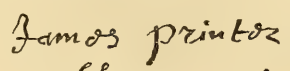
The Indians were so successful, at first, that many of them seemed confident that they should bring the English to their own terms. They would mock their deliberations, by holding pretended General Courts, making sham prayers, and preaching like certain Ministers; and on one occasion they sent word to Boston that they were coming down to dine with the Governor and Council on the Election day, and tauntingly bid them "make good cheer."

April 21. In view of this, it may be, that, at a meeting of the Council, an order was passed "For the prevention of such mischiefs as may be designed by the common enemy, the securing of the several Plantations upon the day of public Election, now drawing near."

The war still continued to the eastward of the Pascataqua river; and though more remote from Boston than it had hitherto been, yet its calamities fell heavily upon it. The town was constantly entreated for relief in men, provisions and munitions, and several of its active officers were in continual service in that region. Among its losses, none was perhaps more deeply deplored than that of Capt. Thomas Lake. He was in the service early in the war, but, from the importunity of friends, probably, and having large possessions in Maine, he went there and kept a fort on Arowsick island. His fort was surprised early on the

Aug. 14. morning of the fourteenth of August, when, with several others, he was killed. He was joint owner of that island with Captain Thomas Clarke,† of Boston; and there was an arrangement between them, to reside there at alternate seasons. It was not his turn to be there at this time, but he was persuaded to go, probably to accommodate Captain Clarke. He was not killed in the fort, but with several others escaped from it, and passed to another island. Being pursued and overtaken by the Indians, he was shot down, and it was for many months unknown to his friends whether he were killed or carried into captivity. However, after a cruel and agonizing suspense of seven months, his body was discovered and brought away. It was interred at Copp's Hill, where a monument is still to be seen, with an appropriate inscription.

* MSS. of Judge Sewall. For many other facts concerning Printer, consult THE BOOK OF THE INDIANS. The copy of his Autograph accompanying, is taken from a deed of 1682,



which he and twenty-two other Indians gave, of lands "on the south part of Mattachusetts Colony, beyond the great river called Kuttutuk, Nipmug or Providence." These Indians said they were all "natives and naturall descendants of the ancient proprietors of the Nipmug Country." — *Original Deed in possession of* J. W. THORNTON, ESQ.

† Copies of the Autographs of both of these gentlemen have been given at pages 340 and 341, *ante*.

Such was the end of the discreet and worthy Capt. Thomas Lake, of Boston; "That good man," says Mr. Hubbard, "who might emphatically be so termed, in distinction from them that may truly be called just men, and no more." He left a family residing in Boston, and Mr. John Lake,* also of Boston, was his brother. This brother, one month after the capture of Arowsick, thinking that possibly the Captain was still alive, and held in captivity among the Indians, petitioned the General Court in favor of the noted Indian chief, Sagamore Sam, then in jail under sentence of death. He requested that, instead of putting the Sachem to death, he might be held as a hostage for his brother; but the Court did not regard his prayer, and Sam was hanged "at the town's end," as has been before related.

Captain Lake belonged to the eminent family of Lake, of Erby, in the County of Lincoln, son of Richard Lake, Esquire, a younger brother of Sir Edward Lake,† who received sixteen wounds in sustaining the desperate cause of his master, under Prince Rupert, at Edge Hill.‡ Sir Bibye Lake, whose name occurs in the early history of Maine, was grandson of Capt. Thomas Lake, which accounts for his claims to lands in Maine. He was son of Thomas, who was born in Boston, but finally returned to England, and was a barrister of the Middle Temple, and died in 1734. Anne, sister of Thomas, married, first, John Cotton, of Hampton, and, secondly, the Rev. Increase Mather, of Boston. §

After the loss of the fort at Arowsick, the inhabitants at the eastward sent messengers to Boston, imploring assistance; but they soon returned and informed them that "it was in vain to expect any." About fifty-three people had been killed; their crops mostly destroyed, and there was no alternative for those who had escaped the fury of the merciless enemy, but to abandon the country, which they did soon after. Many came to Boston among their friends; some went to Pascataqua, and some to Salem. Many never returned to enjoy their lands. ‖

* He was a Selectman several years. Those elected for the office, 15 Mar. 1674–5, stand in this order upon the Town Records: — "Mr. Thomas Brattle, John Joylife, Mr. John Lake, Capt. Thomas Lake, Capt. James Olliuer, Mr. Hezekiah Vsher, Capt. William Davis." The Constables were "Mr. John Scarlet, Hopestill Foster, Mr. Richard Medlecot, Mr. John Pincheon, Thos. Walker, Mr. John Noyse; for Muddy River, Robt. Harris; Rumneymarsh, Jas. Bill, Jr.; Recorder, John Joyliffe; Treasurer, Thos. Brattle." The Selectmen were the same the two following years, excepting in 1676, Lieut. Daniel Turine stood in place of Capt. Davis; and in 1677, Deac. Henry Allen, Deac. Jacob Elliott, were in place of Captain Thomas Lake and Hezekiah Usher.

† His wife was Annie Bybie. Hence the name of Bybie was given to a grandson of Capt. Thomas Lake, who also inherited the title of Sir Edward; Sir Edward leaving no heir.

‡ So stated in his grant of Arms, to be seen in *The English Baronets*, iii. 130–2. — Edition 1727, 4to. — "Where [at Edge Hill] he received sixteen wounds, to the extreame hazard of his life, and his left arm being then disabled by a shot, he held his bridle in his teeth." Sir Edward died 1674.

§ Manuscripts in possession of J. W. Thornton, Esq. Capt. Lake was 61 years of age at his death, as by original deposition appears in possession of the author. The pedigree of the family is traced to John Lake of Normanton, County of York, 1286.

‖ On the 18th of October, the General Court voted, "That all those men that came from the deserted places at the eastward, fitt for the Countrye's service, be impressed and imployed therein, and that Major Clarke and the committee of militia in Boston, doe accordingly impresse and list them for the present expedition." [That of Hathorne and Sill probably, as seen in Hubbard, Part ii., p. 53.] To this the Deputies consented, "Provided that other Counties as well as Suffolk, may have like powre to impresse any fitt persons of those who have deserted their habitations at the Eastward." — *Original Paper.*

Such is a brief outline "of the most bloody years that New England had ever seen." People were driven from their lands, and obliged to seek safety in the towns on the coast; the most of whom were without provisions, and also without the means of procuring them; which were so scarce, that they were hardly to be had for money. Indeed, famine had followed close in the desolated path of war, and, as well observes Dr. Cotton Mather, it was "coming in like an armed man." In this extremity, Dr. Increase Mather "did, by his letters, procure a whole ship load of provisions, from the charity of his friends in Dublin, and a considerable sum of money, and much clothing, from the like charity of his friends in London," greatly to the relief of the poor people here.

Of the charities received from Ireland, a distribution was made in March, 1677, from which it is shown that Boston suffered nearly five times as much by the war as any other place. One hundred and sixteen families, or about 432 persons, were recipients of the donation. Many of them, however, were those who had been compelled to take refuge here, as has been before mentioned.*

It has been computed, by an able writer,† that about one eleventh of the able men of the Colonies were killed during the war, or were otherwise lost in its service; and by another,‡ that, "every person, almost, in the two Colonies had lost a relation or near friend;" so that almost every family in New England was in deep mourning.

A printing house was first set up in Boston this year. It was conducted by Mr. John Foster, a young man, a graduate of Harvard College in 1667. The General Court granted liberty for a printing establishment in the Town, in May, 1674, and appointed two ministers, Mr. Thomas Thacher and Mr. Increase Mather, to be licensers. Mr. Foster was an excellent mathematician, and was for some years author of an almanac. He died in Dorchester in 1681, aged but thirty-three. He printed, besides other works, Mr. Hubbard's and Mr. Mather's histories of the Indian wars.

April 5. Mr. John Winthrop, of Connecticut, died in Boston, "whither he was occasionally called the last winter, to sit with the rest of the Commissioners of the United Colonies," in the seventy-third year of his age. He was the eldest son of John Winthrop, a former Governor of Massachusetts.

April 20. Dr. John Clarke died at Newport. He was one of those who had been driven from Boston by the intolerance of the times. For purity of life he has left a name unsurpassed. He was born in 1609, and was a physician in London; was thrice married, but left no children. The numerous posterity of the name of Clarke in Rhode Island, many of them, are descended from Mr. Joseph Clarke, a brother of Dr. John. §

* See *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Regr.*, ii. 245–250.

† Dr. Trumbull, in his *Hist. of Connecticut*, i. 350.

‡ Gov. Hutchinson, in his *Hist. Massachusetts*, i. 307.

§ See Backus, *Hist. N. Eng.*, i. 442–3, for much of interest respecting Dr. Clarke.

April 24. Major Simon Willard died at Charlestown, and was buried on the twenty-sixth of April, with military honors, performed by a company under Captain Henchman, who went over from Boston for that purpose. He had rendered important service in the present war, as well as on former occasions.

May 3. At the General Election, Mr. Hubbard, of Ipswich, preached the sermon. It was dedicated to Governor Leverett, and printed the same year, by the above mentioned Mr. John Foster.

Nov. 27. The greatest fire which had happened in Boston occurred this year, which is thus mentioned by a writer at the time.* "After all the forementioned calamities and troubles, it pleased God to alarm the town of Boston, and in them the whole Country, by a sad fire, accidentally kindled by the carelessness of an apprentice that sat up too late over night,† as was conceived; which began an hour before day, continuing three or four, in which time it burned down to the ground forty-six dwelling-houses, besides other buildings, together with a meeting-house of considerable bigness. Some mercy was observed mixt with judgment; for if a great rain had not continued all the time (the roofs and walls of their ordinary buildings consisting of such combustible matter), that whole end of the town had at that time been consumed." "It began about five in the morning, at one Wakefield's house, by the Red Lion" [tavern]. "The wind was south-east when it begun, and blew hard; soon after, it veered south, and brought so much rain, as much prevented further mischief. Charlestown was endangered by the flakes of fire which were carried over the river." ‡

The "Meeting-house of considerable bigness" was the Second Church, "the Church of the Mathers," some account of which has before been given.§ The Rev. Increase Mather had preached in it since 1664, who, according to his biographer, had, "in the year 1676, a strange impression on his mind, that a fire was coming, which would make a deplorable desolation;" and, that, only eight days before the fire happened, he preached a sort of warning sermon, which he "concluded with a strange prediction that a fire was coming." ‖

By this fire Mr. Mather's own dwelling was burned, "but not an hundred of his books from above a thousand" were lost, and "of those also he had an immediate recruit, by a generous offer which the honorable Mrs. Bridget Hoar made him, to take what he pleased from the library of her deceased husband."

There does not appear to have been any Fire Engine as yet in the Town, although some order about one had been made. Hence the

* Hubbard, in his *Indian Wars*, p. 115.

† "Through the carelessness of a boy called up to work very early in the morning, who falling asleep, as was said, the candle set the house on fire." — Hubbard, *Hist. New England*, 648-9.

‡ Hutchinson, i., 349, out of an *Interleaved Almanac*.

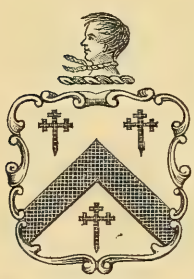
§ See *ante*, p. 310, 311.

‖ *Remarkables in the Life of Dr. I. Mather*, 25, 78.

progress of the flames was not staid by artificial means,* and it swept over a district from what are now Richmond, Hanover, and Clark streets, to the water. Many of the old wooden buildings, now standing in and about that section, have every appearance of having been built immediately after the fire of 1676; which fire, for a considerable time following, was referred to as "the Great Fire."

CHAPTER XLVI.

I. Mather urged to complete a History of New England. — The Tradesmen of Boston petition for Protection against Intruders. — Cages ordered, in which to put Sabbath-breakers. — Tithingmen. — New Law against Quakers. — Case of Margaret Brewster. — She goes into the South Church with Sackcloth upon her Head, &c. — Many Quakers whipped. — Extension of the Post Office Arrangement. — Money raised for the Ransom of Prisoners in Canada. — Death of Gov. Leverett. — First Engine Company. — First Almanac printed in the Town. — An extensive Fire. — A Building yet standing erected the next year. — A Synod called. — First Baptist Meeting-house.



DAVENPORT.

AT the Election, this year, Mr. Increase Mather preached the sermon. It contained much historical reflection, which doubtless occasioned Mr. Whiting, of Lynn, to urge him to enter upon the labor of compiling a history of New England; "The rather," said that excellent man, "let me entreat this favor of you, because it hath not been hitherto done by any in a polite and scholar-like way." Another reason may have influenced Mr. Whiting to make this request. Mr. Mather had just issued his work, called, "A Relation of the Troubles which have happened in New England, by reason of the Indians there," which was among the earliest books printed in Boston, and which is, at this day, among the most difficult to be found.

May 29. At the May session of the General Court, the "Handycrafts-men, a very considerable part of the Town of Boston," to the number of one hundred and twenty-nine,† put in a petition, praying for protection in their several callings, "whose outward subsistence," they say, "doth depend upon God's blessing, and many of us not having

* The expedient of blowing up buildings with powder was resorted to, but with what success does not appear.

† The names follow. It might be difficult to find attached to any paper of that day, so large a number of names so well and plainly written as these appear in the original. Out of the whole number, but two made their marks, and those marks were made by persons, who, in an earlier period of their lives, had, no doubt, learned to write; as the appearance of their marks very clearly indicates. Yet there are a few of them of so singular a chirography, that considerable doubt hangs over them, and I may have misinterpreted such. To distinguish them they are set in *italics;* and when very doubtful, an interrogation point is added. For convenience of examination, I have arranged them

estates any other way to advantage ourselves ;" that, "by the frequent intruding of strangers from all parts, especially of such as are not desirably qualified, find ourselves under great disadvantages, and prejudicial to the Towne ; and many times the stranger drawes away much of the custome from his neighbour, which hath been long settled, and in reality is much more the deserving man ; whereby it has already come to pass with many, that severall inhabitants that have lived comfortably upon their trades, and been able to bear publick charges in a considerable degree, now cannot subsist, which is very pernicious and prejudiciall to the Town ; and some that never served any time, or not considerably for the learning of a Trade, yet finding wayes to force themselves into the Town, and then sometimes by hireing or buying a servant, they doe set up a Trade," and thus draw away the custom of the Petitioners belonging to the Town, as above has been set forth. They, therefore, "conceiuing that the foresaid disadvantages do arise, either for want of power to make orders, or due execution of orders," ask "that power might be granted to the Selectmen," or others, "for a regular and effectuall execution of all such orders as are, or may be made, referring to the admission of inhabitants ; that Tradesmen shall fullfill a sufficient apprentiship, and be proficients before they set up Trades," &c.

The Court appointed a Committee to take the matter into consideration, who were requested to report upon it at its next session, in October following. The Committee consisted of "Capt. Mason, Capt. Stilman, and Capt. Fisher," on the part of the Deputies, to

June 1.

alphabetically. On the original, the first signer is *Iames Euerett* [James Everell], the second, William Inglish, &c. The last is John Mesinger. Such were the early manufacturers of Boston.

Alden, John
Andrewes, I A John
Atwood, John
Baker, John, Junior
Baker, Joseph
Baker, William
Ballintine, John
Barrell, James
Batt, Paul
Batt, Timothy
Benk, Menasses
Benit, John
Bodman, Joseph
Bradford, Moses
Bradford, Robert
Bram, Beniaman
Burrill, George
Burroughes, James
Callender, Ellis
Carter, Ralph
Carthew, John
Cheever, Bartholomew
Childe, John
Clesbe, John
Clough, John
Conney, John
Copp, Dauid
Cottay, John
Cricke, Edward
Davis, John
Deane, [?] John
Dewer, Samson
Dewer, Thomas
Doux, Francis
Earle, Robert
Elleott, Thomas
Elliott, Asaph
Ellis, Edward
Emons, Samuell
Euerell, Iames
Fowle, Jacob
Frary, Theophilus
Gibson, William
Gilbert, William
Green, James
Grifeth, William
Grigs, William
Harden, Richard
Hill, James
Hill, John
Hill, John
Homes, Joseph
Howard, James
Hurd, Joseph
Indecott, John
Inglish, William
Ingraham, William
Jacklen, Samuell
Johnson, Samvell
Jones, William
Judd, Roger
Langdon, Beniamin
Lawson, Ch :
Lowle, John
Lowle, Joseph
Marion, John, Senor
Maryon, John, Junior
Maryon, Samvell
Mason, Ralph
Mason, Robard, Senior
Mason, Robeart, Junior
Mason, Samuell
Mery James
Messinger, Henry, Senr
Messinger, Henry, Junr
Mesinger, John
Messinger, Simeon
Mirick [?], I M James
Moores, John
Morse, Ephraim
Nash, John
Needham, John
Needom, William
Newton, John
Norden, Samuell
Odlin, Elisha
Odlin, Peter
Parsons, William
Peacocke, Samuell
Pearse, Joseph
Peek, Joseph
Peirse, Moses
Peirse, Nathaniell
Penney, William
Perry, Seth
Philips, Nichols
Plommer, Samuell
Pollard, Samuell
Powning, Henry
Pratt, Timothy
Raynall, Nathanill
Raynsford, Sollomon
Reade, Esdras
Ricks, John
Sale, Ephraim
Sargent, Digory
Scottow, John
Simson, Alexander
Shew, Joseph
Shearar, Thomas
Shove, Samson, Senr
Shove, Samson, Jr
Stanbridge, John
Tay, Isaiah
Tay, John
Temple, John
Travis, Richard
Turner, William
Wakfeld, Obediah
Walkar, Isaac
Walker, Thomas
Way, Richard
Weden, Joseph
Wheeler, Joseph
White, John
Whit : Jeams
Winsor, Joshua
Woode, Isaack

whom the magistrates added "Mr. Edward Tyng." What their report was, if any, does not appear.

At the May term of the Court, it was ordered that cages should be erected, or "set up" in the Market-place in Boston, and in such other towns as the County Courts judged proper, to put violators of the Sabbath in. It also ordered constables to search out Quakers and to apprehend them, even at the violence of breaking open doors, and removing other obstructions. The Government had been reproached by the malignant part of the community for its too much lenity to that sect; and even charged the late Indian war to that lenity.* As though conscious of a culpable laxity in not doing its duty, the Court enacted a new law against Quakers. Among its provisions, one was, that if any were found holding meetings, they were to be sent to jail, or the house of correction, be compelled to labor, and be kept on bread and water for three days, or pay five pounds in money. Officers neglecting their duty were to be fined five pounds. There was, at the same time, a law made requiring all persons, as well inhabitants as strangers, to take the oath of fidelity to the country. As Quakers could not take an oath, they could not be protected in person or estate, by the laws; they could not, therefore, recover any debts which might be due to them.

At the same term of the General Court, an order was issued to the Selectmen of "Towns to chuse sundry persons, by the name of Tithingmen, to inspect the disorders in and by publick and private houses of entertainment, and prophanation of y^e^ Lord's day, and by the County Courts to bee impowered to prevent, and in their cappacity to reforme the same." Boston was divided into departments, and Tithingmen were appointed to each, and the houses specified which were to be under the supervision of individual Tithingmen. Those who were first appointed appear to have been dissatisfied, and had not acted when the Court came together at the October term. "William Bartholmew, Christopher Clarke, James Euerell, Bartholomew Cheever, John Philips, John Swete, John Search, George Healey, William Smith, Edward Alleyn, John Moore, and Richard Collacoatt," did, "in the name and by the order of the rest y^t^ are chosen for Boston," petition the Court, setting forth the reasons "they had yett acted nothing therein," and requesting several alterations in their organization, and asking for the same powers as Constables had, and for all to have a general inspection, and that particular Tithingmen should not be confined to certain streets and houses.† What action the Court took upon the petition, does not appear.

About this time, Margaret Brewster, with the consent of her husband,

* About November, 1675, Thomas Curwin and his wife, Alice, were taken out of a meeting in Boston, and sent to prison. On the third day after they were whipped, and then liberated. They went directly from the whipping-post to another meeting. This time they were not disturbed; "for the great tribulation of that time, by reason of the wars with the Indians, and other calamities, made the inhabitants faint for fear, and weakened the hands of their persecutors from practising the severities they had not yet repented of." — Besse, *Sufferings of the Quakers*, ii. 259.

† *Original paper.*

came here from Barbadoes. She probably had claims on some of the inhabitants, for merchandise, from the collection of which she was debarred by the late laws. She therefore presented a "caution" against them; which *caution* she styled "A warning from the great God of Heaven and Earth to the Rulers and Magistrates of Boston, that they put not in practice that cruel law that they have made concerning swearing." She at the same time warned the people of a "grievous calamity" which was shortly to come upon them, "called the Black Pox." * She performed the service of warning the Town, in a very summary manner, on the eighth of July. Taking with her Lydia Wright, of Long Island, Sarah Miles, of Black Point, Elizabeth Bowers, Junior, and John Easton, Junior (who took her riding-clothes and shoes), she went into the South Church in time of meeting, "in sackcloth, with ashes upon her head, barefoot, and her face blackened." †

July 8.

Margaret and her attendants were pretty soon hurried off to prison. In his warrant for their apprehension, Mr. Bradstreet said their offence was "For making an horrible disturbance on the Lord's-day, and affrighting the people in the South Church, in Boston, in the time of the publick dispensing of the word, whereby several women, as I am informed, are in great danger of miscarrying." When Margaret came before the Court, the constable could not identify her, for, says he, "She was then in the shape of the devil;" but she owned herself to be the individual, and the cause proceeded. She was sentenced to be whipped "at a cart's tail, up and down the Town, with twenty lashes," which was executed upon her four days after.

Aug. 4.

The same day that Margaret Brewster and her companions were apprehended, the following named persons were taken up at the Quaker meeting: namely, Robert Edmunds, Edward Sheppey, John Soames, George Walker, Jeremy Deeble, George Dawson, Miles Foster, Thomas Scott, Humphry Hodges, William Neale, Bridget Phillips, Eliphal Stratton, Elizabeth Bowers, Sen., and Elizabeth Bowers, Jun. These were all whipped but Miles Foster and Thomas Scott; some persons having paid the fines of these two, though against their wishes. At the next meeting, these following were arrested and whipped also; — Robert Edmunds, Edward Sheppey, John Soames, Miles Foster, William Richardson, Humphry Hodges, Jeremy Deeble, Thomas Hilbourn, Robert Levy, Josiah Southick, George Danson, William Mumford, Bridget Phillips, Eliphal Stratton, and Anne Wilson. Three of these were strangers and masters of ships.

Notwithstanding these scourgings, the Quakers continued their meet-

* It is as true as it is remarkable, that soon after, the Small Pox was very mortal in the Town. — See *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vii. 343; by which it appears that a ship arrived at Nantasket with the infection, and that 800 people were carried off by it.

† It has been often alleged that Margaret Brewster went into Mr. Thacher's meeting entirely naked. I have met with no evidence to support the allegation. It is no doubt false. She is not so charged in the warrant for her apprehension, nor does anything appear in the minutes of her trial, by which such an inference can be drawn. On the other hand, she is spoken of as having on "garments." Her "Examination" may be seen in *Besse*.

ings; and, the next meeting day after these last were whipped, there was such a formidable number of them assembled, that, according to the testimony of one of their writers, "fearfulness surprised the hypocrites," and they did not molest them.

Much difficulty had been experienced by delays of written correspondence. Letters were forwarded from Boston when it was convenient for the Postmaster to do so. Consequently, remote towns stood a poor chance of getting letters from the Capital, under the existing precarious circumstances. It appears to have been a custom to deposit letters at the Town-house, or Exchange, in a public room, to be taken and forwarded at the pleasure of those who visited the place. This way of sending letters out of the town being very uncertain, the Council appointed John Haywood "Postmaster for the whole Colony." The immediate cause of this appointment undoubtedly was the failure of people to send in their subscriptions for Harvard College. They had been notified to do so, but, upon investigation, it was found that the letters containing the notices, instead of having been taken from their place of deposit "on Exchange," and forwarded to their proper destination, were lost, or could not be found. *

Dec. 28.

At the last session of the General Court of last year, Agents were appointed to go to Canada to ransom certain captives taken by the Indians at Hatfield, on the nineteenth of September, 1677. At the May term of the Court, this year, the Governor and Magistrates reported that the Agents were arrived at Albany, with the captives; but "that great charges would arise for their redemption," and they therefore commended their case to the people of all the towns, and invited them to contribute for their relief. They at the same time appointed Mr. Anthony Stoddard, Mr. John Joyliffe, and Capt. John Richards, to be trustees to receive the contributions. There were raised 345 pounds, one shilling and four pence,† of which Boston gave 109 pounds, and a fraction. The next largest sum was given by Portsmouth, which was twenty pounds. Dover gave eleven, Charlestown fifteen, Cambridge thirteen.‡

* Yet, several years earlier than this, there were pretty complete postal arrangements in England. An old author wrote in 1672, that "the inhabitants of this Nation have of late years, by a general Post Office, an exceeding great conveniency in the conveyance of most letters to most parts of the Kingdom; and that at such easie rates, and with such quick dispatch, that in five days an answer may be received through 250 miles; and if but a single letter of a sheet of paper, for the expense of 3 pence, but if of a greater bulk, then after the rate of 8 pence per ounce, and if under 80 miles, then 2 pence for a single letter. If to Scotland, 5 pence, and to Ireland 6 pence, for single letters." — *Blome's Britannia.*

In 1674, The General Post Office in London employed 77 persons, and there were 82 Deputy Post Masters in England and Scotland. In Dublin, there was a General Office for Ireland, employing 18 persons, and 45 Deputy Post Masters in various parts of the Island. There was also an arrangement for sending letters to all parts of Europe. See Chamberlayne's *Anglia Notitia; or Present State of England*, for 1674, i. 242–3.

† There were a few inland places not heard from when the Trustees handed in their account in August of this year.

‡ The Trustees printed their Report on one side of an ordinary sheet, of that day, but one copy of which has ever been heard of or seen by me; and, whether otherwise and elsewhere preserved, appears to me quite uncertain. There were 46 towns or places from which donations were received. It is worthy of

The Deputies to the General Court for 1678, were Capt. Thomas Savage, and Mr. Anthony Stoddard, the same as last year.

Mar. 16. John Leverett, Esquire, Governor of the Colony, died in Boston. He was buried on the twenty-fifth of the same month, and with more parade, probably, than had been ever before witnessed in the town upon a like occasion. There were appointed to march, at the four corners of the hearse, Banner Roll bearers; which were preceded by a helmet bearer, and others. He was universally beloved through life, and every one seemed willing to bear testimony of his worth at his death.

The Representatives or Deputies this year were Capt. John Richards and Mr. Anthony Stoddard.

Since the great fire of 1676, an engine for extinguishing fires had been imported into the town; and at the commencement of this year, "Thomas Atkins, carpenter," was desired to take charge of it. His office amounted to that of captain, and the following persons were approved to be his assistants; namely, "Obediah Gill, John Raynsford, John Barnard, Thomas Elbridge, Arthur Smith, John Mills, Caleb Rawlins, John Wakefield, Samuel Greenwood, Edward Martin, Thomas Barnard, and George Robinson." These constituted the first regular Engine Company of the town.

An Almanac is printed this year in Boston by Mr. John Foster, who was its author.

Aug. 7. A "terrible fire" broke out about the middle of the night of the seventh of August, and continued till near noon of the following day. "It began at one Gross' house, the sign of the Three Mariners, near the Dock. All the warehouses, and a great number of dwelling-houses, with the vessels then in the Dock, were consumed; the most woful desolation that Boston had ever seen."* The loss was supposed to have been 200,000 pounds. About eighty dwelling-houses and seventy warehouses were consumed. "Ah, Boston!" said Dr. Cotton Mather, in 1698, "thou hast seen the vanity of all worldly possessions. One fatal morning, which laid fourscore of thy dwelling-houses, and seventy of thy warehouses in a ruinous heap, not nineteen years ago, gave thee to read it in firey characters."†

This fire was declared to be the work of incendiaries; of "some wicked and malicious wretches, which half ruined the whole Colony."‡ So fierce were its ravages, that all land-marks were obliterated in several

remark, that the Isles of Shoals gave more than Salem, Kittery as much as Lynn, Ipswich more than Charlestown, Hull as much as Andover, or Gloucester, or Topsfield, or Salisbury.

* Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 349.

† *Magnalia*, i. 104, new edition. Bishop, in his *New England Judged*, p. 195, taunts Dr. Mather, by citing the above, and other passages from his work, as fulfilments of Quaker prophecies.

‡ Hubbard, *Hist. New Eng.*, 649. — In the *Colony Records*, we read, p. 242, "Oct. 18, 1679. Whereas, the persons hereafter named are under vehement suspicion of attempting to burn the Town of Boston, and some of their endeavors prevailed to the burning of one house, and only by God's providence prevented from further damage: the Court doth order that Edward Creeke, and Deborah, his wife, Hepzibah Codman, John Avis, John Easte, Samuel Doggett, Wm. Penny, Richard Heath, Sypron Jarman, and James Dennis, shall depart the Jurisdiction and never return, and be kept in prison until ready for their departure."—*Snow.*

places, and considerable trouble was experienced in fixing the bounds of estates. But rebuilding the burnt district went on with such rapidity, that lumber could not be had fast enough for the purpose, and an attempt was made to prohibit its exportation for a period. One of the buildings erected upon the ruins is standing at this day, at the corner of North * Street and Dock Square. It was erected in 1680, a view of which will be seen a few pages onward. Like most other buildings erected at that time, probably, it was plastered outside with a cement of the most durable character, said to have been composed in part of gravel, sand, and broken glass; two stories high, with very steep roof, about equal in height to two thirds of both stories. Although it is viewed at this day as a strange piece of antiquity, it was, in its day, among the elegant structures of the town. The timber used then, for sills, posts, and beams, was generally oak. In the gable end of the roof fronting the Square, the figures marking the date of its erection, 1680, are still to be seen in good preservation; nor are the ornamental crosses, and other figures wrought in the cement, entirely obliterated. It has long been the property of the Greenleaf family. It was once the residence of two respectable families, and then, as now, two stores occupied the lower story. One of these was the principal apothecary shop of the town for many years.

This fire and other evils were considered to have been a dispensation of Providence for the sins of the people.

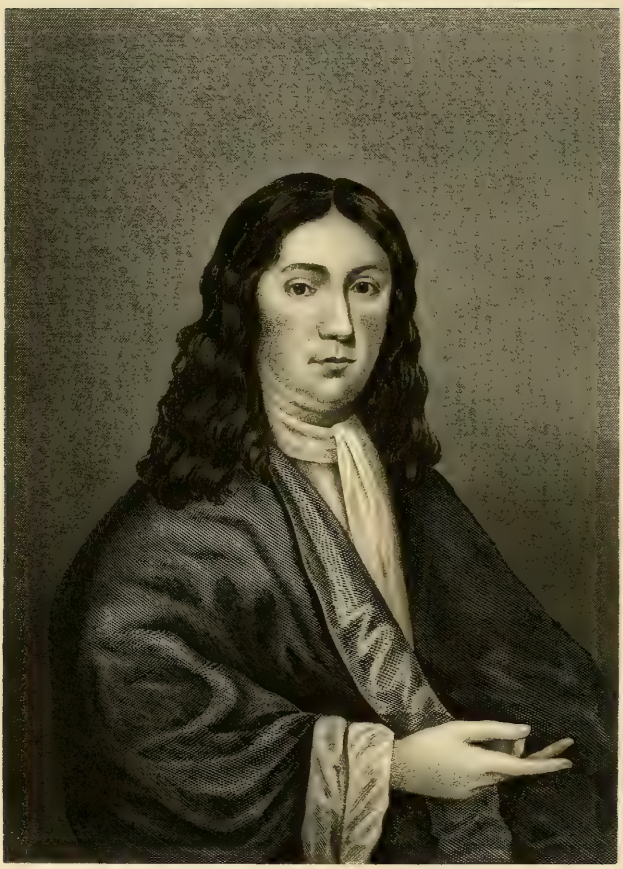
Sept. 10. A Synod met at Boston, agreeably to the appointment of the General Court. It was called "upon a motion of Mr. Increase Mather, in conjunction with others excited by him for it, to consider, What are the evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his judgments on New England? And what is to be done, that so those evils may be reformed?"†

The same Court which called the Synod, kept a Fast on the twenty-eighth of May, for the sickness in many towns, which was very mortal; and because of "doubtful expectation as to great concernments." A law was passed against erecting meeting-houses without leave of the County Courts, under the penalty of forfeiture of house and land. This was specially intended as a warning to Baptists and Quakers. But the times had become so much changed, that such a law could not be very well enforced, and the Baptists proceeded in the erection of their meeting-house, though they had to do so, at first, under pretences that it was private property, and for other purposes than to preach in.‡ But, owing to the law above mentioned, they did not dare to meet in their house but a few times for several months after it was finished. How-

* Recently Ann Street. When will this changing of names of streets cease? It causes great confusion, and should not be done, for the gratification of idle innovation, as is sometimes evidently the case.

† *Remarkables* in the life of Dr. I. Mather, 84, 85.

‡ "Feb. 9th, the Church met, and purchased their Meeting-house with the land it was built upon, of Philip Squire, and Ellis Callender, for £60, and they met in it for worship the 15th." This being before the new law was made, was one cause of its being made. See *Backus*, i. 481.



JOSEPH DUDLEY.

ever, Charles Second wrote to the Authorities of Boston, requiring them not to molest people in their worship, who were of the Protestant faith, and directing that liberty of conscience should be extended to all such. This letter was dated on the twenty-fourth of July. It had some effect on the Rulers; but they had become so accustomed to what they called interference from England, and at the same time so successful in evading it, that to stop now seemed, to the majority of the people, as well as Rulers, not only cowardly, but an unworthy relinquishment of privileges which they had always enjoyed, and which they were at all times ready to assert were guaranteed to them in their Charter. To assert the latter was a very easy thing, while it was a very hard thing, as they very well knew, for those opposed to their assumptions in England to settle any matter to be contested by the Charter, as all former experience proved. However, there was a point beyond which even Bostonians could not go. Charles II. sat quietly on the English throne, and doubtless knew little about New England, and cared less, until moved by those who could gain access to him.



FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH.*

After the destructive fire of 1679, the Town took great pains to prevent

* This view of the First Baptist Church represents the edifice as it appeared when it was used by that Society in its last years. Its site, being valuable for stores, was sold in 1853, and the old building is now (1854) being turned into places of trade, while the proceeds of its sale have enabled the Society to rear the most conspicuous spire in the city upon the east point of Beacon Hill, where it affords a view of the city and surrounding country, not surpassed, if equalled, by any other. To such an *eminence* has that Church attained, whose foundation was obliged to be clandestinely laid by its original founders. The present grand and lofty steeple will, it is hoped, long stand, not only an ornament to the city, but as a beacon for the intolerant. It should be stated that the first house was of wood, and stood very near where those which have succeeded it stood, now the corner of Hanover and Union streets. In 1771, the Society had so much increased that a larger house became necessary. The old (first) one was taken down, and a new one erected, 57 feet long by 53 feet wide. This was dedicated on the 22d of December of that year, Dr. Stillman officiating. In 1791, the house was enlarged, being now 57 by 77 feet.

Since the preceding part of my work was printed, I have had access, through the politeness of Mr. HAVEN, Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, to a MS. diary kept by Capt. John Hull. In that I find a few facts relating to the "Anabaptists," not elsewhere noticed. He mentions the "publique disput [April 14, 15, 1668] betweene 6 off o^{r} ministers and a company" of them "in Boston meetinghouse"; that they had been "severall tymes admonished by the Cor^{t} not to permit the administration of the seals, but charged to hear the word in some of the publique congregations; but they would not obey"; that, "in the publique dispute they behaved themselves exceeding obstinately, absurdly, and ignorantly"; that when, on May 4th, "Gould, Turner, and Farnham" were called before the Court, and "asked whether, affter all paines taken to convince them of their evills, they would lay down their assemblings, and cease profaining the holy ordenances, the supper and baptisme; but with greate obstinacy they professed themselves bound to continue in their way, and were ready to seal to it with their blood." Under date 1674, Mr. Hull writes, "This sum̃er, the Anabaptists y^{t} were wont to meet at Noddle's Iland met at Boston on y^{e} Lord's day. One Mr. Symond Lind letteth one of them an house which was formerly Mr. Ruck's." "Some of the Magistrates will not permit any punishment to be inflicted on heretiks as such." In another place, Mr. Hull deplores this lenity in the Government. He speaks of the death of Mr. "John Russell (21 Dec., 1681), a preacher to the Anabaptists, after a pamphlet of his, in excuse of y^{m}selves, accusing y^{e} ch^{s} heer of persecution." Of this pamphlet I have seen but one copy.

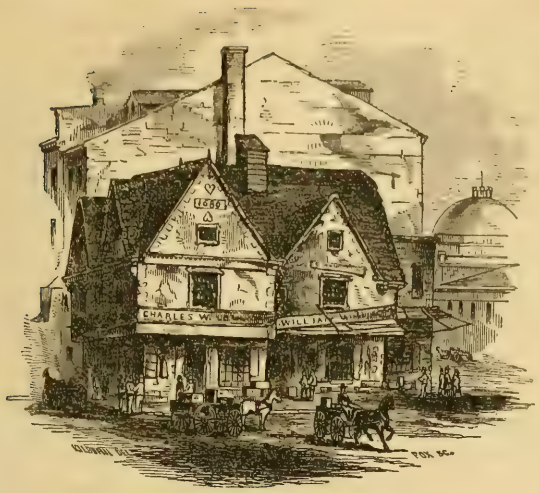
fires for the future. At a Town-meeting, ten days after the fire of the
Aug. 18. eighth of August, Capt. James Oliver was chosen Commissioner, and Mr. Nathaniel Barnes, Clerk of the Writs. A committee was appointed to join with the Select-men, to consider what might be done "for the safety of the Town and preventing fire." This committee consisted of Capt. John Richards, Dr. Elisha Cooke, Capt. John Walley, Capt. Daniel Henchman, Mr. James Whetcombe, and Mr. John Usher. Soon after, it was ordered that the eight foot com-
Aug. 29. panies should constitute the Watch of the Town, "each in their own quarters or wards." The number of men to be detailed from each company for the service was thus stated: — From Maj. Thomas Clarke's, six; from Maj. Thomas Savage's, six; Capt. James Oliver's, five; Capt. William Hudson's, six, "and two at the powder store;" Capt. Daniel Henchman's, five; Capt. John Richards', six; Capt. John Hull's, five, and one at the powder store; and of Capt. Humphrey Davis', five. It was at the same time ordered that the Town should be divided into four quarters, each to consist of two wards; that in each quarter four barrels of powder should be lodged, six hand engines, and two crooks in each ward. The care of the north quarter, containing Maj. Clarke's and Capt. Richards' companies, was committed to Maj. Clarke, Capt. Richards, Capt. Elisha Hutchinson, and Capt. Henchman. The Conduit quarter, containing Maj. Savage's and Capt. Henchman's company, to Mr. William Taylor, Lieut. Daniel Turill, Mr. Christopher Clarke, and Lieut. Anthony Checkley. The centre quarter, containing Capt. Oliver's and Capt. Davis' companies, to Maj. Thomas Savage, Mr. Anthony Stoddard, Capt. Thomas Brattle, and Mr. Elisha Cooke. The south quarter, containing Capt. Hudson's and Capt. Hull's companies, Mr. John Joyliffe, Capt. John Hull, Capt. John Faireweather, and Capt. John Walley.

In case of fire, these persons, or any two of them, were empowered to blow up or pull down houses. "Mr. Isacke Addington and Mr. John Joyliffe to p^{r}vse and put the foregoing in a right methode fit for press, together with all former orders relating to fire."

Sept. 9. It was further ordered, that in every quarter of the Town there should be provided, at the Town's charge, twenty buckets, twenty swabs, two scoops, and six axes; that sixteen men, two out of each company, "doe ward in y^{e} Towne euery Sabbath day, one of w^{ch} is to be on y^{e} top of each meetinghouse, to look abroad for preuenting spreading of fire y^{t} may break out."

At the same time the Town took measures to be allowed to send Deputies to the General Court, on equal terms with the other towns. It justly complained that it was denied its proper representation.*

* Towns then having "above 10 freemen could send one deputy, and if 20 freemen, two," and no town to be allowed more. Hence it was argued that all the freemen except 20 had no representation; and that a town with but 20 freemen had as much weight in the Government as "our greate Towne, y^{t} consists of neere 20 times 20 freemen"; who, though not represented, bore their full share of public charges. The Town succeeded in having one representative more, in 1681. This continued until the vacation of the Charter.



OLD STORE, DOCK SQUARE.

Boston at this period contained about 400 freemen, though the taxable polls the next year were about 868. The estates were valued at about £23,877; each pound was rated at one penny, and the polls paid twenty pence each.

Francis Hudson was to pay eight pounds rent for the Ferry to "Wenesemet," and to transport the Magistrates free, "according to former custom."

Eliakim Hutchinson to have the reversion of part of the Dock, at ten shillings a year. Mr. John Woodmansey on the north, and Edward Shippen on the south.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Renewal of Complaints in England. — The King orders Agents to be sent to answer. — Agents appointed. — Fires. — Ships taken by the Algerines. — Bakers. — Severe Punishment. — Agents return without success. — Others ordered by the King. — The King's Arms set up in the Court House. — A Synod. — Philosophical Society of Boston. — Another Synod. — Purchase of Maine. — A Government established there. — Agency of Randolph. — A Case of Witchcraft. — Trial and Condemnation of Elizabeth Morse. — Arrival of Lord Culpeper. — Death of Mr. Rainsford. — Fire. — Another. — Curious Punishments. — Randolph leaves. — Charles II. — His want of Sagacity. — Randolph comes again. — His Authority thwarted. — The high Threat of the King against the Charter. — Town Affairs.



WHEELWRIGHT.*

THOSE who had considered themselves wronged by the proceedings of Massachusetts, would very naturally take the first opportunity which might offer to regain their rights. Of the number of those aggrieved, were Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason. The nature of their complaints has, at least that of Gorges (and that of Mason was similar), been explained in the previous part of this history. The time had now
1676. arrived for something more than a hearing of those complaints. The King sent a letter "To the Governor and Magistrates of the Town of Boston," dated March the tenth, 1675–6, "commanding that Agents should be

* This engraving of the arms of Wheelwright is copied from the tombstone of "John Wheelwright, 1740," to be seen in the King's Chapel burying-ground. This John Wheelwright I take to be the same mentioned *ante*, p. 339, a grandson of the Rev. John W., the

sent over to appear before him in six months after the receipt of his letter," to answer the charges against the Colony. Edward Randolph, Esquire, brought the King's letter to Boston about three months after its date. The Governor summoned a Court, which met on the ninth of August following, at which meeting it was resolved that "the most expedient way of making answer unto the complaints of Mr. Gorges and Mr. Mason, about the extent of their Patent line," was by Agents; "provided they were, with the utmost care and caution, qualified as to their instructions, by and according to which they may negotiate that affair with safety unto the Country, and with all duty and loyalty unto his Majesty, in the preservation of our Patent liberties."

Aug. 9.

Agreeably to this decision, Mr. William Stoughton and Mr. Peter Bulkley were appointed to proceed to England as Agents of the Colony, and they proceeded accordingly, in the end of the following October. Mr. Stoughton was son of Capt. Israel Stoughton, mentioned in the account of the war with the Pequots. Mr. Bulkley was son of the Rev. Peter Bulkley, the first minister of Concord, and was this year Speaker of the House of Deputies. It is sufficient here to observe, that the Agents were unsuccessful in opposing the claims of Gorges and Mason. After being detained in England three years, they arrived in Boston near the end of December, 1679, bringing with them a letter from the King, requiring other Agents to be sent over.*

Oct. 30.

1679. Dec. 23.

The Town was often infested by incendiaries. A fire was discovered under Capt. Benjamin Gillum's warehouse in time to prevent its doing much mischief. About midnight of the next day the ale-house of Clement Grose was set on fire. This was also extinguished before it did material damage. The great fire of the eighth of August of this year has before been noticed.†

May 8.

May 9.

founder of Exeter. Concerning the death of the latter, I observe Mr. Hull in his Diary differs from others, recording it 22 Nov., 1679; and his age he gives, 85. — John Wheelwright, merchant of Boston, made his will 10 Aug., 1751. He died, as before noted, in 1760, a. 71. His will was proved 31 Oct., 1760. — "To son Jeremiah, land near Beacon Hill, which came to me by his mother; £700 to be held in trust by Joseph Green and Nicholas Boylston, both of Boston, merchants, the interest of which at 6 per cent. to be paid quarterly to son Jeremiah, and at his death to his children, if he leaves any, if not, then to sons Nathaniel and Joseph, and my grand-daughter, Mary Wheelwright; to the poor of the First Church of which I am a member, £14; to daughter-in-law Elizabeth Weeks, £66,13s. 4d., with a handsome suit of mourning, in full satisfaction of certain Articles made before my marriage with her mother. Residue of estate, half to son Nathaniel, the other half to son Joseph and grand-daughter Mary; Joseph and Mary not of age."— The Hon. John Wheelwright died at Wells, Me., 13 Aug., 1745, a. 81.

* The same letter required "That freedom and liberty of conscience be given to such persons as desire to serve God in the way of the Church of England, so as not to be thereby made obnoxious, or discountenanced from their sharing in the government, much less that they, or any other of his Majesty's subjects (not being Papists) who do not agree in the congregational way, be by law subjected to fines or forfeitures, or other incapacities."— Hutchinson, i. 326.

† Concerning that fire Capt. Hull says, "About midnight began a fyre in an alehouse, which by sunrise consumed the body of the trading part of the Towne; from the Mill-creek to Mr. Oliver's dock, not one house nor warehouse left; and vp from my warehouse to Mrs. Leveret's, thence to Mr. Hez. Usher's, thence to Mrs. Thacher's, thence to Thomas Fitche's." Another contemporary MS. account adds that the number of houses burnt was 77, and of

About a month after that extensive conflagration, the Town was greatly alarmed by the cry of fire, about ten o'clock on a Sabbath morning, while most of the people were at meeting. It took in the garret of Lieut. Edward Creek's house, but fortunately no other house except that was destroyed.

Sept. 7.

Among other misfortunes of this year, news was received in December, that Mr. William Condy, in a ship bound from Boston to London, had been taken by the Algerines. Other captures of Boston ships by the corsairs of that nation are from time to time mentioned, the crews of which were carried into a cruel captivity. Some were ransomed at great expense, while many died in bondage.

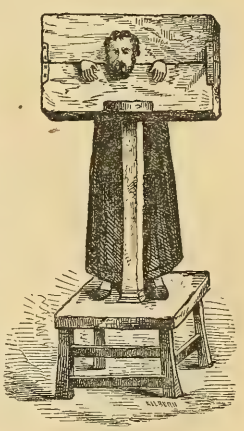
"The loaf bread bakers in Boston," at this time, were John Man, Thomas Skinner, William Hoar, and George Danson. "By reason of y^e^ deffect of y^e^ assize given in y^e^ lawe," they petitioned the General Court for relief from an "intollerable burden." They observe that their calling is a lawful one, to learn which they had "serued long and hard apprenticeships," and add, "wee conceeue we haue a just right to liue of it." The price of grain was regulated by law, and the price and weight of loaves of bread, also. If in times of scarcity the price of grain was enhanced without a corresponding rise of bread, it was a misfortune to bakers, if they were obliged to keep to their old prices.

Oct. 29.

Meanwhile the General Court took some measures to stand better in England than it had hitherto stood. Supplicating and submissive addresses were sent to the King; a law was passed making treason a capital offence, and the King's arms were put up in the court house. But the laws of England regulating trade were entirely disregarded; alleging as a reason, "that the acts of navigation were an invasion of the rights and privileges of the subjects of his Majesty's Colony, they not being represented in Parliament." This doctrine gained strength through the next hundred years, and was successfully maintained when hostilities commenced at Lexington and Bunker's Hill.

warehouses, 35. By another MS. record, it appears that, at the Court of Assistants, held on the 2d Sept. following, one Peter Lorphelin, a Frenchman, was accused of uttering "rash and insulting speeches in the time of the late conflagration, thereby rendering himself justly suspicious of having a hand therein, was seized and committed to the Goale in Boston;" his chest and writings were examined. In his chest were found two or three "crusables, a melting pan, a strong pair of shears to clip money, and seuerall clippings of the Massachusets money, and some other instruments." He denied having ever made any use of these things, but said they were given him by a privateer. But, on being remanded to jail, he made up another story, by which he hoped to clear himself. All, however, to no purpose. He was "sentenced to stand two hours in the Pillory, have both ears cut off, give bond of £500 (with two sureties), pay charges of prosecution, fees of Court, and to stand committed till the sentence be performed."

The annexed engraving represents an ordinary constructed Pillory of the time. Drawings of such implements were rarely made in New England in those days. — See Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, iii., 55.



PILLORY.

May. The same year, on a recommendation of the General Court, a Synod of all the churches in the Colony was convened in Boston, to see if, by its direction, the Country could be got out of its present difficulties. Accordingly, two very important questions were propounded to this body:—"First. What are the reasons that have provoked the Lord to bring his judgements upon New England? Second. What is to be done, that so these evils may be removed?" * This was called "the Reforming Synod, whereof Mr. Increase Mather," according to his son, "was esteemed a great part." †. And, in this connection, it may be mentioned, that, about this time, Mr. Mather formed a Philosophical Society in Boston, which consisted "of agreeable gentlemen, who met once a fortnight for a conference upon improvements in Philosophy and additions to the stores of Natural History. But the calamity of the times anon gave a fatal and a total interruption to this generous undertaking." ‡

1680. May 12. Another Synod was convened in May of the following year Its object was, doubtless, for effect in England. Some act was thought necessary, probably, by which an impression might be received there, that the church government in New England was tolerant, or in conformity to the English Church. § Dr. Increase Mather presided at this Synod, "and he kept them so close to their business, that in two days they dispatch'd it." A Confession of Faith was agreed upon, which was issued with a preface by the Chairman of the Synod. ‖ If the action of this Synod was intended to produce an impression in England favorable to Boston, the movers of it were disappointed.

During these passages the King restored the Province of Maine to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and the Government of Massachusetts "slily" ¶ purchased it of him immediately after, and continued its jurisdiction over it. This very much displeased the king, and he required its surrender; tendering the price paid for it, which was twelve hundred pounds. The king's displeasure was farther increased, because the General Court seemed not to assent to or even notice his demand. Charles' lawyers had told him that the Boston people had no right to exercise government over the purchased territory, because their purchase gave them no such right, in the first place; and, in the second

* Hutchinson, i. 324.

† *Remarkables of* Dr. I. Mather, 81.

‡ "One that had a share in that combination, and is now a Fellow of the ROYAL SOCIETY in London, and afterwards transmitted communications thither." The "one that had a share," was doubtless the writer, Dr. Cotton Mather. This ought to silence those who pretend that he was not a member of the Royal Society. — See *Remarkables*, 86.

§ My opinion here expressed is not inconsistent with a passage in a work written purposely to defend the conduct of the Bostonians. It is entitled *New England Justified*, and was published in 1691. The passage is in these words: — "There are none in the world that do more fully concur with the doctrine of the Church of England contained in the Thirty-nine Articles, than do the Churches in New England, as is manifest from the Confession of their Faith, published in the year 1680." — Page 5.

‖ Grindal Rawson afterwards translated it into Indian, and published it for the use of the Natives in 1699.

¶ This is according to Chalmers, *Political Annals*, 397. Thus insinuating that a question as to honorable dealing might arise.

place, Sir Ferdinando Gorges could not sell or convey any right of government.

A deep game was to be played, and though the parties to it were widely separated, it was managed dexterously and with great skill on this side of the Atlantic, while a steady determination was apparent on the other side. Fully to cover its pretensions, the Government at Boston appointed a Governor and Deputy Governor for Maine. They sailed from Boston for Casco Bay in August, with a small armament, consisting of a ship and a sloop, with sixty soldiers, "to still the people there, and prevent Governor Andros' usurpations." * Thus a government was established in Maine, which was kept up until the Charter of Massachusetts was finally abrogated. This event was much hastened by the agency of Edward Randolph. He often passed from New England † to old England, in the employ of the government of the latter. This individual was placed in no enviable position. The people of Boston viewed him as a spy upon their actions, and, although he may not have gone much beyond the line of his duty, it would have been much better for his reputation had he possessed wisdom enough to have avoided such a duty. He had been appointed Collector, Surveyor and Searcher in New England. It is sufficient to observe that he could not execute his offices, owing to obstructions thrown in his way at every step by the people.

At the very time of the agitation occasioned by the interference of the Government in England with the affairs in Boston, there was a case of Witchcraft to be decided, which occupied the solemn attention of the highest tribunal.

* Hutchinson, i. 329 ; Chalmers, 397. Mr. Thomas Danforth was the Governor or President. The Deputy President belonged to Maine. The first was Brian Pendleton.—Williamson, *Hist. Maine*, i. 558.

† "He brought over a commission to divers persons, himself at the head of them, to administer an oath to the Governor, faithfully to execute the oath required by the act of trade." Mr. Leverett, then Governor, did not take the oath. The Commissioners were Edward Randolph, Thomas Savage, William Taylor, George Curwin the elder, Thomas Brattle, Thomas Deane, James Whetcomb, Richard Wharton, John Richards, Humphrey Warren, Thomas Kellond, John Hubbard, Humphrey Davy, and Samuel Mosely, together with the members of the Council for the time being.—*Hutchinson*. Randolph came first to Boston in 1676, arriving only fourteen days before the war with the Indians broke out. He says himself that he sailed from the Downes on the 30th of March, and landed in Boston "after a tedious passage of 10 weeks." On landing, he says, "I went immediately to the Governor, John Leveret, and told him I had a letter from the King to the Magistrates. The Governor said there would be a meeting of the Council in the afternoon upon other business, and that then I should be sent for ; as I was, by the Marshall of their Court ; there being 6 of the Magistrates and their Secretary ; and there being a chaire placed purposely for me, I was desired by the Governor to sitt." On opening the King's letter, the Governor observed to the Magistrates that it was from his Majesty ; "and on looking to the bottom of the letter, he read, '*by his Majesties command.* Hen. Coventry.' The Governor asked me 'Who that Mr. Coventry was?' I told him he was your Majesties principall Secretary of State. At the beginning of the reading of his Majesties letter the whole Councill being uncovered, I put off my hat ; whereupon three of the Magistrates tooke off their hats, but the Governor with the rest continued to keep their hats on."—*Report to the King in Hutchinson's Coll. O. Papers*, 503–4.

In some minutes which Randolph kept, he says, "17 Dec. 1681, I arriued againe att Boston, with his Majesty's Commission, appointing me Collector, &c., but that Commission is opposed, being looked upon as an incroachment on their Charter. A law revived by the Assembly *to trye me for my life, for acting by his Majesty's Commission, before it was allowed of by them.*"—*Hist. King's Chapel*, p. 13.—Something to the same purpose may be seen in *Hutchinson*, i. 336.

The person complained of was a resident of Newbury, named Elizabeth, wife of William Morse.* She and her husband were elderly people,† and, for anything that can now be adduced to the contrary, had lead irreproachable lives, and were remarkable for nothing but great simplicity of character. Complaint was made against her the preceding year, and she underwent a tedious examination before Mr. John Woodbridge, who returned his proceeding to the Court at Boston.

March 6. The Court, having considered the testimony, issued its warrant for her commitment to the jail in Ipswich, which was executed.‡ The time for her trial was fixed on the twentieth of May, and Secretary Rawson ordered the Constable of Newbury, "Joseph Pyke," to summon the witnesses to appear in Boston, at the time specified. §

May 26. The prisoner being brought to the bar, the Court considered the question, "Whether seuerall distinct single testimonyes of preternatural and diabolicall actions by the prisoner at the barr, though not any two concurring to prooue the same individuall act, is to be accounted legall euidence to conuict of witchcraft. This was resolued on the affirmative by y^e^ Court."

The question being thus settled, the cause proceeded. She was convicted by a jury, ‖ and sentenced to be hanged. The magistrates, however, probably through the influence of Governor Bradstreet, voted a reprieve till the fall term of the Court. This was not agreeable to the Deputies, but the reprieve was granted. Mrs. Morse ¶ remained a

* Mr. Coffin, in his valuable History of Newbury, gave all he could discover relative to this case of Witchcraft. What I am about to detail are chiefly additional facts.

† In the testimony of William Morse and his wife about the "vehemently dashing of potts one against the other, hanging over the fire, the andiron leaping into the pott, dancing there, and then leaping out again" and divers other things equally strange, it is said, that, "together with his wife aged both about 65 yeeres."—Coffin, *Hist. Newbury*, 131.

‡ The original warrant, now before me, runs thus:—"To Joseph Pyke, Constable of Newbery. In his Maj^tie^ name, you are required to seaze on the person of Elisabeth Morse, the wife of William Morse, and hir forthwith safely convey and deliuer hir to the keeper of the prison at Ipswich, by him safely to be kept till the Court of Assistants, on its adjournment to the 20^th^ of May next, who will give farther order, she being presented and left by the Grand Jury for tryall as to witchcraft, and hereof you are not to fail. Dated in Boston: from the 6th of March, 1679 [1679-80.] By the Court.

Edward Rawson, Secret^y^."

By Pike's endorsement it appears that he delivered his prisoner to the jailer in Ipswich, April 2d.

§ These are the names of the witnesses, as contained in the original warrant:—"Caleb Moody (42), Wm. Chandler, John Glading, James Broune (32), Joanna Broune, Benjamin Richardson (21), Wm. Card, Joseph Bayly, Zackery Dauis, Jonathan Hajnes, John Mihil (44), Joshua Richardson, Susanna Goodwin, John Chase, John Ordeway, Wm. Faning (36), Jonathan Woodman, Benjamin Lowle, Elisabeth Titcomb (50), Peniel Tytcome, Lyddia Tytcom, Dauid Wheeler (55), Wm. Morse, and John Styles."—In the Constable's return, endorsed upon the back of the warrant, several of the above names are differently spelled; as Bayle, Haynes, Mighell, Stilse, and a few others. "An Ordway" was returned instead of John. All those summoned did not appear to testify, probably, and to several of their depositions no age is attached. The following appeared and testified, for whose presence I find no summons:—Mrs. Jane Sewall (54), Margett Mirack (56), Jno. March (22), Esther Willson (28), Susan Topan, and Robert Earle (45).

‖ These were the jurors:—"Mr. Richard Midlecott, Mr. Jeremiah Cushin, Mr. John Wait, Left. Rich^d^. Waye, and Mr. Thos. Harrod, Boston.—John Stone, Richard Child, Watertown.—Mr. Nathan Heyman, and Mr. John Knite, Charlestown.—Bro. John Green, and Rich^d^. Robins, Cambridge.—Jacob Hven and John Capen, Dorchester."

¶ Her humble station in life allowed only of her being called Gooddy, or Goodwife.

prisoner in a wretched jail in Boston, through the heat of summer, and perhaps the following winter, and finally escaped being put to death, as appears by records of the ensuing year.*

The testimony upon which Gooddy Morse was convicted, so far as appears from the depositions extant, was as worthless and puerile as can possibly be conceived of by the most fruitful imagination.† Such, in these days, could not come within the hearing of contempt, nor would similar evidence be of a pin's weight in an action for the recovery of a fraction of a dollar.

While Mrs. Morse lay in prison, in Boston, her husband petitioned several times in her favor; chiefly to explain away some of the charges upon which she was condemned, and, as might be expected, the explanations were about equal, in depth of understanding, to the charges.‡

June 4. There was one, however, of a different character. This prayed for an alleviation of her sufferings, and cannot be read without exciting emotions of pity, mixed with indignation.§

Aug. 24. "Thomas Lord Culpeper, Baron of Thorsway, Governor of Virginia, arrived in Boston." ‖ It may not be out of place to state here, that, although that gentleman came to Boston apparently by accident, yet he made many close observations relative to the condition of the country, both regarding its government and wealth. Afterwards, when Mr. Randolph communicated his written report ¶ of

* For which see *Hist. of Newbury*.

† Thomas Knolton, the jailer at Ipswich, testified that when he brought the prisoner down to Boston, she told him "she was as clear of the accusation as God in heaven." For this expression she was threatened with an action for blasphemy; and it may have influenced the jury, that as witchcraft and blasphemy were very nearly related, the latter was as bad as the former, and hence their verdict. Knolton further testified: — "As I brought goody Morse down, she owned to me that she stroakt goodwife Ordeway's child over the head, when it was sick, and the child dyed."

‡ For which see *Hist. of Newbury*.

§ As it is not contained in the *Hist. of Newbury*, and being brief, it is here presented: —"To the Hono^{rble}: Gov^{r}. and Council now sitting in Boston, June 4th. 1680. The petition of Wm. Morse Humbly sheweth: — That whereas his deare wife was by one jury found guilty of witchcraft, & by the hono^{rble} Court condemned to dye, yett since God hath beene pleased to move yo^{r} honor^{s} harts to grant her a reprieve untill October next, yo^{r} petition^{r} humbly prays that yo^{r} hono^{rs} will be pleasd to shew her so much pitty as to grant her liberty in the day time to walk in the prison yard, and to y^{e} prison house; and that in the night shee may haue the priviledge of a chamber in the common goale, and be freed from the dungeon w^{ch} is extreame close and hott in this season, and also liberty on the Sabbath to goe to meeting — he and his children giving security for her safe imprisonment: — So shall he be ever obliged to pray as in duty bound, &c.

Wm. Mosse."

This petition is in the beautiful chirography of Mr. Isaac Addington, and the signature of the petitioner is well executed. It shows how he spelled his name, at least at that time. Whether the requests in the petition were complied with or not, I have met with nothing to show.

‖ Judge Sewall, *Interl. Almanack*. He was probably of the same family of the famous author of the Herbal, who was grandson of a Sir Thomas Culpeper. The Herbalist died in 1654. Our Lord Culpeper married Margaret, youngest dau. and coheir of Seign^{r}. Jean de Hesse, of the noble family of Hesse of Bergen. His dau. Catharine married Thomas, fifth Lord Fairfax. She heired the estates in Virginia.

¶ Printed in Hutchinson's *Col. of Orig. Papers*, 447–513. Hutchinson considers it full of exaggerations, but he does not doubt its authenticity, as might be inferred from what Chalmers, p. 438, says. The meaning of the latter unquestionably is, that Hutchinson only doubted the correctness of many of the statements. The Report, or "Narrative," as it is termed, states that, "There are about 30 Merchants worth from £10 to £20,000." That "there are no servants but upon hired wages, except some few who serve four yeares for the charge of being transported thither; and not above 200 slaves in the Colony, and those are brought from Guinea and Madagascar." Hutchinson remarks nothing against the cor-

the state of the Country to the "Lords of the Committee of Colonies," they, owing to its extraordinary developments, were led to doubt its general accuracy; and, knowing that Lord Culpeper had visited Boston, they applied to him for his opinion upon the correctness of its statements. He answered, that he had perused Mr. Randolph's writings, and that, during his stay in Boston, he "did hear most of the matters of fact specified therein." He also added that the coinage of money here was very prejudicial to the King's subjects.

1681. Aug.

Thus, notwithstanding Lord Culpeper was treated with many attentions and much respect, he finally bore witness against the Country. Although it is said "he came privately into Boston," yet the next day he had a public dinner given him in the Townhouse, and the eight military companies were in attendance.* After a stay of about eight weeks, he sailed for England. Sir Edmund Andros came to town soon after, to see his Lordship, as was supposed, and was, of course, disappointed. He remained about a week, and, on leaving for New York, was escorted by the military of the town as far as Dedham.

Aug. 16. "Elder Edward Rainsford dyed; being old and full of dayes." He came early to Boston, was admitted a freeman in the beginning of the year 1637; was the first ruling elder of the Old South Church.† The noted island in the harbor bearing the name of Rainsford perpetuates his memory. He was always one of the substantial men of the Town, and is often mentioned in its history. He was a brother of Sir Richard Rainsford, who succeeded Sir Matthew Hale, as Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. In the religious controversy of 1637, he was on the side of Mrs. Hutchinson, and was one of those at that time disarmed.

Sept. 19. "About four aclock in the after noon, being Sunday, a fyre was discovered in the top of the old Meetinghouse, in the upermost private room wher the clock stood." The damage sustained is not mentioned.

Dec. 28. "About half an hour past 3 aclock in the morning Mr. Samson Sheaff's house fell on fyre, by some neglect within. Some of them were forced to leape out of their chamber window, yet all their liues preserued.‡ Two other houses were burned with it, and one blown vp." The same morning, about half an hour later, "Mr. Nicholas Page, his ship lieing at Capt. Benjamin Gillum's wharfe, fell on firre, and was not mastered without much damage to the ship and loading, and to said Gillum's warehouse." One person

rectness of this, but when he comes to the following: — "There are men able to bear armes, between 30 and 40,000; and in the town of Boston is computed about 4000," he notes, "This is an extravagant computation."

* Capt. John Hull's *MS. Diary*.

† Hull's *Diary* and Hutch. *Hist.* Mr. Rainsford lived on the north side of the Cove, which bounded him on the south. Garret Bourne's land joined him on the west, David Offley's on the east. — *Book of Possessions.* On 22 : 12 : 1657, he hired of the Town a piece of ground "behind his garden by y^e^ water side, adjoyning his new dwelling house, being 36 foote at y^e^ end of his fence, 45 foote by Wm. Lane's fence, and towards y^e^ Marsh 16 foote."—*Town Records.*

‡ Nov. 28th, 1681, Goodman Dosset was allowed £50, "in rate pay, for blowinge vp his house when Mr. Sheafe's house was burnt."—*Town Records.* Perhaps the same John Dasset, who, in 1640, had lands "at the Mount."

"Jerinni [?] Mather was blowen into a cellar, and had his thigh broken and his head bruised."

At this period certain crimes were punished by fines, imprisonment, whipping, and standing in the broad aisle of the meeting-house upon a high stool, on a lecture day, having an inscription upon their heads, with their offence written upon it in large letters.*

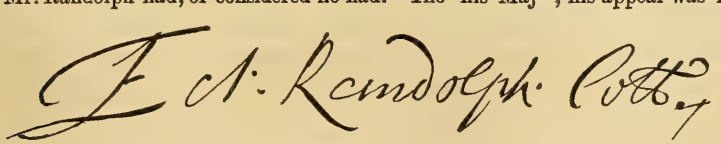
Mr. Randolph returned to England in the beginning of the year, and reported the state of affairs in Boston. He saw that his powers, however ample upon paper, availed him nothing, while physically he had no power at all. He was deprecated and stigmatized as one of the worst of men,† while his offences seem to have been only to perform a duty which he had unluckily undertaken. The people of Boston were determined to have things their own way as long as they could. They had hitherto succeeded in baffling the authority of the English government, sometimes by stratagem, and sometimes by the aid of fortunate accidents; and they still hoped the same course of things would continue.‡

It may seem a little strange that an armed force had not been sent over sufficient to put down opposition, and to have enabled the officers of the Crown to execute the laws. But this precaution was neglected

* Mr. Felt records a case of this kind in his Annals of Salem, p. 270, from "Q. Ct. R." Perhaps there is nothing in those Records further explaining the case than he has given, by which the crime committed appears to have been incest by two females!

† Dr. Cotton Mather is very bitter against him, — accuses him of forging a letter and signing his father's name to it, which letter was full of treasonable expressions; and that it was laid before the King, that the pretended author might suffer for it. "But," says the Doctor, "Randolph missed of his bloody purpose. Wretch! I shall have further occasion to mention thee."— *Remarkables*, 95.

‡ Mr. Randolph did not sail for England before 25 Dec., 1680, though Chalmers and Hutchinson state that he left towards the close of that year. A paper in his autograph, handed into Court, endorsed "Mr. Randolph's motion agt. Mr. Brock," is dated 25 Dec., 1680. In another paper, addressed "To the Hon^bl Gov^r and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New Eng^d, his Ma^ties Leiftn^t and Lord Proprietor of the Province of Maine," a specimen of his vexations is fully set forth. It is headed, "The Appeal of Edward Randolph, Esq^r, Collector, Surveyer, and Searcher of his Ma^ties Customs in New Eng^d, in behalf of his said Maij^tee, said Lord Proprietor, and said Edw^d Randolph." This gives a better idea than can be otherwise obtained, of the authority which Mr. Randolph had, or considered he had. The following paragraph or two will show the nature of his business. They are from the same paper [addressed to the Gov^r and C^o, &c.]: — "In answer to a letter from y^r Hon^d M^r Danforth, President of y^r said Province, directed to Major Pendleton and Maj. Davis, a Court was held at York, in y^r said Province, vpon y^e 4^th Novemb^r, 1680, for tryall of a cause arising vpon seizure of y^e Bark called the Guift of God, of Jarsey (as pretended), Eli Nichols [?], master, made by the said appellant whereat y^e s^d tryall: 1. An entry with Mr. Hook, of Kittery (not empowered to take entrys), was allowed valid; 2. A testimony of two saylers belonging to y^e s^d Bark taken before the said Mr. Hook many days after said pretended entry was made, was by the Court allowed and equivalent to such Certificate as is required by y^e act made in y^e 15^th year of the King for encouragement of trade to be produced by all masters coming into any of his Ma^ties said Plantations from Eng^d; 3. That witnesses and evidence for his Maj^tie were not permitted to be examined in open Court, but privately taken and conveyed to y^e jury without notice of said Court, or said Apellant. And that other testimony for his Maj^tie was rejected because the deponent had not taken the oath of allegiance in New England, but affirmed he had taken that oath in England; by which illegal practices the said Apellant was cast," &c. He further complains that "when he appealed to his Maj^tie, his appeal was rejected." A copy of Mr. Randolph's signature to the above paper is here subjoined.



till it was too late. The great sagacity of King Charles the Second is spoken of by many writers; but, however much he possessed of that important ingredient of character, it cannot be pretended that he discovered much of it in managing the affairs of New England. Year after year a determined opposition to his government was apparent; his Commissioners, one after another, had been thwarted, insulted, and obliged to return home in disgrace. Still, remonstrances only were sent over.

Dec. 17. In the end of the same year, Mr. Randolph returned again to Boston. What encouragement he had to incline him to suppose he should meet with better success than before, does not plainly appear. However, on laying his Commission before the General Court, while that body did not deny its validity, their manner was sufficiently indicative of a contempt for its bearer, which also betrayed their own embarrassment. He requested that the Government would second him in executing his Commission, but his request was unheeded. He then posted up an advertisement in the Town House notifying all persons of the establishment of his office. This was soon torn down by the Marshal, who acted under the direction of some influential members of the General Court. Well might the historian exclaim, as one actually did, on reviewing these transactions, "To what a state of degradation was a King of England reduced!" And, "How weak are the declarations of positive law when attempted to be exercised in opposition to the spirit of the people!"

What was the Country to expect when this renewed contempt of authority should be laid before the King? A fleet of men of war to bring it to its duty? Perhaps some expected this, but there came nothing but a letter of remonstrance, — a sharp one, it is true.* It embodied a long catalogue of "crimes and misdemeanors" of which New England in general, and Boston in particular, had been guilty. In his letter, the King, or his lawyers for him, refers to the treatment his Commissioners of 1665 received. Speaking in the first person plural, as is yet the custom of Kings, and addressing himself to the Government in Boston, he says, "No thing could prevail with you to let those Commissioners hear and determine those particular causes which we had commanded them to take care of. And in opposition to our authority, it was then proclaimed, by sound of trumpet, within our Town of Boston, that the General Court was the supreme judicature in that Province; and that the Commissioners pretending to hear appeals was a breach of your Charter; and a paper was also published by order of Court, to deter all persons from making any complaints and appeals unto them; and many of our subjects were also imprisoned for applying to our Commissioners." They were also reminded of having put people to death for conscience sake; that, instead of sending over Agents to give satisfaction, they had sent letters only, containing "some frivolous excuses" for not complying; that, instead of aiding Officers

* Dated October 21st, 1681.

of the Crown in doing their duty, they had allowed "attachments to be issued against them for doing their duty, thereby giving opportunity to irregular traders of compassing their frauds. That the said Officers, prosecuting offenders, have been forced to deposit money before any trial at law could be obtained, and have been obliged to pay costs after such trials." This was exactly the experience of Mr. Randolph, who, according to his own statement, suffered great losses by the obstructions thrown in his way by the people of Boston.

For "these and many other irregularities, crimes, and misdemeanors," the letter proceeds, "we are fully resolved, in Trinity term next ensuing, to direct our Attorney-general to bring a Quo Warranto in our court of King's bench, whereby our Charter granted unto you, with all the powers thereof, may be legally evicted and made void. And so we bid you farewell."

It must not be supposed that the whole country was for opposing the King. There were two parties then, similar to those which existed just previous to the Revolution of 1775. One party was rather violent, while the other was more moderate, and deemed it unwise to conduct so harshly in opposing the home government, and thought it claimed more under the Charter than that instrument authorized. All, however, agreed in the importance of their privileges under that instrument, while they differed as to their extent, and the means of defending them.

Deputy Governor Danforth, now President of Maine, was at the head of the first party, and the aged Governor Bradstreet was the leader of the more moderate party.*

* The question as to the expediency of choosing nine Select-men was considered at the Town-meeting, March 14th, 1680–1, and was postponed to the next meeting. Nathaniel Greenwood and John Meriam, Sen., were among the Select-men this year. Constables chosen were "Thomas Baker, Jr., Mr. Paul Dudley, Mr. Steeph. Burton, Mr. Edward Raynsford, Mr. Addam Winthrop, Mr. John Hebert, Mr. Giles Dyer, Mr. Joseph Pincheon." Mr. Dudley and Mr. "Hobert" paid a fine of £10 each. Mr. Winthrop refused to serve, and Mr. Pincheon "desired time to consider of it, if he could not acquit himself by law." Whether the office was getting into disrepute, or why those gentlemen declined the service, does not appear. However, "Mr. John Hawood, Joseph Homes, and Joseph Pearce, tayl^{r}," were elected in their stead, and Joseph White for Muddy River, John Flood for Rumney Marsh. "John Skarlet and Rowland Storey, Water Bayliffes. — March 16th, Elisha Cooke, Mr. Isack Addington, and Mr. Sam^{ll} Seywell" [Sewall] were appointed a committee in aid of a certain Petition to be presented to the General Court by the Freemen.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Agents again sent to England. — Do not succeed. — Quo Warranto threatened. — A Custom-house. — Cranfield in Boston. — Agents return in Disgrace. — Quo Warranto brought over. — Town Meeting upon it. — Speech of Mr. I. Mather. — Charter vacated. — Great Fire. — Death of Thomas Brattle — of John Hull. — Militia divided into four Companies. — Charles Second proclaimed. — Number of Ships arrive in a year. — New order about Freemen. — Serious Accident. — Death of Mr. Freake and others. — Death of Thomas Clarke. — Scotch Charitable Society. — Indian Deed of Boston. — Death of the King. — James Second reluctantly proclaimed. — Kirk appointed Governor.



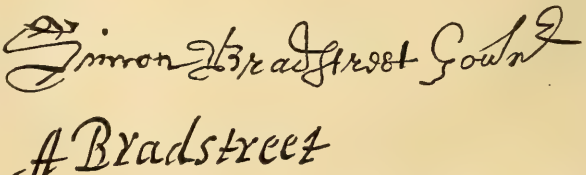
BRADSTREET.*

THE threatening letter of Charles was brought to Boston by Mr. Randolph late in 1681. A Court was called, and, the letter being read, it appeared to the members generally, that they had gone quite as far as they could go against the King's commands. There was much opposition to the proposal, on the part of the Deputies, to send special messengers to England to endeavor still to avert the royal vengeance, but it was finally agreed that other Agents should be sent, and Mr. Stoughton and Mr. Dudley were chosen. Mr. Stoughton, however, would not accept the appointment, and Mr. Richards, a wealthy merchant and one of the Assistants, was chosen in his stead, and they embarked upon their unwelcome mission, on the last day of May.

Feb.

The Agents found themselves in a very unpleasant situation on their arrival in England. They had been instructed not to do anything that might violate or infringe the liberties and privileges which the Charter granted, or that the Government had established under it. It soon became apparent to them that this standing to chartered rights would no longer avail them, for they would soon have no Charter to stand by, inasmuch as Charles was determined to take it from them. Every step in the proceeding tended to confirm them that such would be the event. Sir Lionel Jenkins, Secretary of State, examined their instructions, and they were informed, through Lord Radnor, that the Council had agreed to report to the King, that unless they speedily obtained powers sufficient to satisfy in all points, a Quo Warranto

* Taken from the seal attached to the will of Gov. Bradstreet, on file in the Probate office, Boston. The accompanying Autograph of the Governor is from an official paper of 1681, and that of his talented lady has been furnished me by Mr. John Dean, of Boston.



should proceed. Randolph gloried in the Agents' confusion, and said that "he would now make the whole faction tremble." *

1682. In the mean time, to make a favorable impression upon their opposers, a partial compliance with some of the King's requirements was made by the General Court. They repealed the law against the observance of Christmas, and established a Custom-house, or, as it was then called, a Naval Office. However, circumstances conspired against the Bostonians. Randolph had been able to defeat the intentions of their Agents in England, whom he had followed there, and at the same time the wise men of Boston had been ensnared in a plot too shallow almost to deserve the name. Cranfield, Governor of New

1683. Hampshire, came to Boston, and, pretending friendship, was shown the letters of the Agents in England, which disclosed their embarrassed situation. With feigned kindness he advised the Authorities to offer the King, through Lord Hyde, two thousand guineas for his Majesty's private use. Thus indirectly to bribe the King! Strange as it may now seem, the Authorities were caught in this transparent net, and authorized their Agents to make the offer. Ridicule was now added to their confusion, and their business was at an end. Cranfield, then in England, at the same time represented the people here as rogues and rebels.

Oct. 23. Chagrined and disgraced, the Agents returned to New England. In the course of the same week arrived also the evil genius of the Colony, Edward Randolph, bringing with him the dreaded Quo Warranto. His consequence and importance was much increased by the unbounded success which had attended his efforts to humble the people of Boston; and, to give his consequence more weight, a frigate conveyed him, and lay before the town, the object of which there was no mistaking.

Randolph brought also a declaration from the King, purporting, "that if, before prosecution of the Quo Warranto, the Colony would make full submission, and entire resignation to his pleasure, he would regulate their Charter for his service and their good."

Hence, the Charter was to be surrendered, or certain consequences suffered; which consequences were not at all doubtful. It was now for the General Court to decide whether the country should be crushed with or without its Charter. Such was the dilemma to which it was reduced. The General Court might indeed choose, but of what value was the

* This he wrote in a letter to the Earl of Clarendon, 14 July, 1682. He declared that the Articles he had now exhibited against Massachusetts, for "high misdemeanors" would "make the whole faction tremble." As leaders in the "high misdemeanors," he designated "Thomas Danforth, Samuel Nowell, a late fanatic preacher, and now a Magistrate, Daniel Fisher, and Elisha Cooke, Deputies." These, he urged, should be sent for to answer in England. — See Hutchinson, i. 336. Randolph elsewhere gives these names as among his chief opposers: — "Daniel Gookin, Nathaniel Saltonstall, Richards, Davy, Gedney, Appleton, Brattle, Stoddard, Bathurst, Hathorn, Wait, Johnson, Hutchinson, Sprague, Oakes, Holbrook, Cushing, Hammond and Pike." These he said constituted the "faction of the General Court."

Robt. Saltonstall

choice? The people of Boston, influenced by their ministers, were boiling with indignation, and, if there were any who desired Mr. Randolph's situation, their choice was not to be envied.

Nov. 15. Seeing that affairs were desperate, the Governor and Assistants voted to send an humble Address to his Majesty, stating that they would not contend, but would "humbly lay themselves at his feet." Notwithstanding this act of the upper House, when it came before the Deputies they entered their dissent upon it,* and it never became a law. But, as affairs turned, it made no difference in the end, and the fact is now useful only as showing how inflexible the majority of the General Court was upon a principle, which eventually achieved American Independence.



INCREASE MATHER.

The inhabitants of the town, with great unanimity, sustained the Deputies. A Town-meeting was called, in which the King's Declaration was discussed. The

1683–4. Jan. 21. Rev. Increase Mather was present, and made a speech against the surrender of the Charter, and his arguments were completely conclusive with the people, and the proposal was rejected, *nemine contradicente*, as expressed upon the records of that day. Among other things Mr. Mather said, "I verily believe, we shall sin against the God of Heaven, if we vote an affirmative unto it. The Scripture teacheth us otherwise. 'That which the Lord our God has given us, shall we not possess it?' If we make a submission, we fall into the hands of men immediately; but if we do not, we still keep ourselves in the hands of God. The loyal citizens of London would not surrender their Charter, lest their posterity should curse them for it. Shall we then do such a thing?" † It was also said, "It was better to die by the hands of others than by their own."

* This dissent on their part, could the surrender have been tested legally, Hutchinson decides, would have saved the Charter. But when any instrument has been declared null and void in the proper court of law, it is not easy to see how such instrument can be of force. As long as judgment was not entered, and the Charter remained in the hands of the Colony, so long the Charter was good. Had it been voluntarily surrendered, the case, regarding the Colony, would have been the same. Rhode Island and Connecticut never surrendered their Charters, but judgment was not entered against them; hence their Charters remained good, though for a time *dormiens*. The whole quarrel was with Massachusetts, or in fact Boston, and the matter of a judgment against the other Charters slumbered also. To be sure, Sir Edmund Andros attempted in person to take away that of Connecticut, but failed, owing to one of those little stratagems which will not soon be forgotten.

† *Remarkables* of Dr. I. Mather, p. 90–2. In the beginning of the year 1681, Mr. Mather preached a sermon at the "Lecture of Boston," which he soon after printed, entitling it *Heaven's Alarm to the World*, &c. This, although it apparently had reference only to comets and earthquakes, had a political bearing also. Many apt Scripture quotations were brought in, and it is not difficult to discover that he wished the people to understand that God would overcome and thwart the designs of their enemies, the enemies of his Church in New England; that he had thus far preserved them, and it must not be doubted that he would still continue his protection; and in closing he said, "When troubles come let them find us watching."

Cotton Mathers

An attempt was made, however, to prevent judgment being rendered on the return of the writ of Quo Warranto, by the employment of an Attorney to appear in England and answer for the Country. Addresses, very humble ones, were forwarded to appease the royal indignation; but all to no purpose. "Judgment was rendered up," * and thus ended the first Charter of Massachusetts.†

The next day after the arrival of Mr. Randolph, a "terrible fire happened in Boston, in the richest part of the Town." ‡ Its ravages were about the Dock, to the south of Drawbridge street. § There were those who insinuated that Randolph had procured the fire to be set; but this is extremely improbable, and the propagators of the report no doubt fabricated it to inflame the inhabitants against him.

April 5. Capt. Thomas Brattle died this year, in the early part of April. He was Moderator of the Town-meeting on the twelfth of March, to which office he had been elected in 1681, and in 1682 also; he had served many years as a Select-man, and was an active and efficient officer in the late Indian war. In May, 1676, he surprised a company of Indians near Rehoboth, "busie in fishing in a river therabouts," and killed eleven or twelve of them, losing but one of his own men. He commanded a party of horsemen, and not long after, with Mosley's company, and few others, he captured one hun- and fifty more.

April 16. At a Town-meeting, only eleven days after his decease, Mr. Timothy Prout was chosen a Select-man in his place, and Capt. William Gerrish was elected Moderator. He was interred in the Johnson burying-ground, now called King's Chapel, and from his tombstone, yet remaining, it appears that his age was sixty. He is styled Major on the same stone. His wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Brattle, died on the preceding November, at the age of forty-four. His name is attached to many public documents of the time.‖

Oct. 1. The active, enterprising and useful Capt. John Hull died, aged fifty-nine years, wanting one month and about eighteen days, leaving a very large estate, acquired by his own industry and good calculations.¶ He was born, as himself says, "in Market Hare-

* Some further particulars may be seen in Hutchinson, i. 340. The judgment was rendered at Trinity-term [June 18th], 1684, but an official copy of it was not received in Boston till July 2d, 1685.

† See Neal, *Hist. N. Eng.* (2d Ed.) ii. 42. Chalmers, 415.

‡ Hutchinson, i. 338. — Chalmers, 414.

§ Pemberton.

‖ A copy of his autograph has been given in page 388, and the family Arms on page 369.

¶ The date of Mr. Hull's death is derived from the sermon preached upon the occasion by Mr. Willard, namely, Oct. 1st, 1683. Judge Sewall, his son-in-law, who procured the sermon to be printed, entered the death in an Almanack, Sept. 30. This discrepance of a day is easily explained, supposing Mr. Hull to have died in the night of Sept. 30. The date in the sermon is, doubtless, right.

Robert, the father of Capt. John Hull, m. 1st, Elizabeth Storer, widow. She d. 3 May 1646, leaving a son Richard Storer (the *brother*, probably, mentioned by Mr. John Hull who assisted him). He m. 2dly, Judith Paine, wid. of Moses Paine, also wid. of Edmund Quincy. She d. 5 Mar., 1654, having had by Edmund Quincy, Edmund, b. 1627, d. 7 Jan., 1698, a. 70, and Judith. This Edmund m. 1st, Joanna Hoar, who d. 16 May, 1680; 2d, Elizabeth, wid. of Rev. John Eliot, jr., and dau. of Hon. Daniel Gookin, 8 Dec. 1680. She d. 30 Nov. 1700. He had by the first wife, Mary, Daniel, John, Joanna, Judith,

borough," in the County of Leicester, on the eighteenth of December, 1624. When he was about ten years of age, his father, Robert Hull, a smith, removed with his family to New England. They sailed from Bristol in the ship George, Nicholas Shapley master, on the 28th of September, 1635, and arrived in Boston on the seventh of the following November. Although they had a fair passage, they came very near being wrecked on Cape Sable sands. The ship struck thirty times, "to the amazement of Master and mariners, and hope of safety being taken away, the saylers would have hoysed out the long boate, but the alknowing God would not suffer them, with all their power (and also the help of many passingers) to get out the boates, but it hung by the fluke of the anchor; and God soe ordered it that after long beating there, he turned the shipp off againe into the sea," with but slight damage.

Mr. Hull's father settled in Boston, where, says the son, "after a little keeping at scoole, I was taken to help my father plant corne, which I attended for seven yeares together. I then fell to learning by the help of my brother, and to practising the trade of a goldsmith, and was able to get my living by it."

Elizabeth, the mother of Mr. Hull, died in 1646. The following year he records his marriage in these words: — "The eleventh of the third month, Mr. John Winthrop married me and my wife Judith, in my own house, being the third day of the weeke." He kept a diary, in which these facts are recorded, but at what time he commenced it does not appear.

1646. May 3.

Although Mr. Hull was one of the true Puritans, he thus notices the death of the King in 1648: — "Great Charles the first was beheaded upon Tuesday [January thirtieth, 1649] about two aclock. A very solemn and strange act." By applying the word great to the king, the author probably had reference to his station only. When he records the death of Cromwell, his language is not equivocal. He writes, "Wee received the sad news of the death of the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, a man of excellent worth, who died September third, 1658. The Lord give sutable affections to bewaile the loss of such choyce ones. He was one that sought the good of New England, though he seemed to be much wanting in a thorough testimonie against the blasphemors of our dayes." *

1658–9. Feb. 25.

Elizabeth, and Edmund who d. young; by the second, Edmund and Mary. Edmund Quincy's (first named) dau. Judith, m. Mr. John Hull, 3 Jan. 1646–7, as in the text. Besides John, Robert Hull had a son Edward, who m. Eleanor Newman, 20 Jan. 1652–3. All of Capt. John Hull's children d. young, except Hannah, wife of Judge Sewall, as elsewhere mentioned. She was b. 14 Feb. 1657. From the Quincy family here noticed, are descended the families of Boston and Quincy (anciently Braintree); the venerable patriarch of which, the Hon. Josiah Quincy, now above 80 years of age, is a living monument among nature's noblemen; and may he long live to elevate the character of a city which he has so much advanced in all its excellences.

The conjectural and closing sentences of the note on page 329, *ante*, are wrong. When that note was written I had not seen Capt. Hull's Diary.

* Cromwell did not approve of the severe proceedings of the people here against those who differed from them in matters of religious belief. This occasioned the closing remark of Mr. Hull.

Mr. Hull's intolerance is often observable in his diary. He records the sentence of death against three Quakers, and then adds — "well they deserved it. Most of the Godly have cause to rejoyce and bless the Lord that strengthens our Magistrates and Deputies to bear witness against such blasphemers."

When, in 1652, the militia of Boston were divided into four companies, Mr. Hull was appointed a Sergeant. In regular order he advanced in office till he became Captain of the Artillery Company in 1671. He was largely engaged in navigation, and although his losses by captures, wrecks and other casualties, were, from year to year, large, yet upon the whole his interest was advanced. In 1657 he was chosen by the Town "to be one of the seven men to looke after the Townes affaires."



CHARLES II.

The proclaiming of Charles the Second in Boston is thus described by Mr. Hull:— "Eighth of the sixth, 1661, being the 5th day of the weeke, after our ordinary lecture, the soldiers being all in armes, viz. our four companies and the country troop, the Magistrates mounted on horseback, the Ministers being present, and a multitude of people, King Charles the Second was proclaimed by Mr. Edward Rawson, Secretary of State, all standing bare, and ended with, God save the King, and a shout, sundry vollies of shot from the soldiery, all the gunns in the Castle, Fort and Town and ships. All the chieff officers feasted that night at the charge of the Country."

In 1660–1 Mr. Hull was chosen Town Treasurer. In 1662 he accompanied the Agents, Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Norton, to England. While in that country he visited the native place of his wife, and took the date of her birth out of the register.* After about a month's stay in London, he "went down into the country, and visited his kindred and towne, and went as farr as Hull to see his Cozzen Hoar." He brought over with him "several children, all in health," save one, Sam. Gaylor, who, having been placed with Mr. Clark, fell overboard and was lost.†

In 1666 Mr. Hull's father died.‡ When the Third Church was

* But what her maiden name was, or the name of the place where she was born, he does not inform us. He speaks of the death of his wife's mother, 29. 1. 1654, but mentions not her name.

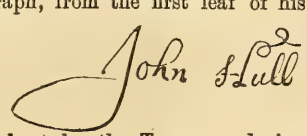
† These may have been of that class of children previously spoken of in this history. He arrived at his own house in Boston, Sept. 3d, 1662, on his wife's birth-day, 1626. He sailed on the 10th of Feb. preceding.

‡ He thus records his death. "July 28. About 4 in y^e after^n the Lord tryed me, by calling for my honor^d father Robert Hull, home to himself; being two days before taken with a flux, and then with violent cramp in his leggs, and burning att his heart, yet bore all with sweet patience and thankfulness." He does not state his age, nor anything else concerning him. He is even more brief regarding his mother's death,—"7. 3. 1646, at 5 aclock in the afternoone, being the 5th day of the weeke, my Mother, Elizabeth Hull, was taken away by death." Her maiden name has not been discovered. She was a widow Storer, as before mentioned.

formed, John Hull and his wife Judith were among those that formed it.* In 1663 Mr. Hull notes, — "This year it was said by such as took account of the number of shipps that came in, that there came into Boston harbo^{r} sixty shipps and barkes, beside ketches, &c." The next year he says, as if of his own knowledge, — "Hear hath come near one hundred sail of shipps; our own and strangers, and all loaden home." In 1668 he was left out of the list of Select-men, but the town of Wenham chose him their Deputy to the General Court; and in 1671, 1672, and 1673, he was chosen to the same office by the town of Westfield. In 1675 he was appointed by the Council to be of the "Committee of War," and also "Treasurer for the War;" † and afterwards, the same year, he was chosen "Treasurer of the Countrey." which office he held until 1680. He was then chosen one of the Assistants, which office he held till his death.

Mr. Hull had an uncle living in London, named Pariss, who transacted much business for him, and who he heard had died of the Plague.‡ He was much rejoiced to learn, in 1666, that he was living, and with his family was well. He visited him in 1669–70, "and was

* Mr. Hull in his Diary says very little about the difficulties between the First and Third Churches. (See *ante*, p. 383–6.) He notes the attempt to procure Dr. Owen, thus: "15. 6. 1663. The Ch. had a meeting, and joyntly agreed to write letters by the first opportunity vnto England for Dr. Jno. Owen. 21. 6. The letters by the persons deputed to draw them were read to the Ch., which they accepted; only Mr. Edward Hutchinson and Mr. Houchin showed dissent, and desired the Ch. might at that tyme express their intention, or rather resolution, to choose Mr. James Allen. Mr. Thos. Goodwin, Mr. Carill, and Mr. Greenhill were also written vnto to promote the Ch^{s} desire; and in case it should soe fall out y^{t} y^{e} Doctor could not come, to think of who might bee meet for vs." The hope of obtaining Dr. Owen's services was kept up more than two years. In Dec. following he was written to again by the Church, and also in its behalf by the General Court. "1664. 16. 3. Mr. Pierce arrived from London, but bro't not Dr. Owen, nor any certain enformation of his resolution to come." Even as late as 9 June, 1666, by an arrival from England, it was learned "off his likely coming hither." Mr. Hull's Autograph, from the first leaf of his Diary, is here copied:



† The book kept by the Treasurer during Philip's war, a large folio in vellum, is in the library of the N. Eng. Hist. Genealogical Soc., beautifully indexed by Mr. Isaac Child, a member of the Society.

‡ The plague of 1665, which broke out in London towards the close of April of that year. The General Court ordered a Fast to be kept on the 22 Nov. of the same year, "for our dear native land, in respect of the raging pestilence." The Plague, and the Great Fire which succeeded it were very detrimental to the commerce of Boston; but in June, 1666, the Town was rejoiced to learn, by the arrival of Mr. Clarke's ship, that the Plague had ceased. The news of a war with France, and the progress of that with Holland, was very alarming. Soon after (12 June), 200 poor people arrived in Boston, whom the French had driven from St. Christopher's, which had fallen into their hands. Many of them, being entirely destitute, were relieved by the inhabitants, and the Government made provision for such of them as desired to go to Barbadoes. At the same time French and Dutch cruisers infested the coast. The people here were not passive sufferers, however; Capt. Goose brought in a French ship, as a prize, the 15th of August. He was in the service of Sir Thomas Temple. And on Sept. 10th, he brought in another. Four days after, Capt. Benj. Gillum (*a*) brought in two others. But in July the Dutch had taken four vessels on the coast. The news of the Great Fire in London was brought to Boston, 6 Mar. 1667, "in Capt. Martin." It broke out Sept. 2d, and raged four days; destroying 89 churches, "a vast number of other statlie edifices," and 13,000 dwelling-houses. It extended over a space of 436 acres, including 400 streets. — See *God's Terrible Voice in the City*, by Rev. T. Vincent, in Brayley's London, i. 413, &c.

(*a*) 22 : 12 : 57. "Ben. Gillam hath 5*s*. abated of his fine for heating a pitch pott on y^{e} wharfe." — *Town Records*. 29. 1. 58. "Mr. Peter Olliuer hath liberty to make a cart bridge ouer y^{e} Creeke y^{t} goes to Ben. Gillams." — *ib*.

received and entertained, during his stay in London, with much love and courtesy." He made this voyage, he says, "to settle all former accounts with my unckle and all psons." During his stay in London he became acquainted with Dr. Owen, heard him preach, and "found very much love and respect from him." *

Mar. 13. Early this year the Town lost Major Thomas Clarke, who died on the thirteenth of March. He was made a freeman of the Colony in 1638. In 1651 he was chosen Captain of the Artillery Company; was also Major of the Suffolk regiment; a Deputy to the General Court for eighteen years; Speaker of that body for 1662, 1665, 1669, 1670 and 1672; Assistant, 1673 to 1677. Major Clarke and Maj. John Pynchon were appointed, in 1664, to meet the King's Commissioners before New York, and to confer with them relative to

* Under "2. 3. 1668," Mr. Hull notes the arrival of Mr. Davenport to take charge of the First Church: — "At 3 or 4 in the afternoon came Mr. Jno. Davinport to towne, with his wife, sonn and sonn's family; was mett by many of the Towne. A great shower of extraordinary dropps of raine fell as they entred the end of the Towne, but Mr. Davinport and his wife were sheltered in a coach of Mrs. Searls, who went to meet them."

Respecting Gov. Endicott, he says, "he dyed poor, as most of o^r^ Rulers doe, having more attended the publique than his own private interests. It is o^r^ shame; though we are a poor people, yet might better maintain o^r^ Rulers than we doe. However, they have a good God to reward them. He was a man of pious and zealous spirit, who had very faithfully endeavoured the suppression of a pestilent generation; the troublers of o^r^ peace, civill and ecclesiastick, called Quakers."

"23. 2. 1668. The Rev^d^. Mr. Richard Mather, Teacher of the Church of Dorchester, dyed. The Church of Boston would not let him into their doors, when he with sundry others waited with a letter from the Council to y^m^, but y^e^ Lord soone opened his way into the Church tryumphant."

"May 1st, 1665. Coll. Richard Nicholls came in heer from New York, that soe all the king's Honor^d^ Comision^rs^ being together, might comunicate their instructions frō his Maj^ty^ vnto o^r^ Gen^ll^ Cor^t^. Third of May being election day, they were pleased to be a while present in Cor^t^, and see o^r^ order in election; showing civility and courtesy. And at night gave to the souldery that were that day on the ground, five 20^s^ pe^s^ of gold. The 1st day of the Cor^t^ there were about 70 freemen admitted, sundry whereof were not members of any p^ticul^r Church, which had been the generall rule of admission hitherto. The Honour^d^ Comis^rs^ seem to be elaborit in turning every stone to find the faults of this Collonie and Government, and to manage them to o^r^ disadvantage."

Frequent fasts were kept in the different churches to divert the mischiefs which seemed to be too certainly plotting by the enemies of the Country. In connection with which Mr. Hull mentions "one thing remarkable"; which was the fate of the papers which had been prepared here by the Commissioners, designed, as the people believed, to compass their ruin. — See *ante*, p. 372–3. Cartwright went with these papers in a mast ship, which sailed from Pascataqua in the summer of 1665, one Mr. Harrison, master. Their loss has been noticed in the page just indicated. The Government intended to have sent their counter statements by the same ship, but she had sailed before the messenger arrived at her place of departure. This messenger was Capt. Pierce. The desired ship was still in sight, and Capt. Pierce used his utmost efforts, in a boat with six oars to overtake her, but could not succeed. The same gentleman afterwards delivered the same papers safely in England. This preservation of documents which were considered of the greatest consequence, and the loss of the others to their enemies, was viewed as a remarkable providence by the whole Country.

August 7th, 1666, Mr. Hull notes "the arrival of Mr. Peirce with severall shipps for masts for the King." That "Mr. Maverick had a significavit vnder the hand of Sec^y^ Morris (but not superscribed nor sealed), that his Maj^tys^ comand was, that 4 or 5 off cheeff [men of note] should be sent to ans^r^ in the Countrey's behalf; of which Gov. Belingham and Maj. Hawthorn were to be two vpon their allegiance." At the Gen. Court in the following September, the "significavit" was considered. "They concluded to write and send a present, two brave masts, but sent no persons to answ^r^ in o^r^ behalf."

May 4th. This morning a ship belonging to Lynn, arrived from Virginia, when a very serious accident occurred, involving the loss of several valuable lives. The "great cabin was blown up, instantly killing Mr. John Frecke. Mr. Smith y^e^ merchant dyed the same day, Capt. Samuel Scarlet the next day; and sundry wounded sorely."

the forces* ordered to be raised by Massachusetts, to be employed in reducing that place.† They proceeded to New Haven, and there met Governor Winthrop, who was upon the same service for Connecticut. The capitulation of the Dutch, just twelve days after this, as has before been mentioned,‡ rendered further proceedings unnecessary. From New Haven they wrote§ home that they could hear nothing of the Commissioners; that they learned by a person who had been at New York five days before, that nothing was known about them at that place. They supposed Colonel Nichols was at Long Island, and proposed to proceed there immediately. They said they could not "understand that either Conecticut or New Haven had any orders to raise souldiers;" and, before sealing their letter, they added a postscript, saying, "A report here is of many greate guns were heard to goe off at y^e^ westerne end of Long Island yesterday, but y^e^ truth is questionable."

1664. Aug. 15.

When the severe laws were enacted against Quakers in 1656, Mr. Clarke and Mr. Edward Hutchinson appear to have been the only members of the Court who opposed them.‖

He was associated with Capt. Thomas Lake in settling lands in the Kennebeck country, and, at the close of Philip's war, he was commissioned to treat with the eastern Indians, and sailed from Boston with an armament of three vessels for that purpose.¶

A society was revived at this time, which was instituted in 1657. It was called the Scots' Charitable Society,** and, although it had had some vitality at different periods, between its formation and 1684, it was not incorporated until 1786. Members were admitted on the payment of twelve pence. That was the smallest sum which would admit a member, and they were to pay six pence quarterly afterwards. This regulation was adopted at the first meeting of the Society. It was agreed at the same time, that, "for the relief of themselves and others, to make a box, into which every one might deposite such contribution, as God should move their hearts." Nothing was to be taken out of the box for seven years; "the box being yet in its

1657. Jan. 6.

* The 200 soldiers to be raised by Massachusetts for the Dutch expedition, were to be under Capt. Hugh Mason and Capt. William Hudson.

† "They were sent with speed to meet the King's Comissioners at the Manatos, and iff they desired the assistance of o^r^ soldiery, to send speedy notice." This record, made at the time, and by one essentially opposed to the Commissioners, fully proved the inference to be entirely wrong, that Massachusetts was very backward in raising the men required by the Commissioners, as has been noticed, *ante*, p. 368.

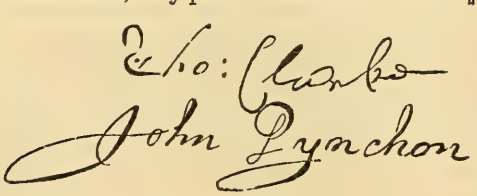
‡ *Ante*, p. 369.

§ Their letter, now before me, is dated "New Haven, August 15th, 1664," and though in the autograph of Major Pinchon, Major Clarke's name was signed first.

‖ See p. 345, *ante*.

¶ He sailed on the 25th of June, 1677. The residence of a Captain Thomas Clark was in what is now Summer street, in 1708. —*Town R.*

** The facts concerning this Society are taken from its publication, printed in 1844.



minority." The keeper of the box was to be "one of good report, fearing God and hating covetousness;" such an one was Robert Porteous; he being the first box-keeper of the society. Exclusive of him, there were twenty-six members the first year.* The next year but one admission is recorded;† in 1659, but five,‡ and then none till 1665, and that year but one. From this year to 1684, there is no account of any meeting of the Society upon its records. At the resuscitation in the latter year, forty persons appeared and subscribed a new or additional constitution. Of these, thirteen are denominated "strangers."§ Among those forty names, several were of considerable note afterwards. In 1684, seventeen new members were admitted.‖ Original places of residence, or places whence the members came, are given in but very few cases.¶ From 1684 to 1700, there were added to the Society about fifteen members a year, upon an average; nor is the average much different thence to 1774. Meetings were suspended during the Revolution, and most of the resident members left the country and went to Halifax, carrying off the records of the Society.

In 1696 the Society ordered "that the overseers of the poor's box be annually chosen, the first Monday in May; namely, a president and an assistant, a box-master and two key-keepers." Under this organization, James Ingles was chosen president, John Borland assistant, John Campbell, treasurer, and Thomas Hill, key-keeper.**

On the revival of the Society in 1786, there appear to have been but eleven persons interested.††

* Their names were William Cosser, *Alex*r. *Simson*, Geo. Thompson, James Moore, James Grant, Thomas Dewer, *W*m. *Gibson*, Alexr. Grant, Andrew Jameson, Wm. Ballantyre, Wm. Speed, *James Inglish*, John Clark, Peter Grant, John Kneeland, Thos. Palsous, Wm. Anderson, *James Webster*, Thos. Shearer, John McDonald, Geo. Trumble, Alexr. Boyle, John Bennet, James Adams, Malcolm Maktallome, John Mason.

† His name was Alister McDougall.

‡ Their names were Hercules Cosser, Andrew Neil, John Livingston, Alexr. Mackcowmes and Alexr. Ramsay. But one person admitted in 1665; his name was John Johnson.

§ They were Wm. Brown, Archibald Ferguson, James Maxwell, James Fowle, *Alex*r. *Simson*, *W*m. *Gibson*, James Smith, John Borland, John Melvin, Alexr. Logan, Andrew Cunningham, Joseph Simson, *James Webster*, Duncan Campbell, Hugh Mulligan, Wm. Hailton, Francis Borland, David Johnson, David Kimbead, Wm. Cochran, John Givan, James Stewart, Arthur Hoil, Wm. Jamieson, Wm. Doane, John Ballantyre, *James Ingles*. The 13 strangers were John Crawford, Donald Goban, Wm. Jairdon, Patrick Bryce, John Campbell, John Crawford, Jr., John Allardy, John Sprat, Robt. French, John Ballantyre, 1686; Alexr. McCulloch, Thos. McCulloch, Andrew Malcom. The four italicized names show the same names in 1657.

‖ They were Mungo Crawford, Adam Johnston, James Grant, John Melvin, Robt. Melvin, Peter Barbour, Widow Neal, Archibald Asvin, John Anderson, Wm. Arbuckle, Andrew Wilson, John Smith, Thos. Moodie, Alexr. Cole, Robt. Alexander, Wm. Stewart, Sturgis McDowall.

¶ At quite a late period they are often given.

** From 1686 to 1736, the Presidents of the Society were as follows: William Brown, 1686 to 1695; James Ingles to 1703; John Borland to 1717; John Meinzies, to 1724; John Borland, to 1727; John Campbell, to 1728; Capt. Thomas Steele, to 1736; Dr. Wm. Douglass, 1736. From this time to the incorporation, no list of presidents appear. Under the charter they are John Scollay, 1788; John Thompson, 1798; Maj. Thos. Melville, 1799; Andrew Richie, 1800; Andrew Leach, 1801; Andrew Ritchie, 1802; Wm. Clouston, 1810; James Kelt, 1829; Alexr. Meldrum, 1836; Wm. H. Wilson, 1838; John L. Miller, 1841; Wm. H. Wilson, 1843.

†† That is, there are but eleven named in the Charter. Those were John Scollay, James Thompson, James Swan, Wm. McKeen, Wm. Kennedy, Capt. John Young, James Graham, Wm. Dall, David Bruce, Andrew Drummond, John Looring. The same year (1786) Wm. Erving and Maj. Thomas Melville were admitted members. A few admissions of a late date

A claim to some part of Boston by the Massachusetts Indians was renewed this year. At what time it had been previously urged, does not appear, nor does it seem to have been very definite. In fact it is pretty clear that, for many years anterior to this, they had thought nothing about any ownership in the Peninsula; and what had influenced them to pretend one at this time, is not certain. However, the Town Authorities acted magnanimously towards the claimants, and

June 18. in Town-meeting instructed Mr. Symon Linde to purchase whatever claim they had, either "legal or pretended," to "Deare Island, the Necke of Bostone or any pte thereof."*

1685. Mar. 19. In pursuance of his instructions, Mr. Linde, with some other principal inhabitants of the Town, met the Chief of the Indians, Wampatuck by name, but usually called Charles Josias, or Josias Wampatuck, and his Counsellors, and amicably purchased their interest, taking a deed of the same. Wampatuck was the grandson of Chichataubut, who, "upon the first coming of the English, for encouragement thereof, did grant, sell, alienate and confirm unto them and their assigns forever, all that Neck of land, in order to their settling and building a Town there, now known by the name of Boston, as it is environed by the Sea, and by the line of Roxbury, and the island called Deer Island, about two leagues easterly from Boston, between Pudding Point Gut and the Broad Sound, containing 160 or 200 acres; which have been quietly possessed by the said English for the space of about fifty and five years last past. Wherefore, I, Charles Josias, alias Josias Wampatuck, Sachem, and William Hahaton,† Robert Momentauge, and Ahawton, Senior, my Counsellors, by and with the advice of William Stoughton and Joseph Dudley, Esquires, my near friends and guardians,— as well as for a valuable sum of money, paid by Elisha Cook, Elisha Hutchinson, Esquires; Samuel Shrimpton, John Joyliffe, Simon Lynde, John Saffin, Edward Willis, Daniel Turell,

follow: 1829, Gen. John P Boyd; 1832, Wm. Creighton, Alexr. Roy, Thos. Jordon, John Copp; 1833, Thos. Leighton, James Anderson, James Grant; 1834, Alexr. McLellan, Thos. Pollock; 1836, James Schooler, Alexr. Wright; 1839, G. S. Kelt, Robert Schooler, Wm. Schooler, T. C. Grattan, hon.; 1841, Robert Waterston, life member.

* It was said by some that this purchase was "got up" to give the owners of estates a better title to them than they then had; or that such title would serve them, instead of that they held under the Charter, now that they felt sure that that instrument would be taken from them, or declared void by the proper tribunal in England. I do not contend that such was not the object of the Indian deed of Boston at this time; but this I do say, that if the Fathers of Boston supposed an Indian deed would weigh anything under such circumstances, against any determination of the King, they understood very little of a policy, of which they might be expected to know much.

There will appear hereafter, during the "Usurpation of Andros," some reason for the statement, that this purchase of the Indians was made, on which to found a claim; for when Andros asserted that the country had reverted to the King, the Indian title was adduced, as above, as paramount to that of the Crown. To this Sir Edmund replied sneeringly, that, "the signature of Indians to deeds of land was of no more consequence than the scratch of a bear's paw."

† Ahaton, Ahawton, and Hahaton, are the same surname, as likewise that of Nahaton. William Hahaton, mentioned in the text, is the same met with in a note to page 387, *ante*. The family of Hahatons were Christians. Several of them were educated. This William wrote a fair signature in 1710. He was one of those sent to Deer Island in Philip's war, to prevent his joining the enemy.—*Gookin*. He died 21 July, 1717. Punkapog was their seat. Amos Ahaton was living there in 1733. Judge Swall's *MSS.*, *and Gen. Court Journals*.

Senior; Henry Allen, John Fairweather, Timothy Prout, Senior, and Theophilus Frarye of Boston, in behalf of themselves and the rest of the proprietated inhabitants of the town of Boston," do warrant, confirm and defend the above said lands to them and their heirs forever.*

This deed Wampatuck and his Counsellors signed by their marks in presence of William Williams and Edward Lyde. The same day they acknowledged it before James Russell, Assistant. Wm. Stoughton and Joseph Dudley approved the same. At that time, an Indian, called David, son and heir of Winnepoykin, or Sagamore George, as he was usually called, made a claim to Deer Island. This was also extinguished, David acknowledging a "just consideration."† His father was Sachem of Chelsea and Lynn. Hence the claim of David. It is not probable that any Indians have since made a serious claim to the peninsula of Mushauwomuk, or Shawmut.‡

Dr. Increase Mather was chosen President of Harvard College. He had had much to do with the College since 1681, making weekly visits there, "which found a general acceptance; and the Commencements he also managed as became a decent orator and a learned moderator. His Church refusing to relinquish the right they had in him, he declined for a while, to do the part of a President, and got another chosen; § upon whose death, in the year 1684, the Overseers with the Fellows
1685. June 11. of the College again devolved his former care upon him." He was the first native-born President, and the College flourished under his presidency beyond former example. It was through his exertions that valuable donations were procured for it in England. Among others, he enlisted as a benefactor, Mr. Thomas Hollis, who, until long after the time of President Mather, "was the greatest benefactor the College ever had in the world."‖ Mr. Mather also procured a new Charter for the Institution, with new powers and privileges. That of conferring degrees was one.

April 3. There came in a ship from Newcastle, which brought the news of the death of the King, and also that James the Second was proclaimed.¶ Charles the Second died on the sixth of February, of
Feb. 6. apoplexy, with which he was seized four days before. He was succeeded by James Second, only surviving son of Charles First, by Henrietta-Maria of France.

* A copy of the deed of Boston is upon record in the Suffolk Registry, under date 1708. Vol. xxiv. p. 101. It is printed in Appendix to Snow's *Hist. Boston*, but modernized.

† Samuel Shrimpton had leased Deer Island of the Town. May 25th, 1685, the lease was renewed to him for 18 years, from 1st March, 1693–4, at £14 per annum, "to the vse of the Free Schoole; also is consideration of £19 paid by him in behalfe of the Towne vnto Josiah Sachem and other Indians for the ratification of their predecessors grant of all the lands within the Necke of Bostone, and other out lands within the precincts thereof." — *Town Records*.

‡ Mr. Grindal Rawson, who understood the Indian language very perfectly, wrote the name of this place Mushauwomuk. In 1699, he printed the "Confessions of Faith" of 1680, in English and Indian, and in the imprint of his Indian title-page, it stands in place of Boston. Shawmut is merely an abbreviation. The meaning of the name is probably free country, free land, or land unclaimed. I have been led to this conclusion by a comparison of certain Indian phrases with their corresponding English. The notion that the name signified a spring of fresh water appears to be entirely conjectural.

§ Mr. John Rogers. He died 2 July 1684.

‖ *Remarkables*, 169–70.

¶ Sewall, in *Gen. Regr.*, viii. 18.

As soon as James Second was settled upon his throne, he issued proclamations to be published in New England. These were brought
April 16. to Boston by a London ship, which also brought letters to several gentlemen of distinction from those high in authority, but none to the Governor as such. In one to him, however, from Mr. William Blathwait, he was insultingly told that he was not written to as Governor, forasmuch as that he now had no Government, its Charter being vacated.

These events threw the people of Boston into considerable uncertainty, as to what they were in future to expect from England. Orders
April 20. had been received to proclaim the new King, which was done "with sorrowful and affected pomp" at the Townhouse. The ceremony was performed in presence of the eight military companies of the Town, and "three vollies of cannon" were discharged.

The people of Boston had, indeed, much to apprehend. Their Charter was gone forever, and what kind of a government was to be set over them they could not tell, but they seemed to be quite sure it would be a bad one. A Governor had been appointed, — one Col. Percy Kirke,* — for whom the utmost abhorrence prevailed. He had been employed to quell the rebellion, as it was called, under the Duke of Monmouth, in which he proved himself a monster, possessing more cruelty, if possible, than Jeffreys himself.

The death of the King prevented Kirk from taking up his abode in Boston. This was a great relief to the inhabitants, though their fears of future ills by no means subsided.†

* It is said, in the history of those times, that after Monmouth's defeat, "he caused 90 wounded men to be hanged at Taunton; that, at another town he invited his officers to dinner near the place where some of the condemned rebels were to be executed, and ordered ten of them to be turned off with a health to the King, ten in a health to the Queen, and ten more in a health to Lord Jeffreys." — Life of James II. in Kennet, iii. 438. He was afterwards a Major General in Ireland, in the service of William and Mary. —*Ib.* 541. He was living in 1699, in June of which year he killed a son of Lord Seymour in a duel, and is supposed to have died soon after. Should any one desire to read the details of the most wanton barbarities which can be conceived of, attributed to this *governor* of New England, he may be satisfied with what Hume, in his England, has published; but Hume's authority — or what I presume to be his authority — must more than suffice. This authority is entitled "The Western Martyrology; or, Bloody Assizes;" collected, if I do not misjudge, by the well-known John Dunton, and published in 1705, and now of rare occurrence.

Kirk married the Lady Mary Howard, eldest daughter of George, fourth Earl of Suffolk. — Toulmin's *Hist. Taunton*, 548. He commanded a regiment of foot at Tangier, and had been a captain there under the Earl of Middleton. Middleton was dead in 1674. In June, 1682, I find him styled "His Excellency, Colonel Piercy Kirke," who, by the same Patent under the Great Seal, is also constituted "Vice Admiral of the Coasts there." — See Chamberlaine's *Present State of England for* 1674 and 1682.

† One afterwards, at a safe distance from a power he had so much dreaded, thus characterizes it: "To execute the tragedies which were intended for New England, that cruel and horrid and hideous Tiger, whose barbarous cruelties have rendered him famous to all succeeding ages, had a commission for it, and was coming over with a regiment of Myrmidons, in quality of Governor. Had this Kirke arrived, what barbarities must this people have expected!" — *Remarkables of Dr. I. Mather*, 97. "The religion of the Country was enough to render it obnoxious to the rage of such a generation as then carried all before them." — *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XLIX.

John Dunton's Visit to Boston. — Notice of Him. — His Notice of Others. — Mr. Burroughs. — Mr. Wilkins. — Capt. Hutchinson. — Mr. I. Mather. — Mr. C. Mather. — Mr. Willard. — Mr. Allen. — Mr. Moody. — Mr. John and Mr. T. Baily. — Mr. John Usher. — Mr. Philips. — Mr. Brunning. — Mr. Campbell. — Mr. Thorncomb. — Mr. Willy. — Mr. White. — Mr. Green. — Mr. Gerrish. — Geo. Monk. — Capt. Townsend. — Mr. Jollyff. — Mr. Mortimer. — Mr. King. — Mr. York. — Mr. Heath. — Mr. Watson. — Mr. Mason. — Mr. Malinson. — Dr. Oakes. — Dr. Bullivant. — Mr. Gouge. — Mr. Tryon. — Mrs. Breck. — Describes a Training. — Harvard College. — Visit to Mr. Elliot. — Natick. — Mr. Morton. — Dr. Morton. — Mrs. Hicks. — Visit to Ipswich. — Mr. Hubbard. — Episcopalians. — They take possession of the South Meeting-house. — Build a Chapel. — Rebuild it. — The Society broken up by the Revolution of 1776.



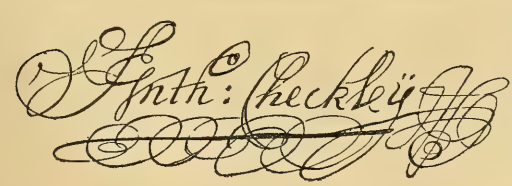
CHECKLEY. ‡

JOHN DUNTON was about a year a bookseller in Boston. He was son of the Rev. John Dunton, minister at one period at Little Missinden, Buckinghamshire, where his grandfather and great grandfather, also named John, had been ministers. John the bookseller became very eminent in his business, in the course of which he found time to compose a great number of works, most of which he printed, and they were very popular in their time.* He was born in 1659, and was intended by his father† for the Church; but he was altogether too wild a youth to assume a gravity that would be a constant lie on his countenance, and he was at length apprenticed to the since well-known bookseller, Mr. Thomas Parkhurst, of London.

* That by which he is best known, is entitled his "*Life and Errors*," first printed in 1705, 12mo, again in 1818, in 2 vols. 8vo.

† John Dunton's father was twice married, 1st to Lydia Carter, who was the mother of our John, and died the same year he was born. His 2d wife was Mary Lake, by whom he had 4 children. John was an only child by the first wife. He was likewise twice married, but died, without issue, at the age of 73.

‡ This engraving of the Arms of Checkley is copied from that engraved upon the tombstone of Robert Checkley, in the Granary burying-ground. The Checkleys of Boston were immediately from Preston Capes in Northamptonshire. John and William were brothers. John came to Boston in or before 1648; was a merchant, and agent for Robert Taynter of London, 1659. He married Anne, daughter of Simon Eyres, or Eires, a surgeon, 5 Mar., 1652, and died 1 Jan., 1684–5, a. 76, leaving issue. She died 14 Nov., 1714, and was buried in Scituate. William was living at Preston Capes in 1636. By Elizabeth ——— he was the father of Anthony, bapt. at Preston C., 31 July, 1636. Anthony came to Boston in or before 1659, was in the employ of his uncle, John Checkley, before named, and was the first Attorney General of Massachusetts, under the new Charter. He died 18 Oct., 1708, a. 72. He married Hannah, daughter of Rev. John Wheelwright, by whom he had several children. His daughter Hannah married Capt. John Adams of Boston, grandson of Henry A., of Braintree. Samuel Checkley, bapt. at Preston Capes, 18 Nov., 1653, was half brother to Anthony, being son of William by a 2d wife, Rebecca ———. This Samuel was the father of the Rev. Samuel C., of the New South Church, Boston. — *From English Records procured by my friend*, SAMUEL AMES, ESQ., *of Providence, R. I., and other sources.* See also *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, ii. 349. The name Checkley, as a surname, is believed to be extinct in New England.



At the age of twenty-three he married a most amiable lady, Miss Elizabeth Annesley,* daughter of the well-known dissenting Divine, Dr. Samuel Annesley.

His book-selling establishment in London was for a long time at the Black Raven, in Princes-street, and here on his marriage he commenced housekeeping. In 1685, Mr. Dunton determined on a voyage to New England, his reasons for which will be best expressed in his own words. He says: —

"When I was thus seated to the best advantage at the Black Raven, and as happy in my marriage as I could wish, there came an universal damp upon trade, occasioned by the defeat of Monmouth in the West; and at this time, having £500 owing me in New England, I began to think it worth my while to make a voyage of it thither."†

At Gravesend he found "a fleet bound for New England," in which many had taken passage who had been engaged in Monmouth's cause.‡ Mr. Dunton had shipped a large amount of books for Boston, and that he might divide his risk, or, as he expresses it, "that Neptune might have two throws at him," he put his "venture" into two ships. He was then "in great suspense," he says, in which ship to trust himself. However, he went in the Susannah and Thomas, Thomas Jenner, master,§ with thirty passengers and sixteen sailors. They had been at sea but a short time, when "the heavens grew black and louring, and every minute one would have thought the very Alps had driven over" their heads. In that storm, one of the ships, containing part of his goods, of £500 value, was cast away and lost. The master's name was Moulton.

1685. Oct. 23.

They sailed from the Downes on the second of November, and had a tedious passage to New England of about four months. The narrative continues: "When we came within ken of Boston, we were all overjoyed, being just upon the point of starving; we put off to land in the long-boat, and came ashore near the Castle, which stands about a mile from Boston. The country appeared, at first, like a barren waste; but we found humanity enough when we came amongst the inhabitants. We lodged, the first night, at the Castle, and next morning we found the way to Boston lay over the ice, which was but cold comfort. The first person that welcomed me to Boston was Mr. Burroughs,‖ formerly a hearer of my Reverend Father-in-law, Dr. Annesley. He heaped more civilities upon me than I can reckon up, —

Nov. 2.

* Mr. Samuel Wesley married another daughter, and was father of the eminently distinguished John, and the well-known Charles Wesley.

† *Life and Errors*, i. 79–80.

‡ Doubtless there are many at this day in New England who need not look to an earlier period than 1685 for the emigration of their ancestors.

§ "A rough, covetous Tarpaulin; but he understood his business well enough, and had some smatterings of Divinity in his head. He went to prayers very constantly, and took upon him to expound the Scriptures, which gave offence to several of the passengers. The Mate and the Boatswain were good sailors, and made it their only study to dispute with tempests." — *Life and Errors*, i. 88.

‖ Mr. Francis Burroughs. — *Life, &c.*, i. 135.

offered to lend me moneys, and made me his bed-fellow till I had provided lodgings.

"As I was rambling through Boston, I met with lodgings and a warehouse at Mr. Richard Wilkins',* whose family deserves as well of me as any in New England.† Being thus fixed, I delivered the letters of recommendation I had brought with me from England. I had one from the Rev. Mr. Richard Stretton, to Mr. Staughton, the Deputy Governor; and Mr. Morton, of Newington Green, sent another to Major Dudley, afterwards President, which, with other letters to the Magistrates, had the good effect that I was made Freeman of Boston,‡ though very much obliged for it to the friendship of Mr. Burroughs. Immediately upon this, Captain Hutchinson gave me an invitation to dine with the Governor and the Magistrates in the Town-hall. The entertainment was very rich and noble, and the Governor, Deputy Governor, Major Dudley, and the other Magistrates, gave me a very friendly welcome to Boston, and kindly wished me success in my undertaking."§

He visited Mr. Increase Mather, to promote the sale of his books, and speaks of him as the "great metropolitan Clergyman of the Country, and a master of a great stock of learning, and a very eminent Divine." Of his son, Mr. Cotton Mather, Mr. Dunton says, "he was then upon finishing his Magnalia Christi Americana. There is abundance of freedom and familiarity in the humor of this gentleman. His conversation and his writings are living evidences that he has read much; but there are many that will not allow him the prudence to make a seasonable use of it. His library is very large and numerous; but had his books been fewer when he wrote his 'History,' it would have pleased us better."

He next waited on Mr. Willard, "of the South Meeting," who, he remarks, "is well furnished with learning and solid notions, — has a natural fluency of speech, and can say what he pleases."

"Afterwards I went to visit the Rev. Mr. Allen. He is very humble and very rich, and can be generous enough when the humor is upon him. His son was an eminent minister in England, and deceased at Northampton. Mr. Moody was assistant to Mr. Allen, and well known by his practical writings.

"Leaving Mr. Allen's house, I went next to visit Mr. John and Mr.

* "His person is tall, his aspect sweet and smiling, and, though but fifty years old, his hair is white as snow. He was formerly a bookseller in Limerick, and fled hither on account of conscience. He is a member of Mr. Willard's church."— *Ibid.*, i. 136.

† The Author has an amusing story of some "mischief" in which he was engaged, into which he was led by Mr. Wilkins' daughter, Comfort, at whose suggestion, John says, "I turned fortune-teller," for the *benefit* of "Madam Whitemore, a young lady almost run distracted with love." — *Life and Errors*, i. 113.

‡ I do not find his name recorded among the Freemen of that year; the regular mode of admitting them being then suspended. How he was qualified does not appear. In 1691, a John Dunton was made a Freeman. — See *N. E. H. and Gen. Reg.*, iii. 352. It is not probable that he was the bookseller.

§ Dunton says a few words about the laws; mentions "an English woman, who, admitting some unlawful freedoms from an Indian, was forced twelve months to wear upon her right arm an Indian cut in red cloth."— *Life and Errors*, i. 94.

Thomas Bailey.* These two are popular preachers, and very generous to strangers. I heard Mr. John upon these words, 'Looking unto Jesus'; and I thought he spake like an Angel. They express a more than ordinary kindness for Mr. Wilkins, my landlord, and (being persecuted in Limerick for their Nonconformity) came over with him from Ireland. Reader, I might be large in their character; but when I tell you they are true pictures of Dr. Annesley (whom they count a second St. Paul), it is as high as I need go."

Mr. Dunton next turned his attention to the booksellers. Mr. John Usher was at the head of the book trade, or, according to his visitant, "he made the best figure in Boston; was very rich, adventured much at sea; had got his estate by book-selling." He proposed to buy Mr. Dunton's stock, but they could not agree upon terms.

"Sam Philips," as Dunton familiarly writes, "was the most beautiful man in Boston, — was young and witty; very thriving; and, if I may trust my eyes, is blest with a pretty, obliging wife." He called him, his "old correspondent"; and says, "I will say that for Sam, he is very just."

Brunning, a Dutch bookseller, next received a visit from Dunton, who calls him "Minheer from Holland," and says, "he is scrupulously just, plain in his clothes, versed in the knowledge of all sorts of books, and may well be stiled a complete bookseller. I found him a man of that great interest, that I made him my partner in printing 'Mr. Mather's Sermon, preached at the Execution of Morgan,' who was the only person executed in that country for near seven years."

Duncan Campbel, a Scotchman, was the next in order in the trade, of Mr. Dunton's calls, whom he found very industrious; "dresses a'-la-mode, and I am told a young lady of a great fortune is fallen in love with him." These, he remarks, were all the booksellers; but in his next page he mentions "Andrew Thorncomb, bookseller from London." This person's company he says "was coveted by the best gentlemen in Boston; nor is he less acceptable to the fair sex, for he has something in him so extremely charming, as makes them very fond of his company. However, he is a very virtuous person."

After thus summarily dispatching the booksellers, he says, "I will next give an account of what acquaintance I had in Boston." He begins with "Mr. Willy, brother-in-law to the Rev. Mr. Baily." Mr. Willy "fled thither on account of conscience; a man of a large heart. This, Monmouth's forlorn fugitives experienced often."

Of "Mr. White" he says, he is "a merchant, who, by trading, has clasped islands to the continent, and tacked one country to another. His knowledge of men and things is universal."

He then proceeds to "Mr. Green, the printer. I contracted a great

* These brothers were born near Blackbourn, in Lancashire; Thomas, on Feb. 24th, 1643, who died in Boston, Jan. 21st, 1689. John was one year younger. He died on the 12th of Dec., 1697. They came to Boston about 1675. Having been imprisoned in England for their religion, they went over to Ireland, and thence to Boston; not, however, until they had suffered a long imprisonment in that country also.—*Funeral Sermons*, by I. Mather.

friendship with this man. To name his trade will convince the world he was a man of good sense and understanding. He was so facetious and obliging in his conversation, that I took a great delight in his company, and made use of his house to while away my melancholy hours.*

"Another of my acquaintances was Captain Gery,† a man as eminent for his love to his country as Junius Brutus, and the famous Scævola among the Romans.

"Another of them was George Monk, a person so remarkable, that, had I not been acquainted with him, it would be a hard matter to make any New England man believe that I had been in Boston. There was no house in Boston more noted than George Monk's, or where a man might meet with better entertainment.‡

"Another was Captain Townsend, a gentleman very courteous and affable in his conversation. I might here ramble to Mr. Jollyff, Justice Lines, Macarty, and some others, but will take such of my countrymen that have rambled into this country as well as myself, as I have come acquainted with.

"And first, Mr. Mortimer,§ who came from Ireland. He was an accomplished Merchant, a person of great modesty, and could answer the most abstruse points in algebra, navigation, dialling, &c.

"The next to these was Mr. King. Love was the cause of this gentleman's long ramble hither. Sure his mistress was made of stone, for King had a voice that would have charmed the spheres. He sang 'All Hail to the Myrtle Shade' with a matchless grace, and might be called an accomplished person.

"Another was Mr. York. He was very industrious, but when he unbent the bow, he treated the fair sex with so much courtship and address, as if loving had been all his trade.

"Another was Mr. Heath. Were I to write the character of a pious merchant, I would as soon take Heath for an exemplar as any man I know. He never warrants any ware for good but what is so indeed, and makes no advantage of his chapman's ignorance. This person was my daily visitor, and brought me acquainted with one Gove, of New York, with whom I traded considerable.

* A tribute of unbounded admiration is paid to Mrs. Green by our Traveller. "She well knew that the great duty of a wife is Love. Love was the reason she married Mr. Green; for she knew, where love is wanting, it is but the carcase of a marriage. She very well knew how fatal Jealousy had been to many; and therefore, as she took care never to harbor it in her own breast, so she was nicely careful never to give her husband the least umbrage for it."—*Life and Errors*, i. 104. "I one day told her that 'I believed she was an extraordinary wife; but Mr. Green was so good a man, she could not well be otherwise.' She replied, 'had her husband been a bad man, her duty would have been the same.'"—*Ibid.*, 106.

† This name should be *Gerrish*, no doubt. A stranger might easily mistake it for *Gery*, as it might have been thus pronounced in common discourse. The author mentions the name in another part of his work, where he says he visited "Mr. Gery," the minister of Wenham. Now we know Mr. *Joseph Gerrish* was then minister at that place.

‡ There was a Mr. James Monk, merchant, whose warehouse was "on the Town Dock" in 1743. Monk's Corner was a noted place in those days. "Jolliff's Lane" was the S. part of Pudding Lane. "Maccarty's Corner" was the corner of King street and Leverett's lane.

§ Christian name probably Edward. Edward Mortimer is found among the tax-payers of 1695.

"Mr. Watson shall be the next; formerly a merchant in London, but not thriving there, he left the Exchange for Westminster-hall; and in Boston is become as dextrous at splitting causes as if he had been bred to it. He is full of fancy, and knows the quirks of the law; but, to do him justice, he proves as *honest* as the best lawyer of them all." Of a Mr, C——k, "a young beau," he says, "he boasts of more villainy than ever he committed."*

"Another acquaintance is Mr. Mason,† a blunt, honest Christian; will speak his mind, take it how you please."— "Mr. Malinson is a stiff Independent, — was one of those unfortunate gentlemen that engaged with Monmouth," against James Second; "and I am told this day, at the Royal Exchange, he now teaches young gentlemen to fence in Boston." "I now descend to my particular friends;" "yet a pair of true friends are seldomer to be found than a club of knaves." "I will begin with

"Dr. Oakes, a religious man, and an eminent Physician. He was a great Dissenter whilst he lived in London, and in New England retains the piety of the first Planters. I was recommended to him by Mr. Gillon, as also by a relation of his in Ratcliff; and I must own the Doctor gave me a generous welcome to Boston.

"I pass to my good friend, Dr. Bullivant, formerly my fellow-citizen in London. I must consider him both as a gentleman and a physician. As a gentleman, he came of a noble family; but his good qualities exceeded his birth. He is a great master of the English tongue, and the Northampton people find him a universal scholar. His knowledge of the laws fitted him for the office of Attorney-General, which was conferred upon him on the Revolution in Boston. It is true he sought it not; but New England knew his worth, and even forced him to accept of it. While he held the office, he was so far from pushing things to that extremity as some hot spirits would have had him, that he was for accommodating things, and making peace. His eloquence is admirable; he never speaks but it is a sentence; and no man ever clothed his thoughts in better words. His skill in pharmacy was such as had no equal in Boston.‡

"Mr. Gouge, a linen draper from London, was a son to the charitable Divine of that name.§ He is owner of a deal of wit; his brain

* The black mark set upon this almost nameless individual may have served as a caution to many young men who take great pleasure in boasting of their depravity, by relating their criminal amorous successes. The Author doubtless introduces C——k into his book for two reasons: one, to let him know his stories were not credited; and the other, because he was a large purchaser of his books.

† Arthur Mason, I conclude. See *Ante*, p. 374.

‡ Upon this, and considerable more upon Dr. Bullivant, the author says he could enlarge, but forbore because the Dr. was his friend, and he did not wish to offend his modesty! — *Life and Errors*, i. 106. He was one of those imprisoned with Andros, as will be seen.

§ The Rev. Thomas Gouge, who died in 1681. Dr. Tillotson preached the sermon at his funeral, and the Rev. Timothy Rogers wrote a Preface which accompanied his "Works," printed in 1706. — Edward Gouge, one of the Wardens of King's Chapel, was probably the son referred to by Mr. Dunton. Dr. I. Mather says Mr. Thomas Gouge was a son of "famous Dr. Gouge, and in exemplary piety was not inferior to his father." — *Fun. Ser. on John Baily*, p. 36.

is a quiver of smart jests. He pretends to live a bachelor, but is no enemy to a pretty woman. He is High Church, yet so great a lover of his father's 'Christian Directions,' that he bought two hundred of me to give away, that he might, as he used to say, 'make the Bostonians godly.'

"I must not forget Mr. Tryon, a man of a sweet temper, an excellent husband, and very sincere in his dealings;" nor "Mr. Barnes, who was a clerk to the Government, a matchless accomptant, a great musician, bookish to a proverb, and very generous to strangers."

Mr. Dunton next speaks of his female friends in Boston: — "Mrs. Green, a wife; Madam Brick [Breck], a widow; and Mrs. Foy, party per pale, as the Heralds say, half wife, and half widow, her husband, a captain, being now at sea."

Among others, mention is made of a "Mrs. Brick,* a widow, the very flower of Boston; but can I forget Mrs. Foy? She is another of my friends, and one that I am proud of having so. She has the bashfulness and modesty of the damsel, the love and fidelity of Mrs. Green, the wife, and the piety and sweetness of the widow Brick."†

From the Ladies, the author turns to Arms, to give an account of a military muster in Boston. Being a Freeman, he was of course liable to do military duty; "for," he says, "it is their custom here for all that can bear arms to go out on a Training day. I thought a pike was best for a young soldier, and so I carried a pike. This was the first time I ever was in arms, and I knew not how to shoot off a gun, and was as unacquainted with the terms of military discipline as a wild Irishman. Being come into the field, the Captain called us all into close order, in order to go to prayer, and then prayed himself. And when our exercise [training] was done, the Captain likewise concluded with prayer. Solemn prayer in the field, upon a Training, I never knew but in New England."

Some time after, he visited Harvard College; mentions some of its endowments, and Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir John Maynerd, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Joseph Hill, and the Rev. Mr. Theophilus Gale, as its benefactors.

* Perhaps Joannah, widow of Mr. Robert Breck. If so, her husband had been dead about two years. Concerning this lady our Traveller has some attempts at wit in rather bad taste. "I have chosen," he says, "my friend the widow Brick" [this spelling is in accordance with the then pronunciation, which is the same with many at this day] "as an exemplar, to show you what a widow is. The widow Brick is a gentlewoman whose *head* (*i. e.*, her husband) has been cut off, and yet she lives and walks. But do not be frighted; for she is flesh and blood still, and perhaps some of the *finest* that you ever saw."—*Errors*, i. 107.— "To conclude her character: the beauty of her person, the sweetness and affability of her temper, the gravity of her carriage, and her exalted piety, gave me so just a value for her, that Mrs. Green would often say, 'Should Iris die,' [the name he gave his wife] 'which Heaven forbid, there is none fit to succeed her but Madam Brick.'" — *Ibid.*, 108. In another place he gives an account of a journey to Natick, to the annual Indian Lecture. "When we were setting forth," he says, "I was forced, out of civility and gratitude, to take Madam Brick behind me on horseback. It is true she was the Flower of Boston, but, in this case, proved no more than *a beautiful sort of luggage to me*." — *Ibid.*, 115.

† "Is she a maid?" "What man can answer that?"
"Or widow?" "No." "What then?" "I know not what."
Saint-like she looks; a Syren, if she sing:
Her eyes are stars; her mind is everything. . . . . *Ibid.*, 108.

"My next ramble," he continues, "was to Roxbury, in order to visit the Rev. Mr. Elliot, the great apostle of the Indians. He was pleased to receive me with abundance of respect; and inquired very kindly after Dr. Annesley, my Father-in-law; and then broke out with a word of seeming satisfaction, 'Is my brother Annesley yet alive? Blessed be God for this information before I die!' He presented me with twelve Indian Bibles, and desired me to bring one of them over to Dr. Annesley; as also with twelve 'speeches of converted Indians,' which himself had published."

Mr. Dunton next relates his journey to Natick, where he heard "Mr. Gookins preach," and mentions two of his companions, "Mr. Cook, with Madam Middleton [Middlecot?] behind him;" also some adventures in their return to Boston, in the account of which he does not forget Mrs. Breck, "who had more charms than ever Calypso wore, when she kept Ulysses prisoner in the chains of love." "Upon my coming to Boston," he continues, "I heard that the Rev. Mr. Morton, so much celebrated in England for his piety and learning, was just arrived from England, and with him his kinsman, Dr. Morton, the physician. Mr. Morton did me the honor to declare he was very glad to see me; and I am sure I was glad to see him; not only as be brought me letters from Iris, but for his own personal worth."*

"In the same ship with Mr. Morton came over one Mrs. Hicks, with the valuable venture of her beautiful person, which went off at an extraordinary rate; she marrying a merchant in Salem worth thirty thousand pounds. She was truly virtuous, and a perfect beauty."†

After this, Mr. Dunton visited Haverhill, Wenham and Ipswich. He journeyed on horseback. "Mrs. Comfort, his landlord's daughter, accompanying him," who, it seems had an Uncle Steward residing at the latter place. They both rode on the same horse, in the usual style of that time. The next day, after his arrival, Mr. Hubbard, the Historian, called upon him, "hearing he had brought to Boston a great *venture of learning*, and afterwards took Mr. Dunton and Miss Wilkins to his house, and gave them a very handsome entertainment."‡

* The author gives Mr. Morton a splendid character, which he says everybody will allow; "but Sam Wesley," he says, "has fowled his nest in hopes of a Bishoprick." He also adds, "Mr. Charles Morton (late of Newington Green) was that pious and learned man, by whose instructions my Reverend and worthy Uncle, Mr. Obediah Marriat, was so well qualified for the work of the ministry. To this instance I might add, that Mr. John Shower and other eminent preachers owe that fame they have in the world to his great skill, in their education."—*Life and Errors*, i. 124. "Sam Wesley" was Dunton's brother-in-law, before mentioned, between whom there existed a feud.

† The Traveller visited Salem at the suggestion of "Mr. Sewal, one of the Magistrates," who kindly offered to assist him in the sale of his books." So, deciding to go, "I trudged on foot," he says, "like a mere Coryat." By which comparison he refers to Thomas Coryate, who published his Travels under the singular title of "Crudities hastily gobbled up," &c. He stopped at Capt. Marshal's, about half way to Salem. "The Captain, a hearty old gentleman, formerly one of Oliver's soldiers, upon which he very much valued himself."—*Life*, &c., i. 126. Dunton had a "servant," or "apprentice," who did most of his business for him in Boston. His name was Samuel Palmer. He had been one of the "Monmouth boys," and remained in Boston when his master returned to England, not daring then to venture himself there. But he finally did return, got a place in the army, and was drowned, before 1705.

‡ Mr. Dunton at once appreciated the character of Mr. Hubbard. "He freely com-

Mr. Dunton was now winding up his affairs, and, after a variety of tributes to his friends, expressed in all the warmth of real affection, he says, "Having taken a final leave of my American friends, my stay from Iris and my native country grew now very tedious to me; so, putting three hundred pounds (that was yet unpaid me) in Mr. Wilkins' hands, I committed myself once more to the mercy of the ocean; and, to make short of it, I agreed with Mr. Samuel Leg for my passage to England. The ship was burthen one hundred and fifty tons. There were only two passengers (Mr. Mortimer and Mr. King) besides myself. When the ship was ready to sail, I was attended on board by Dr. Bullevant, Mr. Wilkins, Mr. York, Mr. Gouge, Mr. Heath, Mr. Tryon, Mr. Green, and some other of my Boston friends. The captain entertained them with wine, beer, cyder, and neats-tongues. So soon as ever our friends were gone off to shore, our Captain ordered all his guns to fire, which were accompanied with Huzza's and shouts, and shaking of hats, till we had lost all sight of our friends." *

The Episcopalians became permanently established in Boston in 1686. There were indeed Episcopalians, or persons supposed to be such, seated in Mushauwomuk, and in its neighborhood, earlier than any other sects, as will have been already seen by the reader of this History. They had been more than once forced out of the country, and it was not until 1664 that the Church Service was performed in Boston without molestation. Even then, though protected by the King's Commissioners, who had a Chaplain of that faith with them, no permanent footing was established, nor was there any Church edifice for persons of that sect in the Town. Hence, that the novelty of the services should excite great curiosity, especially among the younger portion of the community, who had never before witnessed anything of the kind, is very natural. A conspicuous example of that curiosity will be found noticed in the relation of the interment of the Lady Anne Andros.

May † 14. On the return of Mr. Randolph to Boston, as is elsewhere mentioned, there came with him Mr. Robert Ratcliffe, an Episcopalian clergyman. The old Government being the next day superceded, all persons residing in Boston, friendly to the English Church, came forward, and thus a society of Episcopalians had its beginning in the place. ‡

municates his learning to all who have the happiness to share in his converse. In a word, he is learned without ostentation and vanity, and gives all his productions such a delicate turn and grace (as is seen in his printed Sermons and 'History of the Indian Wars'), that the features and lineaments of the child make a clear discovery and distinction of the father; yet he is a man of singular modesty, of strict morals, and has done as much for the conversion of the Indians, as most men in New England."—*Ibid.*, i. 134.

* To this parting from Boston, he adds:

"Kind Boston, adieu; part we must, though 't is a pity;
But I 'm made for mankind, and all the world is my city.
Look how on the shore they hoop and they hollow,
Not for joy I am gone, but for grief they can't follow."
Life and Errors, i. 137.

† Most writers place the arrival of the frigate Kingfisher, which brought over Mr. Ratcliffe, on the day that the new Government went into operation. Mr. Greenwood is among them. — See *Hist. King's Chapel*, 13. The error is small, but is easily avoided.

‡ According to a statement of Randolph, there were now near 400 Episcopalians in Boston. Perhaps he included some of those whose

Aug. 21. At first their meetings were in private houses. At length application was made to the officers of the South Church to be allowed to hold their meetings in the Meeting-house of that Society; proposing to accommodate their times of worship to the other society. This was anything but agreeable to the South Society. In the mean time, Mr. William Harrison died, and was "buried with the Common Prayer Book," which is the first time any one had been so interred in the place.* The deceased was "a boddice maker," and was a friend of Mr. Randolph, whose landlord he had been when Randolph formerly resided in the Town.

Finding he was not likely to be allowed a privilege in one of the Meeting-houses, Randolph next proposed that contributions might be raised among the Churches to enable the Episcopalians to erect a House for themselves. With his friend, Mr. Benjamin Bullivant, the apothecary, Mr. Randolph waited upon Mr. Samuel Sewall, one of the principal members of the South Church, and introduced his proposal for a contribution in that society; but, as Judge Sewall relates, the gentlemen "seemed to goe away displeased, because he spake not up to it."†

Dec. 19, 20. Such were the affairs of the Episcopalians on the arrival of the frigate Kingfisher, which brought over Sir Edmund Andros, who, the next day after his arrival, applied for one of the Meeting-houses, in which to perform religious services. A Society had, in the mean while,

June 15. been regularly organized, as its records show, by the following persons who were present: "Mr. Ratcliffe, the minister, Edward Randolph, Esq., Captain Lydgett, Mr. Luscomb, Mr. White, Mr. Maccartie, Mr. Ravenscroft, Doctor Clerke, Mr. Turfery, Mr. Bankes and Doctor Bullivant." These agreed that "a publique collection" should be made every Sunday, "and to be continued untill some publique and settled provision be made for the Minister." Dr. Bullivant and Mr. Richard Bankes were elected Churchwardens, and Mr. Randolph, Capt. Lidgett, Mr. Luscomb and Dr. Bullivant with Mr. Ratcliffe, were appointed "to wayte on the President and Councell to treat about the Church affaires."‡ In pursuance of this the Committee waited upon

May 20. "y^e^ Council. Mr. Mason and Mr. Randolph propose y^t^ he [Mr. Ratcliffe] may have one of y^e^ three Houses to preach in. That is denyed; and he is granted the east end of y^e^ Town-house, where y^e^ Deputies used to meet, until those who desire his ministry shall provide a fitter place."§ This room contained a library.

Hence it appears that the first regular meeting-place of the Episco-

curiosity was strongly enough excited to cause their attendance at the meetings several times.

* Sewall's *Diary* in Holmes, i. 421.

† *Ibid.*

‡ At the same time, "Agreed that Mr. Smith the joyner do make 12 formes for the service of the Church, for each of which he shall be paid 4*s.* 8*d.*" Also to pay him "20*s.* quarterlie for cleaneing, placeing and removeing y^e^ Pulpit, Formes, Table, &c., and dooing all other things which shall be convenient and necessary in our place of publique assembling." —*Greenwood*, 24.

§ Sewall in *Wisner*, 93.

July 4. pal Society was in the Town-house. Their second meeting was on the since memorable Fourth of July, when it was agreed to pay Mr. Ratcliffe fifty pounds per annum, salary, besides what the Council might think fit to settle on him. It was also agreed that, if Mr. Buckley, the Chaplain of the Rose Frigate, was disposed to assist him,* he should have twenty shillings a week.†

From the manner of Gov. Andros, on being waited upon and remonstrated with, it was hoped, and perhaps expected, that he would not press the demand to occupy one of the Churches. But in this they were disappointed.‡ Randolph, in the mean time, had no 1686–7. Mar. 23. small share, it is presumed, in the Governor's determination; for in the following March he sent this very obnoxious individual to demand the key of the South Church, "that they may say prayers there." Before a compliance with the demand, however, a committee waited on his Excellency to remonstrate, consisting of "Mr. Elliot, Frarye, Oliver, Savage, Davis and Sewall." They stated to him that they could not "part with their house for any such use;" that the House and the land were theirs, producing extracts from Mrs. Norton's deed, showing, "how 't was built by particular persons, as Hull, Oliver, one hundred pounds apiece, &c."

This remonstrance availed nothing, and two days after the Episco- Mar. 25. palians performed their services in the South Church.§ They continued to occupy it from this time till the Revolution in 1689, as often as they had occasion. It may be, that the reason the people surrendered their House so quietly, was an implied condition that they should not be disturbed in their own religious privileges.‖

* At the same time he had an assistant named Clark, or Clarke, about whose Christian name there is some uncertainty. Mr. Greenwood thinks it was Josiah, which is probably correct. Judge Sewall speaks of one of Mr. Clarke's long sermons thus: "March 27, Govr and his retinue met in our meeting at 11; broke off past 2, because of ye Sacrament and Mr. Clarke's long sermon, though we were apointed to come half hour past one; so 't was a sad sight to see how full ye street was with people gazing and moving to and fro, bec. had not entranc into ye house." — *Diary in* Wisner, 94.

† *Records of King's Chapel* in Greenwood. These persons are named as being present at the second meeting, besides those who attended the first: "Mr. Proctour, Mr. Stephen Wessendunke, Mr. Thomas Brindley, and Mr. Mallett." — *Ibid.* 25. At this meeting it was "Agreed that the prayers of the Church be said every Wednesday and Friday in the yeare (for the present, in the Library chamber in the Town-house in Boston), and in the summer season to beginne at 7 of the clock in the morning, and in the winter at nine of the clock in the forenoon." — *Ibid.* 26.

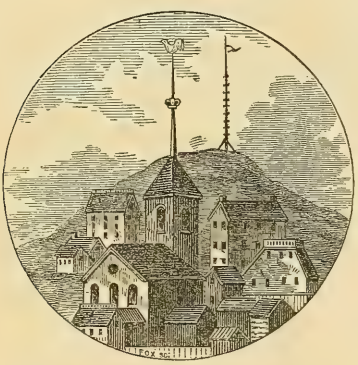
‡ After the application or proposal of Randolph to make use of one of the three Meeting-houses, Judge Sewall entered as follows in his Journal: "Tuesday, Dec. 21. There is a meeting at Mr. Allen's of ye Ministers and four of each Congregation, to consider what answer to give to ye Governor; and 't was agreed yt could not with a good conscience consent yt our Meeting-houses should be made use of for ye Common prayer worship. Dec. 22. In ye evening Mr. Mather and Mr. Willard thoroughly discoursed his Excellency about ye Meeting-houses, in great plainness, shewing they could not consent. This was at his lodging, at Madame Taylor's."

§ "Friday, March 25 [New-year's day then], the Govr. has service in ye South Meeting-house. Goodman Needham, tho' had resolved to the contrary, was prevailed upon to ring ye bell and open ye door at ye Governor's command; one Smith and Hill, joiner and shoemaker, being very busy about it. Mr. Jno. Usher was there, whether at ye very begining or no I can't tell." — *Sewall.*

‖ Upon the proceedings of Andros, in thus infringing the rights of the people of the South Church, Mr. Greenwood remarks: "In looking back on this event, we are obliged to consider it, though not of itself of great politica

The Episcopalians kept constantly in view the erection of a Church for themselves. Judge Sewall was several times applied to to sell a piece of land at Cotton Hill,* to be improved for that purpose; but his consent could not be obtained; because, he said, "he would not set up that which the people came from England to avoid; and, besides, the land was entailed." However, a site was obtained, and a Church erected before the forcible ejectment of Andros and his satellites from Boston.†

The first Church was built by contributions throughout the country; the Government being first applied to for "liberty and authority," for persons authorized to receive donations, "to pass through the whole territory of his Majesty in New England."‡ The business of raising money being thus approbated, it was no doubt prosecuted with energy, though almost two years elapsed before a house was so far finished as to accommodate the Society. Then it was recorded, that £256 had been contributed by ninety-six individuals. The house had then 1689. July 4. been built, at a cost of about £284. Whether this account included thirty-five shillings, paid to Mr. William Smith for "benching" of it, it is not clearly stated. How the Society obtained the land on which the Church stood, has not been discovered, but it is not at all improbable that it was taken by order of Governor Andros out of the common burial-place, which was given to the Town by Mr. Isaac Johnson. It was of wood, and stood upon part of the ground now occupied by the present edifice, at the north-east corner of Tremont and School streets. The Revolution was a sensible check upon the prosperity of the Society, and their House had no pews up to 1693; in that year the officers of Sir Francis Wheler's fleet which put into Boston to recruit, made up a donation for the Church



FIRST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.§

importance, as one of the most arbitrary acts ever perpetrated in this country, while it remained under the English government. No excuse is to be rendered for it. It was such a deliberate outrage on the common rights of property, to say nothing of conscience and liberty, that we may only wonder that Andros and his abettors suffered no personal violence from the people." — *Hist. King's Chapel*, 39.

* Cotton Hill was an eminence near the southerly termination of Pemberton Square, and nearly opposite the gate of King's Chapel Burying-ground. The Rev. John Cotton resided near it, and hence its name.

† Francis Nicholson, Lieut. Governor of N. York, in a letter to Andros, dated New York, Nov. 15th, 1688, says, "My humble service to all our friends and acquaintance, and I hope the little Church and its Parson are both well. You have taken away all the old Acts, bookes of Council, and bookes of Pattens; soe people comeing to have coppies from these bookes, they not being here, you loose by it."—W. B. Trask *from Mass. Archives.*

‡ Greenwood, 25. The application to the Government was ordered at the second organized meeting, July 4th, 1686.

§ From an old view of Boston, published in 1720; giving also a good view of Beacon Hill, then very nearly in its primitive state.

of fifty-six pounds. The next year pews were built at an expense of eighty-five pounds.*

Between 1710 and 1713, the old Church was rebuilt and enlarged to twice its original size. Mr. Thomas Brattle gave an organ † when it was finished. A clock was given in 1714.

No account of the dedication of the first Church has been found, but the first meeting in it is fixed upon the last day of June, which was Sunday. The second building stood until 1753, when, on the second day of April, it was begun to be taken down. Another was completed on the same site, and opened for divine service on the twenty-first of August, 1754. The amount expended in its erection and embellishment, up to June, 1758, was £7405, sterling. It has not since undergone any essential alteration in its exterior appearance.‡

1687. June 30.

Upon the great American Revolution in 1776, the Episcopal Society was broken up. Many of its most important supporters were royalists, who fled from Boston, and with them their minister, the Rev. Dr. Caner, and their house was shut up. Here was a period in the history of this Society of singular interest. It commenced its career by forcibly taking possession of the South Meeting-house; and it was now compelled to abandon its own. The King's troops had desecrated and spoiled that house, as has been related heretofore; that Society were now accommodated in the King's Chapel, and continued to be for near five years. Its name was changed to Stone Chapel, in conformity with other changes, which grew out of a hatred to kingly authority. It has continued to be so called to this day, by a majority of the old inhabitants and their immediate descendants. The name of King's Chapel is, however, applied to it by many. On the accession of Queen Ann, some called it Queen's Chapel. If it is to be named

* The first house was provided with a bell in 1689, as appears by the following entry in the Records: "July 23. By cash paid for our Church Bell to Mr. John Butler, by Mr. Foxcroft, £13, 5*s*."

The wardens for the first few years were

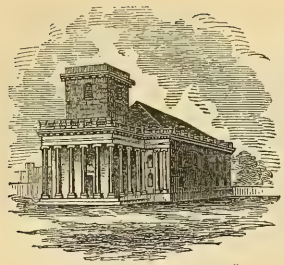
Benjamin Bullivant and Richard Banks, 1686–7.
Francis Foxcroft and Samuel Ravenscroft, 1689.
Benjamin Mountfort and Giles Dyer, 1690.
Savill Simpson and Harry Clark, 1691.
Nicholas Tippet and Edward Gouge, 1692.
William Hobby and George Turfrey, 1693.
Thaddeus Maccarty and Thomas Foxcroft, 1694–5.
Giles Dyer and Benjamin Mountfort, 1696.
Giles Dyer and Shubal Simpson, 1697.
George Turfrey and John Indicott, 1698.
John Indicott and William Hobby, 1699.
William Hobby and East Apthorp, 1700.
East Apthorp and Edward Lyde, 1701.
Edward Lyde and Samuel Checkley, 1702–3.

The officers of the Society were increased, in 1699, by the appointment of Vestry men. The first were "Francis Foxcroft, Thaddeus Mackarty, Thomas Newton, Giles Dyer, Benj. Mountfort, John Cooke, Savill Simpson, Edward Lyde and Edward Turfrey."

† This was, no doubt, the first organ in Boston. A Mr. Price was the first Organist, and a Mr. Edward Enstone was the second. He came from London in 1714, at which time he was "living next door to Mr. Masters' on Tower Hill." His salary was small, but £30; yet, "with dancing, music, &c.," it was thought it would answer.—*Hist. King's Chapel*, 74–5.

‡ A list of the Rectors or Ministers from the beginning to the time of Mr. Greenwood: —

Robert Ratcliffe, Rector,	1686, left,	1689.
Robert [?] Clarke, Assistant,	1686.	
Samuel Myles, Rector,	1689, died,	1728.
George Hatton, Assistant,	1693, left,	1696.
Christopher Bridge, "	1699, remd.	1706.
Henry Harris, "	1709, died,	1729.
Roger Price, Rector,	1729, resigned,	1746.
Charles Harwood, Assistant,	1731, died,	1736.
Addington Davenport, "	1737, left,	1740.
Stephen Roe, "	1741, removed,	1744.
Henry Caner, Rector,	1747, left,	1776.
Charles Brockwell, Assistant,	1747, died,	1755.
John Troutbeck, "	1755, left,	1775.
James Freeman, reader,	1782, died,	1835.
Samuel Cary, Associ. Minister,	1809, died,	1815.
F. W. P. Greenwood, "	1824, resigned,	1842.



THE STONE CHAPEL.*

according to the prevailing Government over the country, it should now be called the United States Chapel.

Overseers of corders of wood, Jeremiah Fitch, John Goffe, John More, John Lowell, John Bull and Thomas Shepcoll. Fined for not serving as Constables, "Mr. Joseph Parsons, Mr. Edward Brumfield, Mr. Benj. Alford and Mr. Humphry Luscombe."

CHAPTER L.

Death of Joseph Redknap. — Joseph Dudley President. — Colonial Seal. — Edmund Andros Governor. — Town Affairs. — Muddy River taken from Boston. — Number of persons taxed. — New Order about Marriages. — People excessively taxed. — Their Lands declared forfeited to the King. — Town Meetings forbid by Andros. — The King grants Toleration. — Andros forbids Thanksgiving. — Mather's Embassy to the King. — Andros attempts to hinder it. — He goes against the Eastern Indians. — Indian Hostages. — Andros continues his Oppressions. — Death of his Lady. — Winslow imprisoned. — The People take up Arms. — The Governor and others seized and imprisoned. — The old Government restored. — News of the Revolution in England. — Joyously celebrated. — Andros and others sent prisoners to England.



COLONY SEAL.

JOSEPH REDKNAP died this year, aged, as was supposed, one hundred and ten years. He had been a wine cooper in London, and came over here in or before 1634, as in that year he was made a freeman.†

May ‡ 14. The Rose frigate arrived from England, bringing a Commission appointing Joseph Dudley, Esq., President of New England, § and

* Being now more generally known by this name than by that of King's Chapel, I have so designated the engraving which represents it at the present day. To avoid confusion and prevent mistakes, a single name is desirable to the same object. It matters but little what the name is, so long as uniformity is attained. The Philadelphians are remarkable for having double names to some of their streets, to the no little annoyance of strangers.

† Hutchinson, i. 341; *Gen. Reg.*, iii. 93. In the list of freemen his name is spelled Rednape. A Benjamin Rednap was a freeman of Lynn, 1691. He was, perhaps, a son of Joseph, whose death is recorded in the text, and who, according to Mr. Lewis, had 40 acres of land granted to him in Lynn in 1638. The latter author records his death from Sewall's *Diary*, "23 Jan. 1686," which should probably be 1686–7. If he were the Joseph Redknap who testified concerning affairs of Lynn in 1657, he was then only "about 60."

‡ At a Town-meeting the same day Capt. Pen Townsend was chosen Deputy to the General Court, in place of Mr. Isaack Addington, who was elected a Magistrate. At the regular meeting on the 9 March preceding, Mr. Addington, Mr. John Saffin, and Capt. Timothy Prout, had been chosen Deputies.



§ John Dunton was at this time selling books in Boston, and in his *Life and Errors* (ii. 111) thus notices this arrival: — "About this time [he has no date] arrived the Rose frigate from England, with a new Charter, procured by one Randal [Randolph] which gave Major Dudley the title of President, and the Magistrates

certain gentlemen to be of the Council.* Mr. Dudley was not popular, inasmuch as he had recommended an early compliance with Mr. Randolph's requirements, and had been in correspondence with him, and now, no doubt, was chiefly indebted to him for this mark of the King's favor. The people, however, submitted more quietly to him as a Royal Governor, having lately had so near a prospect of one, though not an African, quite as much to be dreaded as any native monster from the deserts of that barbarous country.†

May 25. "The President and Council being assembled, the exemplification of the Judgment against the Charter of the late Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, together with his Majesty's Commission of Government were publicly read," ‡ and received with a sort of feigned satisfaction.

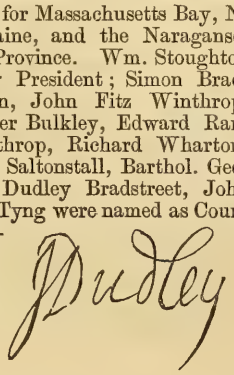
A new order of things was, of course, expected to take place. The old Colonial Seal, which had been in use from an early date, was no longer to be attached to documents. It was made of silver, and prepared in England by the Massachusetts Company, and sent over to Governor Endicott in 1629, and was used by him before Boston was settled by the Second Colony under Mr. Winthrop.§

Mr. Dudley's Presidency was a very brief one, and it does not appear that there was any good reason for his being found fault with. Civil affairs went on in a channel as near the former one as the nature of the new arrangement in the government allowed; and, as to religious concerns, they were not at all disturbed.

Dec. 20. Sir Edmund Andros assumed the government on his arrival.‖ He lodged on his first coming into town, probably, at the house of Mr. Gibbs, at Fort Hill.¶ The people of Boston had had some

were changed into Counsellors. Parson Ratcliffe came over with the Charter, and on Lord's-day read the Common Prayer in his surplice, and preached in the Town-house. He was an eminent preacher, and his sermons were useful and well dressed. I was once or twice to hear him; and it was noised about that Dr. Annesley's son-in-law was turned apostate. But I could easily forgive them, in regard the Common Prayer and the Surplice were religious novelties in New England."

* Mr. Dudley's commission made him President of the Council for Massachusetts Bay, N. Hampshire and Maine, and the Naraganset country, or King's Province. Wm. Stoughton was named Deputy President; Simon Bradstreet, Robt. Mason, John Fitz Winthrop, John Pynchon, Peter Bulkley, Edward Randolph, Wait Winthrop, Richard Wharton, John Usher, Nathl. Saltonstall, Barthol. Gedney, Jona. Tyng, Dudley Bradstreet, John Hinks, and Edward Tyng were named as Councillors. Mr. Bradstreet and his son Dudley Bradstreet, declined. — Hutchinson, i. 351.



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† See a Note in Hutchinson, i. 341.

‡ See Tully's *Almanack for* 1687. But in the Almanack it is said that the reading of the Commission, &c., was "received by persons of all conditions, with general acceptance."

§ The accompanying engraving at the head of the Chapter accurately represents it, though of but half the size of the original. It is supposed to have been destroyed in the time of Andros.

‖ He came in the Kingfisher, a fifty gun frigate. Judge Sewall wrote in his Diary, "Dec. 24. About 60 red coats are brought to town, landed at Pool's wharf, where drew up, and so marched to Mr. Gibbs' house at Fort Hill." — *Holmes' Annals*, i. 419.

¶ Mr. Robert Gibbs. His house was of stone, and one of the best in the Town. He was the father of Mr. Henry Gibbs, who removed to Providence, and of Mary, wife of the Rev. John Cotton of Newton. Robert Gibbs was dead in 1686. Soldiers were quartered in his house for a year and a half, for which his heirs claimed £87, 10*s.* rent and damages, in 1739.— *Original Docmts.* The street or alley on which his house was situated, was called Gibbs' Lane. This lane extended easterly from the east end of Cow Lane (High street) to the water, terminating not far from a wharf, long known as Gibbs' wharf.

knowledge of Andros. He had been here before, and they had, perhaps, as much respect for him as for Mr. Dudley. His proceedings at first gave some confidence that his government would not be altogether unsatisfactory.

The "standinge charge" of Boston in 1686, was "about £400 per annum; above £200 of which is in maintaining three Free Schools, mending the high wayes," in the Town, at Rumneymarsh and Muddy River. The rest is expended in paying for various services, "to the poore people that are not like to get their liueings as long as they doe liue; besides clothinge, burying y^e^ poore, and giueinge to peoples necessities transientlie, repaire the Townehouse and schoole houses, maintaininge poor people when they are sicke, blowing vp of houses, &c."*

In the beginning of the last year the inhabitants of Muddy River moved in Townmeeting that they might be freed from taxes, for that they desired to apply their amount of tax to the maintenance of a writing school. In January of this year, the new Government of the Colony, in answer to a petition from Muddy River, "ordered, that, hence forth the said Hamlet of Muddie River, be free from town rates to y^e^ Towne of Bostone; they maintaing their own high ways and poore, and other publique charges, amongst themselues; and that within one yeare they raise a schoole-house, and also maintaine on able readinge and writinge master; and that the inhabitants annuallie meete to choose three men to manage their affairs." †

Jan. 12.

Aug. 31. The taxable polls of the Town, from sixteen years of age and upwards, were 1447. ‡

Meanwhile the new Governor began to give evidence that he intended to effect a complete change in affairs. One of his first acts was to put the Press under restraint, over which he appointed his Secretary, Randolph, Licenser. This, however, was no new grievance, but to put it into the hands of a man whom the people believed to be their enemy in everything, was sufficient to cause a general rankling among feelings already much irritated. § He proceeded to make a new order concerning marriages, and intended to bring about a law making no marriage valid, not solemnized by a minister of the Church of England. Fees of office were enhanced to an insufferable rate. For the probate of a will, fifty shillings were exacted. With four or five of his Council, the Governor assessed such taxes as he thought proper. Poor people, women and children, were obliged to come to Boston from re-

* "There is appointed by Authority, a Market to be kept in Boston, and a Committee is ordered to meet and state the place and days, and other circumstances relating to the good settling thereof." — *Tully's Almanack for* 1687.

† This order was signed "Edward Randolph Sect." "Benjamin Bullivant, late Clerke of y^e^ Councell" witnessed it.

‡ A list of them "on ten sheets of paper" is spoken of in the Town Records. That list is not, probably, preserved.

§ Three weeks before the arrival of Andros, his secretary, Randolph, ordered Mr. Samuel Green the printer, to print nothing without his approbation. The order was signed by "Ben. Bullivant," in which it was said he must not print "any Almanack whatever." — See Holmes' *Annals*, i. 420. But Mr. Green did print an Almanack for the year 1686, and I have seen and used one of them.

1686–7. The Selectmen to appoint chimney sweepers, and none else to be allowed to sweep them.

mote places upon all the business connected with the settlement of estates.

A plan was hit upon by Andros and his ill advisers, to extort money from the people, which, could he have succeeded in it, would have gratified his avarice, which seems to have been as much his ruling passion as cruelty was that of Colonel Kirke. But happily any passion carried to excess defeats its own objects. Andros mistook the character of the people here. They were not to be insulted with impunity. They had not grown up believing that all power emanated from the King, or that his vicegerent could not be called in question for acts clearly against all reason, even though he might construe the law to suit his purposes. Andros' plan of aggrandizement was no other than this. It was to declare all the landholders tenants at will. His argument backed up by the King would have answered his designs. But his King, not being able to back up his title to his Crown, his claim to it and the arguments of Andros shared the fate of all tyrannical iniquities. The sum of Andros' argument was, that as the people held their lands by a Charter from the Crown, and as they had forfeited that Charter, they had forfeited their possessions under it.* This was, indeed, an alarming conclusion, and what would have been the result, had James the Second continued on the throne of England, it is not difficult to decide. Such a King, with such a General as Kirke had proved himself to be, submission first, and the gallows next, were about alike certain.

Under such prospects a free people would be very likely to be in a state of desperation. They were even so at that time, but their nerves were steady, as in the sequel will appear.

Meanwhile James Second was making rapid strides in arbitrary power, then perfectly consistent with Popery, with which he was thoroughly imbued. Andros and Kirke were reputed to be of the same faith, but neither of them, probably, cared a straw's worth about any religion further than was necessary to keep upon terms with their master.

The immediate affairs of the Town, during the administration of Dudley and Andros, seem to have been almost neglected, as it appears from the records.† Some were discouraged, and others knew not what to do. A despotism was staring them full in the face. They knew

* Andros' object was to grant new titles to estates himself, for which he was to receive such fees as he chose to demand. "Accordingly Writs of Intrusion were issued out against the chief gentlemen in the Territory; by the terror whereof many were driven to petition for patents, that they might enjoy their lands, which had been 50 or 60 years in their possession. But for these patents there were such exorbitant prices demanded, that £50 could not purchase for its owner an estate not worth £200: nor could all the money and moveables in the Territory have defrayed the charges of patenting the lands at the hands of these crocodiles; besides the considerable quit-rents for the King. Indeed, the bruitish things done by these *wild beasts* of the earth, are too many to be related."—Mather's *Remarkables*, 101.

† "Sir Edmund Androsse, with a few of his Council, made a law prohibiting any Town-meeting, except once a year, viz.: on the third Monday in May."—*The Revolution in N. Eng. Justified*, p. 12. The Town Records show this to be true, or rather their absence shows it.

not what would be law to-morrow, or whether there would be any law save the will of an unprincipled despot. The General Court had been abolished, and hence the people had no voice in any public measures.*

In the midst of this state of things Andros received an additional Commission, adding New York to his government. This Commission he caused to be published from the balcony of the Town-house. Not long after he received the news of the birth of a Prince, and thereupon ordered a general Thanksgiving, which was to take place on the first of September. A special order was sent to "Mr. Cotton Mather" to read the Proclamation to his congregation. †

The only good act for which James Second has credit in New England, was his "Declaration of Indulgence," or an order for universal toleration in matters of religion. ‡ This displeased Andros in proportion as it pleased the people; and he was bitter against Mr. Increase Mather for his agency in causing an address of thanks to be sent to the King for his Declaration. His hatred of Mr. Mather did not begin at this time. That Minister had been looked upon all along as the cause of opposition to his measures, and not only to his, but to those of all the King's officers hitherto. Now, his wrath was at its height, and he seemed determined to be revenged on him whom he considered the leader of the people. §

Soon after the King's "Declaration" was received, the Churches of Boston agreed to keep a Day of Thanksgiving on the account of that event. This so irritated Governor Andros, that he forbid such a demonstration, and threatened to set guards of soldiers at the doors of the Churches if it should be attempted. ‖

Encouraged by what James had lately done for religious liberty, many of the "superior people" thought there was a prospect of obtaining from him some special favor for New England, if they were to send over a suitable person to intercede with him. This it was concluded should be done, and Mr. Mather was at once pitched upon as the messenger. In the mean time Randolph had succeeded in bringing Mr. Mather into difficulty, which happened in this wise. Mr.

* Randolph, writing to some friend, said they were now become as arbitrary as the great Turk. — *Hutchinson.*

† The Proclamation and Order are inserted in Hutchinson, i. 372.

‡ "By this general indulgence Popery was craftily to be introduced. Mr. Mather and his constituents were not Politicians sufficient to penetrate into the wicked and pernicious contrivance of that toleration." — Douglass, *Sum.* i. 440.

§ Dr. Cotton Mather speaks with great bitterness of Andros. But against Randolph he is more than bitter. His denunciations are highly characteristic of their author: — "O, Randolph! I said a good while ago, that I should have a farther occasion to mention him. I have now done it; and, that I may never mention him any more, I will here take my eternal farewell of him, with relating that he proved a *Blasted Wretch*, followed with a sensible curse of God wherever he came; despised, abhorred, unprosperous; anon he died in Virginia, and in such miserable circumstances, that (as it is said), he had only two or three Negro's to carry him unto his grave." — *Remarkables*, 107. This perhaps refers to Andros.

It will be well to observe, in connection with this, that Andros did not die in Virginia. He was appointed Governor of that Province in 1692, in which office he continued six years; and that he appears to have met with no difficulty there; having, no doubt, learned, by his experience in Boston, that Colonists could not easily be made slaves of. He died in London, in February, 1714. — Hutchinson, ii. 208. Allen, *Biog. Dict.*

‖ See *Remarkables*, 103. 111.

Mather had been very active in all measures against the surrender of the Charter, and had published reasons against it; but he managed his opposition with so much prudence that his enemies could not get any legal hold upon him. At length a letter was forged under his name, and being directed to some person in Amsterdam, was pretended to be intercepted in its passage thither. And, as it reflected on Sir Lionel Jenkins, and contained passages calculated to incense the King and his ministers against the Country, it was used by Randolph for that purpose.* The forgery was believed to be the work of Randolph and a brother of his,† and Mr. Mather so expressed himself in a letter to a correspondent. This charge of Mr. Mather coming to Randolph's ears, he at once brought an action of slander against the Author of it; laying his damages at five hundred pounds. It came to trial; Randolph lost his case, and had to pay the costs of court. Notwithstanding, by some means not stated, he commenced the action anew, and a writ was out for the arrest of Mr. Mather, as he was just ready to sail on his mission; ‡ but he was secreted by his friends, and at length went on board the ship prepared to convey him, in the night, disguised, and thus thwarted the design of his implacable enemy.§

April 7.

Mr. Mather took with him his youngest son, Nathaniel, then about eighteen years of age. As their ship approached the English coast, "they narrowly escaped perishing among the rocks of Scilly." And soon after they were near being wrecked by following the false information of some fishermen.‖ However, he soon after landed safely at

* "There were many passages in favor of Ferguson, Lord Shaftsbury, Oates, &c. Sir Lionel Jenkins either suspected the forgery, or treated the thing with contempt, asking whether it was that Star-gazer wrote it. (Referring to Mr. Mather's then late treatise on comets.)" — Hutchinson, i. 366. Sir *Leoline* Jenkins died 1 Oct., 1685. — *Granger*.

† I have made no researches respecting the family of Andros. There was a Captain Elisha Andros in the Indian wars of 1690, &c. Farmer does not mention him. Sir Edmund's Autograph is subjoined.



‡ It appears from Mr. Mather's biographer that the new action was brought purposely to prevent his mission to England, and that Mr. Mather himself had communicated his design to Andros. It is related as follows: — "He waited on Sir Edmund Andross, the Governor and Oppressor of New England, and acquainted him that he designed a voyage to London. He also gave the Country notice of his voyage, in a sermon at the Great Lecture, on Exod. xxxiii. 15. *If thy presence go not with us, carry us not up from hence.* Hereupon Randolph again, assisted by one 'pothecary Bullivant, a memorable Justice (and something else!) privately sent an officer to arrest him once more upon the former action of defamation. But it fell out that he was just then under the operation of a more wholesome *physic* than what that 'pothecary had sent him; and so the officer was ignorantly denied admittance. The 'pothecary as ignorantly reported that Mr. Mather was arrested; and the report flying like lightning about the solicitous Town, it soon reached Mr. Mather's ears; who then kept upon his guard." — *Remarkables*, 106–7.

§ "Mr. Mather withdrew privately from his house, in a changed habit, unto the house of Col. Philips in Charlstown; in which withdraw, it is remarkable, that a wicked fellow, whose name was Thurton, and who was placed as an undersheriff, to watch him, and seize him, if he stir'd abroad, now saw him and knew him, and yet found himself struck with such an enfeebling terror, that he had no power to meddle with him. From thence he was, by certain well disposed young men of his flock, transported unto Winnesimmet; and from thence he went aboard a ketch, which lay ready to assist his voyage; from which he was, on April 7th, 1688, gladly received aboard the ship, called the Præsident, on which he had at first shipped himself, and so bore away for England." — *Remarkables*, 107–8.

‖ "Some very wicked fishermen of St. Ives,

May 6. Weymouth, "which was the last town he lodged in when he left England seven and twenty years before."

May 25. On the twenty-fifth of May he arrived in London, and five days after had an audience with the King, "in the Long Gallery at Whitehall." And not long after, two or three other conferences, in all of which, according to the report given of them, "his Majesty" was full of good words, and appeared kindly disposed towards New England, while at the same time his sincerity was doubted. And, as will be observed, his fair speeches amounted to nothing; notwithstanding Mr. Mather had the advice and help of persons of influence in England, as well as the counsel and aid of several of Massachusetts. Among the latter were Mr. Samuel Nowel and Mr. Elisha Hutchinson, who had been Assistants under the Charter government.

April. Meanwhile the Eastern Indians were in open war with the settlers in that part of the Country. Sir Edmund, with a considerable armament, sailed from Boston to chastise them, but it was productive of far more mischief than advantage. The war thus begun continued near ten years.* Late in the season of the same year Gov-

Nov. ernor Andros marched with a force of about 700 men against the Eastern Indians by land.† In this, likewise, he accomplished nothing against them, and his men suffered extremely, and many of them died from exposure to the rigors of the season; more, it is affirmed by some, than the whole number of Indians in hostility. But Andros led his men in person, and shared their hardships with them.

After the return of Governor Andros from his first expedition against the Indians, some of the officers in authority in the eastern country, took a number of Indians prisoners and sent them to Boston. Here they were held as hostages, and for safe-keeping imprisoned. This was in the summer, and Sir Edmund was at the time absent from Town. On his return he was greatly displeased that the Indians had been im-

also after that, gave them false advice, on purpose to have shipwrecked 'em, which they again escaped by Mr. Mather's taking one of the *sharks* aside, and hiring him with four half crowns to tell the truth." — *Remarkables*, 108. If this is a fair picture of the liabilities of mariners on *civilized* coasts in those days, the situation of those thrown upon *un*-civilized ones was lamentable indeed. I have no doubt of the facts in the above extract.

* Sir Edmund had calculated upon the assistance of the experienced and brave Col. Benjamin Church, and sent for him to come to Boston. Ever ready to fight Indians when his Country required it, he came immediately to Town. The Governor offered him the second place in command, and Church was at first disposed to accept; but taking time to consider of it before giving a final answer, and in the interim consulting with many of his acquaintances in the Town, "who made it their business, some to encourage and others to discourage him," he returned answer to the Governor that he could not go. Hence, it may be fair to infer that there were many in Boston who did what they could to render Sir Edmund's expedition abortive.— See Church's *Hist.*, &c., 150.

† "And tho' 't is judged that our Indian enemies are not above 100 in number, yet an army of 1000 English hath been raised for the conquering of them; which army our poor friends and brethren now under Popish commanders (for in the army as in the Council, Papists are in commission), has been under such a conduct, that not one Indian hath been killed, but more English are supposed to have died through sickness and hardship, than we have adversaries there alive; and the whole war hath been so managed, that we cannot but suspect in it a branch of the plot *to bring us low;* which we leave to be further enquir'd into." — *Declaration of the Inhabitants of Boston*, &c., *in* "*An Account of the Late Revolution by* Nathaniel Byfield," p. 17. "Thus we are briar'd into another Indian war." — *Ib.*

prisoned, and ordered them set at liberty.* Some of his own Council opposed the liberation of one of the Chiefs, long noted for his barbarities. The name of that chief was Hopehood.† It is said that Andros spent two or three hours in private with Hopehood before he was set at liberty, and hence the depredations which that Chief committed not long after, caused Andros to be charged with inciting the Indians to war against the English. However, it is certain that Hopehood was a principal leader in the butcheries at Salmon Falls in the following March, and at Fox Point in the following May, to go no further.

The occurrence of these things, and the constant issue of Writs of Intrusion‡ against people of wealth, caused the poorer class to inquire, "What was to become of them, when their turn should come?" People were brought to Boston from Ipswich, and other places even more remote, and put into prison, because they dared to question the legality of being compelled to raise money without the authority of a General Court. Cases of individual oppression cannot be enumerated, § but that of Mr. Joseph Lynde of Charlestown, and that of Mr. Ichabod Wiswall of Duxbury, were peculiarly aggravating.

At the same time that the news of the birth of a Prince was received at Boston, suspicions accompanied it, that it had no foundation in truth. The people were better prepared to entertain the suspicions than to believe that they were provided with a successor thus early to

* "Upon his return, finding the Indians in prison, fell into a great rage against those gentlemen that had acted therein." — Thos. Danforth in *N. Eng. Justified*, 34.

† Hutchinson says it was Madokawando, and does not mention Hopehood at all. Madokawando *may* have been one of the captives who accompanied Hopehood, as there were "about a dozen" of them. — For the exploits of both of these Chiefs See THE BOOK OF INDIANS. Dr. C. Mather says Hopehood was a "bloody Devil."

‡ The nature of those *writs* will be best understood by a Deposition which I take out of *New England Justified*, page 26, which is as follows: — "The deposition of Capt. Daniel Turel and Lieut. Edward Willis, sworn, say, That upon a Writ of Intrusion being served on Deer Island, belonging to the town of Boston, and let unto Col. Samuel Shrimpton by the Selectmen of the said Town, the rent whereof being of long time appropriated towards the maintainance of a Free School in the Town, we, the Deponents, two of the Selectmen of the said Town, do testify, that meeting with Mr. James Graham upon the Town-house, and telling him, that if Col. Shrimpton did decline to personate the case of the said Island, we the Select-men would. The said Graham said, Are you the men that will stand suit against the King? We the Deponents told him we would answer in behalf of the Town. The said Graham replied, There was no Town of Boston, nor was there any Town in the Country. We made answer we were a Town, and owned so to be by Sir Edmund Androsse, Governor, in the warrant sent us for the making a rate. Then the said Graham told us, We might stand the trial if we would, but bid us have a care of what we did, saying It might cost us all we were worth, and something else too, for aught he knew; and further these deponents say not. Sworn before William Johnson, Assistant, Jan. 30, 1689." — Mr. Graham was Andros' Attorney General. Mrs. Mary Hooke, wife of Francis Hooke, Esq., of Kittery, Me., presuming, it may be, that Noddle's Island would be wrested from Col. Shrimpton, petitioned Andros for "consideration and relief," she being daughter of Mr. Samuel Maverick, former owner of said island. She urged that "her father, in 1648, was fined £250 for attempting to petition the King, and that when a commissioner with Nichols, Carr and Cartwright, he was interrupted by sound of trumpet." — *Mass. Archives*, Vol. 128, p. 45. I may not have noted, elsewhere, that Noddle's Island (now East Boston) is supposed to have been so named from one William Noddle, who was a Freeman of the Colony, 18 May, 1631; the same, perhaps, resident in Salem in 1632, and who was drowned in the "South River," while "carrying wood in a canoe," in June of that year. Winthrop, *Jour.* i. 80, calls him an honest man. — See Prince, *Annals*, ii. 29.

§ "Writs were issued out against Col. Shrimpton, Mr. Samuel Seawall [afterwards Judge Sewall] and we know not how many more besides." —*N. Eng. Justified*, p. 22.

a monarch not at all agreeable to them; and they were anxiously hoping, if not expecting, some favorable turn in public affairs.*

Notwithstanding the death of Lady Andros occurred about this time, no notice appears to have been taken of it in published accounts of that day, nor did it have any perceivable influence on her husband the Governor, as respects the oppressive measures he was pursuing. She was buried with all the Church of England ceremonies, hitherto an unaccustomed sight in Boston.† The day was cloudy and dark, well agreeing with the gloomy prospects of the people.

Feb. 10.

Early in the year 1689 there was a rumor that the Prince of Orange‡ was about to assert his claim to the English throne; and while the people of Boston were in much suspense regarding it, Mr. John Winslow arrived in a ship from Nevis. While at that Island, in the month of February preceding, he learned, by an arrival from England, that the Prince had landed, and was actually declared King.§ The ship which brought that news to Nevis, brought the "Prince's Declaration," which Mr. Winslow procured to be copied, at an expense of four shillings and sixpence, because he would bring it to Boston; for, he said, "It was very welcome news to me, and I knew it would be so to the rest of the people of New England; being bound thither, and very willing to carry such news."

On the arrival of Mr. Winslow, Governor Andros, suspecting he had brought news from England, sent James Sherlock, his sheriff, to Mr. Winslow's house in Joyliff's lane,‖ to demand his papers, and he accompanied the said Sherlock to the Governor's house. The Governor insolently demanded why he had not brought him the news? To which Mr. Winslow replied, that he was not aware that it was his duty to do so, nor was it customary for passengers to go with news to the Governor on their arrival. He was then asked to produce the Declaration of the Prince of Orange; but he declined to comply. At this Andros was much out of temper, and told Mr. Winslow he was

April 4.

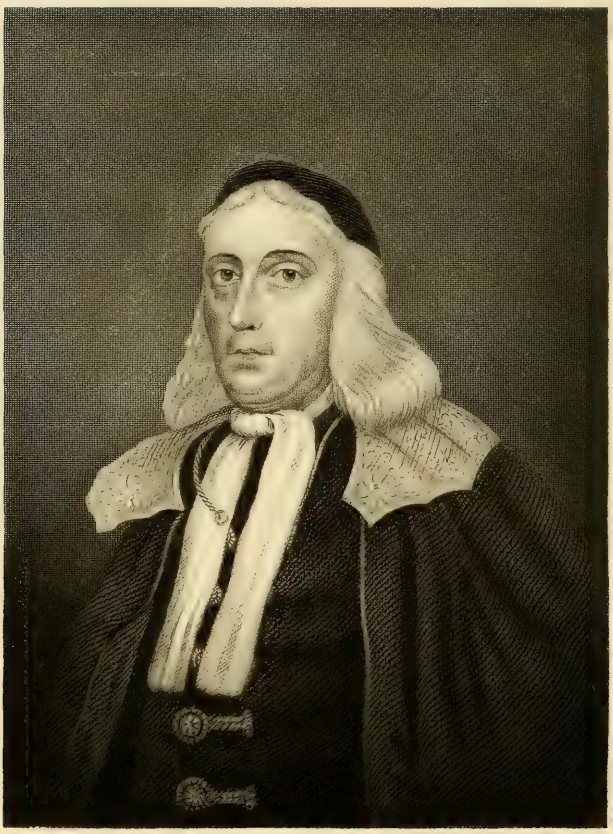
* James-Francis-Edward, son of James II., was born June 18th, 1688. He was afterwards styled "The Pretender." — *Salmon.* Hence the suspicions of the Bostonians turned out to be suspicions only.

† Judge Sewall attended the funeral, concerning which he made these brief notes: — "Between 4 and 5 I went to the funeral of Lady Andros, having been invited by the Clark of the South Company [Society]. Between 7 and 8 (lychns [Lychnites, a sort of white marble; also a gem that shines best by candlelight. *Philips and Kersey.*— Used by Sewall as torch or lamp] illuminating the cloudy air), the corpse was carried into the herse drawn by six horses, the soldiers making a guard from the Governor's house down the Prison Lane to the South Meetinghouse; there taken out and carried in at the western door, and set in the alley before the pulpit, with six mourning women by it. House made light with candles and torches. There was a great noise and clamor to keep people out of the house, that they might not rush in too soon. I went home." — Sewall, *in Hist. King's Chapel*, 40–1. The Lady Anne Andros appears to have been a relative of the family of Dr. Benjamin Church of Boston, a descendant of which, many years ago, found and repaired the tomb, upon a slab, in the bottom of which the name of the tenant was inscribed, and by this it was identified. — *Letter of Amos Lawrence in Bridgman's King's C. Inscriptions*, p. 317–18.

‡ He was son of William II., Prince of Orange, by Mary, eldest dau. of Charles I. Hence he was nephew of James II., whom he dethroned. His wife was Mary, dau. of James II., and therefore his own cousin.

§ He landed at Torbay, in Devonshire, Nov. 5th, 1688.

‖ At the foot of Spring-lane. His place of residence is inferred from circumstances.



WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

a saucy fellow, and ordered the Sheriff to take him before the Justices of the Peace. Mr. Winslow asked the Sheriff to allow him to choose his Justice, but he was told that he must go before "Doctor Bullivant." When he came there, Bullivant was joined by Charles Lidget and Francis Foxcroft. They demanded his papers, but were refused them. They then imprisoned him "for bringing into the country a traitorous and treasonable libel," notwithstanding he offered 2000 pounds bail.*

Without such occurrences as this, it may very reasonably be said that the people had suffered enough to justify a rebellion; and although they were now ripe for it, it does not appear that there was any plan to seize upon the Government, or to rise up in arms, as they immediately proceeded to do, which is thus related by an eye-witness: —†

April 18. "I knew not anything of what was intended until it was begun,‡ yet being at the north end of the town, where I saw boys running along the streets with clubs in their hands, encouraging one another to fight, I began to mistrust what was intended; and, hasting towards the Town Dock, I soon saw men running for their arms, but before I got to the Red Lion,§ I was told that Captain George ‖ and the Master of the frigate were seized and secured in Mr. Colman's ¶ house, at the North End; and when I came to the Town Dock, I understood that Bullivant and some others of them were laid hold of, and then immediately the drums began to beat, and the people hastened and ran, some with and some for arms. Young Dudley and Colonel Lidget with some difficulty attained to the Fort.** The Gov-

* *New England Justified*, 11, 12.

† The account which follows in the text is from Hutchinson, who did not know the author. It is from a letter, dated "Boston, April 22, '89" The writer withheld his name for obvious reasons. It was, in Hutchinson's time, the most circumstantial account that had appeared.

‡ The commotion began "about 8 o'clock in the morning. It was reported at the South End of the Town that at the North End they were all in arms; and the like report was at the North End, respecting the South End. About 9 of the clock the drums beat through the Town, and an ensign was set upon the Beacon." — Byfield, *Account of the Revolution*, 3 and 4.



§ Mention is made of this Tavern in 1676. It was "at the North End," and long a noted Inn. Joseph Hiller, bookseller from London, was here in 1709; and is mentioned as situated near the Red Lion in 1744. In 1766 John Harris kept a vendue next door to it.

‖ Captain John George. — *Byfield.* George's account is printed in Chalmer's *Annals*, 469.

¶ Same perhaps, father of Dr. Benjamin Colman of Brattle-street Church afterwards.

** This fort had been put into excellent condition in the time of the war with the Dutch. A Committee of the General Court reported, in 1666, that it was "apprehended to be the completest work of the kind which hitherto had been ordered in this country." Maj. Gen. John Leverett, "with the advice of the Committee of the militia of Boston," superintended the work. The Committee of the Gen. Court said, that, "under the conduct of the Maj. General, they entered a well contrived fort, called Boston Sconce, the artillery whereof was of good force and well mounted, the gunner attending the same; that the form thereof was suitable to the place, so as to scour the harbor to the full length of their shot every way; the foundation of stone, and well banked with earth." They found nine guns mounted, with arrangements for four more "without." The same Committee examined, at the same time, the North Battery, at

ernor immediately sent Dudley on an errand, to request the four ministers, Mr. Joyliffe, and one or two more, to come to him at the Fort, pretending that, by them, he might still the people, not thinking it safe for him to go to them. They returned for answer, that they did not think it safe for them to go to him. Now, by this time, all the persons whom they concluded not to be for their side were seized and secured, except some few who had hid themselves, who afterwards were found, and dealt by as the rest. The Governor, with Palmer, Randolph, Lidget, West, and one or two more, were in the Fort. All the companies were soon rallied together at the Town House, where assembled Captain Winthrop, Shrimpton, Page,* and many other substantial men, to consult matters; in which time the old Governor came among them, at whose appearance there was a great shout by the soldiers. Soon after the Jack was set up at the Fort, and a pair of colors at Beacon Hill, which gave notice to some thousand soldiers on Charlestown side that the controversy was now to be ended, and multitudes would have been there, but that there was no need. The frigate, upon the news, put out all her flags and pendants, and opened all her ports, and with all speed made ready for fight, under the command of the Lieutenant; he swearing that he would die before he should be taken, although the Captain sent to him that if he fired one shot, or did any hurt, they would kill him, whom they had seized already; but the Lieutenant, not regarding, kept those resolutions all that day. Now, about four of the clock in the afternoon, orders were given to go and demand the Fort, which hour the soldiers longed for;† and had it not been just at the nick, the Governor and all the crew had made their escape on board the frigate, a barge being sent for them, but the soldiers, being so near, got the barge.‡ The army divided, and part came up on the back side of the Fort, part went underneath the hill to the lower battery or sconce, where the red coats were, who immediately upon their approach retired up to the Fort to their master,

Merry's Point. In that there were seven guns. For his special service about the Forts, Gen. Leverett received a vote of thanks and £100.

* Captain Nicholas Page, or Paige, I suppose, who, though a churchman, did not go with Andros in his ultra course. He was a Commissioner in Philip's war, and has been several times noticed in this work. On the Town Records I find this: — "April 10th, 1688. Information being given, that Nicholas Paige, Esq., was inclosing the Town ground on y^t^ pte of y^e^ streete vnder the Jettie of his dwelling-house, 3 foot and 4 inches from the house on each side of the corner, and into the streetes on both sides, the selectmen went to the place and there found John Temple and John Cimball [Kimball?], carpenters, about the worke, whome sd selectmen warned not to take in sd ground vnder sd Jettie. Lt. Coll. Paige alsoe coming to the sd place, they declared the same to be pte of the streete, and warned him not to take it into his house."

† The bearers of the order were "Mr. Oliver and Mr. Eyres." — *Byfield.*

‡ "There then came information to the soldiers [in the Town] that a boat was come from the Frigate that made towards the Fort, which made them haste thither, and come to the Sconce soon after the boat got thither; and 't is said that Gov. Andros, and about a half score gentlemen, were coming down out of the Fort; but the boat being seized, wherein were small arms, hand grenadoes, and a quantity of match, the Governor and the rest went in again; whereupon Mr. John Nelson, who was at the head of the soldiers, did demand the Fort and Governor, who was loath to submit to them, but did at length come down," &c. — *Byfield.* In Hutchinson there is a most interesting account of the courageous Nelson.

who rebuked them for not firing on our soldiers, and, as I am informed, beat some of them. When the soldiers came to the battery or sconce, they presently turned the great guns about and pointed them against the Fort, which did much daunt those within ; and the soldiers were so void of fear that, I presume, had those within the Fort been resolute to have lost their lives in fight, they might have killed an hundred of us at once, being so thick together before the mouths of the cannon of the Fort, all laden with small shot, but God prevented it. Then they demanded a surrender, which was denied until Mr. West and another should first go to the Council, and, after their return, we would have an answer, whether to fight or no. Upon their return, they came forth from the Fort, and went disarmed to the Town House, and from thence some to the close Jail, and the Governor, under a guard, to Mr. Usher's house. The next day they sent the two Colonels to demand of him the surrender of the Castle, which he resolved not to give ; but they told him if he would not give it presently, under his hand and seal, he would be exposed to the rage of the people, and so left him ; but he sent and told them that he would, and did so ; * and they went down, and it was surrendered to them with cursings, and they brought the men away, and made Captain Fairweather commander in it.† Now, by the time the men came back from the Castle, all the guns, both in ships and batteries, were brought to bear against the frigate, which were enough to have shattered her in pieces at once, resolving to have her. It is incident to corrupt nature to lay the blame of our evil deeds anywhere rather than on ourselves, so Captain George cast all the blame now upon that devil Randolph ; for had it not been for him, he had never troubled this good people ; earnestly soliciting that he might

* The paper drawn up and sent to the Governor has been before referred to, but it is too important to be omitted in any account of Boston at this period. It runs thus : — "At the Town-house in Boston, April 18, 1689. To Sir Edmund Andros. Sir : Ourselves and many others, the inhabitants of this town and the places adjacent, being surprised with the people's sudden taking up arms ; in the first motion whereof we were wholly ignorant, being driven by the present accident, are necessitated to acquaint your Excellency, that for the quieting and securing of the people inhabiting in this country from the iminent dangers they many ways lie open and exposed to, and tendering your own safety, we judge it necessary you forthwith surrender and deliver up the Government and Fortifications, to be preserved and disposed according to order and direction from the Crown of England, which suddenly is expected may arrive ; promising all security from violence to yourself or any of your gentlemen or souldiers in person and estate ; otherwise we are assured they will endeavor the taking of the Fortification by storm, if any opposition be made : —

"Simon Bradstreet	Peter Sergeant	William Stoughton
John Richards	David Waterhouse	Thomas Danforth
Elisha Cooke	Adam Winthrop	Samuel Shrimpton
Js. Addington	J. Nelson	Wm. Browne
John Foster	Wait Winthrop	Bartholo. Gedney."

Byfield, *Acct. Revolution*, p. 20. Neal, *Hist. N. E.*, ii. 60. Hutchinson, i. 377–8.

† Capt. John Fairweather. Capt. Roger Clap had held the office of Captain of the Castle from the death of Capt. Davenport, 1665 to 1686. He resigned in the latter year, because he could not serve under the new Government. He removed to Boston at that time, and became associated with the South Church, and died here, 2 Feb., 1691–2. "The military officers pay'd their last respects by walking before the Corps at his funeral, and the Governor and whole General Assembly by walking after."—Prince, *Christian Hist.*, i. 71. His posterity are numerous and respectable at this day. Capt. John Pipon had held it under Andros,

not be constrained to surrender the ship, for by so doing both himself and all his men would lose their wages, which otherwise would be recovered in England, giving leave to go on board and strike the top-masts, and bring the sails on shore, and so he did. The country people came armed into the town, in the afternoon, in such rage and heat that it made us all tremble to think what would follow, for nothing would satisfy them but that the Governor must be bound in chains or cords, and put in a more secure place ; and that they would see done before they went away, and, to satisfy them, he was guarded by them to the Fort." *

Thus, in less than two days, was the Revolution achieved, and without bloodshed,† or without the loss of a single life.

On the same day that the Revolution commenced, the venerable Bradstreet, then near ninety years of age, with several of the Magistrates chosen in 1686, and some of the principal merchants and other prominent gentlemen of Boston, assembled at the Town-house. These were looked upon by all classes as the only proper persons to assume the Government.‡ It was owing to their prudence at the critical moment which prevented bloodshed, by calming a populace who, at first, were ready to pour a terrible torrent of vengeance upon those who had so lately and wickedly oppressed them.

April 18. Being convened in the Town-house on the same day, a paper was drawn up and sent to the Governor, requiring him to surrender the Government and Fortifications, which he at first refused to do, but with which he complied on a little reflection.

At the same time, that is, on the same day, "about noon," an elab-

* Capt. Daniel Fisher, of Dedham, was Speaker of the House of Deputies in 1682, when Mr. Randolph said something about sending some of the principal men to England to answer for certain alleged misdemeanors. The Captain died Oct. 8th, 1683, but his son, of the same name, was living. This son had not forgotten the proscription of his father. He was a stout, athletic man, of a resolute spirit. When the news of the tumult of the 18th of April reached Dedham, Capt. Fisher "instantly set out for Boston, and came rushing in with the country people, who were in such a rage and heat as made all tremble again. Nothing would satisfy the country party but binding the Governor with cords, and carrying him to a more safe place. Soon was Capt. Fisher seen among the crowd, leading the pale and trembling Sir Edmund by the collar of his coat from the house of Mr. Usher back to Fort Hill." — *Relation of the late Hon. Ebenezer Fisher, of Dedham, to Francis Worthington, who printed it in his History of that Town*, p. 51. Mr. Lewis found and printed the following in his *Hist. of Lynn*, supposed to have been written by Randolph : —

"April 19th, about 11 o'clock the Country came in, headed by one Shepperd, teacher of Lynn, who were like so many wild bears ; and the leader, mad with passion, more savage than any of his followers. All the cry was for the Governor and Mr. Randolph."

† In a letter of Randolph, dated 25 Nov., 1689, in the "Common Goal," he speaks of "the poor wounded man, who had lain 16 days rotting in his own excrement," and begs that he might be removed from the room where himself and "the other gentlemen were confined." — Hutchinson, *Col. Orig. Papers*, 574.

‡ "Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Danforth, Major Richards, Dr. Cook, and Mr. Addington, &c., were brought to the Council-house by a company of soldiers under Capt. Hill. Meanwhile the people in arms did take up and put into goal Justice Bullivant, Justice Foxcroft, Mr. Randolph, Sheriff Sherlock, Capt. Ravenscroft, Capt. White, Farewel, Broadbent, Crafford, Larkin, Smith, and many more ; as also Mercey, the then goal-keeper, and put Scates, the bricklayer, in his place." — *Byfield*, p. 4.

Elisha Cooke

orate "Declaration of the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Inhabitants of Boston and the Country adjacent," much of the nature of that of 1776, was read from the balcony of the Town-house.* Above twenty companies of soldiers had marched into town, and there were above a thousand men in arms in Charlestown, who could not get over the ferry. †

April 20. The next day the new Council took into consideration the circumstances of the country, and after some deliberation, addressed the Government under the title of "A Council for the safety of the people, and Conservation of the Peace."

At the time of the rising of the people of Boston on the eighteenth instant, Judge Dudley was holding a Court at Southold, on Long Island.

April 21. On his arrival at Newport, he heard the news of what had befallen the Government under which he acted. The day following he received letters advising him not to return to Boston, and he thereupon fled into the Narraganset country, and lay concealed at Maj.

April 28. Richard Smith's about a week. At the end of that time "about a dozen young men, went thither, of their own heads," took him and proceeded with him to Boston, where he lay a long time in prison, and suffered much. He was not alone a sufferer, for Sir Edmund and his abettors also tenanted a prison.

May 22. Meantime fifty-four towns had chosen Deputies to form a General Court, who now met, and were for resuming the old vacated Charter; but the Council thought it not prudent to do so, inasmuch as it was not certain that it would not injure their cause in the eyes of the present powers in England. It was finally concluded that the old officers of Government of 1686 should assume a sort of conservative control, until news should be received from England.

May 26. The day following the arrangement for settling the Government, a ship arrived from England, bringing advice that William and Mary had been proclaimed King and Queen of England. This has been said by writers of the time to have been the most joyful news ever before received in Boston.



WILLIAM AND MARY.

May 26. Three days after, the Proclamation was published with greater ceremony than had been known on any occasion in the town; "Civil and military officers, merchants and principal gentlemen of the Town and

* It occupies *thirteen* small quarto pages in Mr Byfield's *Narrative*. — It is also in Neal. Hutchinson says it might be supposed that this declaration was a work of time, and must have been prepared beforehand; but he gives his reason for believing it to be the work of the day in which it was required, and to have been the performance of one of the Ministers of the Town, Mr. [Cotton] Mather, who had a remarkable talent for very quick and sudden composures." — *Mass. Hist.*, i. 381.

† Neal, *Hist. N. Eng.*, ii. 61–2.

Country, being on horseback, the regiment of the Town, and many companies of horse and foot from the Country, appearing in arms; a grand entertainment was prepared in the Town-house, and wine was served out to the soldiers."*

Fears of being called to account by the Government in England were now at an end, and the Council proposed to the Deputies to exhibit Ar-
June 5. ticles against Sir Edmund Andros, and the other prisoners, or to set them at liberty upon security. This was not agreed to. Soon after Andros was encouraged to demand his release and the release of those concerned with him, then in prison. But the Deputies "re-
June 27. solved that Mr. Joseph Dudley, Sir Edmund Andros, Mr. Edward Randolph, Mr. John Palmer, Mr. John West, Mr. James Graham, Mr. George Farwell, and Mr. James Sherlock, were not bailable, and sent up several heads of charges against them."

The summer and autumn passed away, and Sir Edmund and his companions were still prisoners to the Bostonians. Meanwhile some
Augt. attempts at escape were made. At one time Andros succeeded, and got as far as Rhode Island, but was there taken by one of Captain Church's old companions in the Indian war, Major Peleg Sanford, and sent back again. He had made one attempt before, immediately after his first imprisonment, by disguising himself in woman's apparel. In this he passed two guards, but was stopped by a third, being detected by his shoes, which he had not taken the precaution to change.

1689–90. Some time in the winter following an order was received from
Feb. their Majesties to send the prisoners over thence; and they were accordingly sent in the first ship bound for that country.

Mr. Mather still remained in England, and rendered excellent service to his country. There was an artful and cunning attempt made to have the deposed Governor reinstated, which coming to Mr. Mather's knowledge, he prevented it; yet, by a manœuvre of a different nature, Andros and his companions in iniquity escaped being called to account, and during this reign Andros succeeded in procuring the appointment of Governor of Virginia, as has before been incidentally mentioned.

The business of the Town now returned to its former course.† It was voted in Town-meeting, "that the former custom and practice in managing the affairs of the Free-schools be restored and continued."

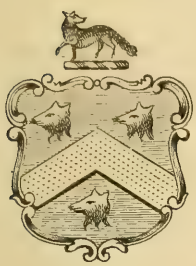
* June 3. — The town chose "Dr. Thomas Oakes, Capt. Penn Townsend, Capt. Timothy Prout, and Mr. Addam Winthrop," for representatives.



† Among the proceedings of a Town-Meeting of Sept. 16th, 1689, were the following: — "Ordered, that y^e^ Select-men send for and quicken the Hogg Reeves to the faithful discharge of theire offices, which is of late much neglected." Those for this year were Daniell Turill, jr., Wm. Towers, Joseph Cowell, Wm. Colman, John Cony, sen. and Giles Dyer. To audit the Selectmen's account, Mr. Peter Sergeant, Mr. Benj. Alford, Mr. Samson Sheafe. This was at a meeting June 24th. "To set y^e^ price of corne to y^e^ white-bread bakers, Nathl. Olliver, Arthur Mason, Tym. Thornton. Treasurer, Mr. Edward Willis. Recorder, John Joyliffe. Measurers of corne, John Marshall, John Tucker. Of boards, Thomas Barnard, Caleb Rawlins, Jabesh Negus, Ebenezer Messenger." Overseers of woodcorders were

CHAPTER LI.

Huguenots settle in Boston. — Found a Church.— Pierre Daillé.— Andrew Le Mercier. — The Society Dissolved. — Succeeded by another, under Rev. A. Croswell. — That succeeded by a Roman Catholic. — Pirates. — Thomas Hawkins. — Thomas Pound. — Expedition against Canada. — Its Failure. — Small Pox. — Major Walley. — First Issue of Paper Money. — Josiah Franklin. — Birthplace of Dr. Franklin. — Earthquake. — Witchcraft. — First Case in this Period. — Case of Philip English.



FOXCROFT.*

ON the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, many thousands of French Protestants were obliged to fly from their native land. As this Edict was not passed till towards the end of the year, few or none of those against whom it was directed arrived in Boston until the following year. The fugitives were called Huguenots. Among those who came to this place were Mr. Laurie and Pierre Daillé, Ministers. Those who reached Boston in 1686 were joined by others in the ensuing year ; among whom was Pierre Baudouin. He took refuge at first in Ireland, but soon after resolved to come to New England, and arrived at Casco, in Maine, in 1687, and in Boston not long after. Mr. Baudouin was the progenitor of the Bowdoin family.

Soon after the arrival of the first Huguenots in Boston, probably as early as 1687, one of their Ministers preached regularly to them, and they entered into a "Church estate." This was the origin of the French Church in the Town. So far as has been ascertained, the Society was first organized in the Town's School-house in School-street, and that, in the same place, or one of the other public School-houses, meetings continued to be held until after 1704. About twelve years after this date, a small brick Church was erected in School-street on land purchased in the year last named.† Whether the Rev. Pierre Daillé were the first minister does not appear, while the first notice of him as the Minister of the French Church is found in 1696. He had been then officiating in that capacity many years, probably, and continued in

Henry Dawson, John Butler, Jeremiah Fitch, Lt. Ephm. Sale, Joseph Peirce, John Bull. The corders were Samll. Davis, Thomas Naramore, Danll. Fairefield, Jno. Fairefield, Davis Cumins, Fearenot Shaw, John Tuckerman, Sen., Jno. Tuckerman, Jun., Jno. Alliset, Mathew Grosse. At the Town-meeting in September it was ordered, "That the Town take into consideration against the next Towne meeting, the inconvenience and damage that shod cart wheeles doe to the paveinge of the streetes."

* In the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Regr.*, vol. viii., pages 174, 260, and 364, are good accounts of the Foxcrofts. In the page last designated, their pedigree is traced in England for several generations.

† There is an "original deed from Jas. Mears, hatter, to John Tartarien, Frans. Bredon, and John Dupuis, Elders of the French Church, who, for £110 current silver money of N. E., sells all that land bounded northerly by School-house land so called, where it measures in front 43½ feet, easterly, &c. 36 feet, westerly 88½ feet, southerly 35½ feet, to erect and build a Church upon for the use of the French Congregation in Boston, according to the Reformed Churches in France." Dated 4 Jan. 1704.

the office till his death in 1715.* What became of Mr. Laurie is not ascertained.

After the Elders of the French Church had purchased a lot in School-street, in 1704, they petitioned the Selectmen for liberty to erect a Meeting-house of wood upon it, thirty-five by thirty feet, but it was refused them on the plea that the New School-house would well accommodate them, as the old one had done "for some years past," and that it would accommodate, for the time to come, "a far greater number of persons than then belonged to their congregation." The Society continued thus until about 1716, when a brick Church was erected.

After the death of Mr. Daillé, the Rev. Andrew Le Mercier succeeded to his place, as Minister of the French Church. He continued its Minister for many years, until the Society had become too much diminished to bear the expense, when it was dissolved.† Their Church ceased to be used by them several years before 1748.‡ Mr. Le Mercier was a gentleman of great benevolence, and highly respected. The distressing shipwrecks which had happened upon "Island Sables," induced him, in the year 1738, to petition the Governor and Council of Nova Scotia "for the property" of that Island, that he might erect buildings thereon, and stock it with such domestic animals as would be useful in preserving the lives of any mariners who might escape from wrecks. His petition was complied with, and proclamations were issued by that Government and also by this of Massachusetts, warning all persons against removing or destroying whatever the Proprietor, should, in his humane endeavors, place upon the Island. It should be remembered that, through the efforts and perseverance of this gentleman, many lives were saved; notwithstanding repeated depredations were committed upon the goods and effects placed there for such a benevolent end.§

* In his will Mr. Daillé prohibited the use of wine at his funeral, and directed that gloves only should be given to his wife's relatives. To the Ministers of the Town he gave gloves and scarves, and to Mr. Walter of Roxbury. His French and Latin books he gave to form a library for the Church; for the benefit of the Minister, the interest of £100, and £10 to be put at interest till a Meeting-house should be erected, and then that sum was to go towards its erection. To old man John Rawlings, the French School-master, £5; to loving wife Martha Daillé £250, my Negro man Kiffy, and also all my plate, clothes, furniture, &c. The residue of estate to "loving brother Paul Daillé Vaugelade in Amsfort, in Holland." Good friend Mr. James Bowdoin, Executor.



It was dated 20th April, 1715; proved, last day of May, same year. Mr. Daillé was buried very near the centre of the Granary Burying Ground, and upon the headstone of his grave is this inscription: —

"Here lies ye Body of ye
Reverend Mr. Peter Daillé,
Minister of the French Church in Boston,
Died ye 21st of May, 1715,
In the 67th year of his age."

Near him is the grave of a former wife, "Seyre Daillé, wife to ye Reverend Mr. Peter Daillé, aged about 60." She died 30 Aug. 1712. This was probably his second wife. His first, Esther Latonice, died 14 Dec. 1696.

† "That Society Dissolving," the Rev. Andrew Croswell's Society purchased it of the Proprietors. — Croswell's *Narrative*, p. 18.

‡ Mr. Le Mercier styled himself, "Pastor of the French Church" as late as 1753. See his Description of the Island Sables, published in the *News Letter* of that year.

§ In an advertisement which Mr. Le Mercier published in the Boston newspapers in 1744, he says, "Notwithstanding these two

It is probable that Mr. Le Mercier had resided in Nova Scotia, and that he came to Boston by way of that Province. His residence in this Town was in Winter-street. His son, Andrew Le Mercier, Jr., resided there also, in the house with his father, as late as 1744. Previous to his death, which was in 1764,* Mr. Le Mercier the elder resided in Dorchester.

During the great religious excitement produced by the visit of Mr. Whitefield to New England, a considerable number of persons, belonging to Churches in Boston which opposed that gentleman's course, separated from those Churches; and that they might not only have "better edification," but that, "being professed friends of the present Reformation, they might have a pulpit open to receive Mr. Whitefield," purchased the French Church of its proprietors,† and soon after installed the Rev. Andrew Croswell, of Groton, in Connecticut, as their Pastor.‡

Mr. Croswell having died in 1785, the house was next used as a Roman Catholic Chapel, and Mass was performed in it for the first time on the second of Nov. 1788. Such are the outlines of the history of the French Protestant Church from its rise to its final dispersion. Few of those who established it could have thought that a branch of that power, from which they had fled their native land upon pain of death, would so soon flourish on a spot which they had chosen for a place of refuge.§

At the time the late Revolution was in progress, and immediately after it, pirates were committing depredations upon the coast of New England.

Proclamations, 'the love of money, which is the root of all evil,' is so deeply rooted in the hearts of some fishermen, that they have sundry times stole our cattle and our goods; regarding neither the laws of God nor man," &c. In this advertisement he offered a reward of £40 for the discovery of the wretches, "but to forgive the offenders if they make known their accomplices to Capt. John Gorham of Casco Bay, or to me."

* "Saturday last, departed this life in the 72 year of his age, Mr. Andrew Le Mercier, formerly Pastor of the French Protestant Church in this Town. His Remains are to be interred from Deacon Wait's in Queen Street, tomorrow afternoon."—*Boston Gazette*, 2 April, 1764. He had a wife Margaret. The births of five of his children are found on the Boston Records — James, 17 June 1720; Margaret, 10 Dec. 1721; Peter, 7 Aug. 1723; Zechariah Andrew, 24th Oct. 1724; Jane, 6 May, 1726; Stephen Bartholomew, 4 Dec. 1727.—The will of Mr. Le Mercier was dated, Dorchester, 7 Nov. 1761, proved 15 June, 1764. — *Memoranda furnished by* Mr. W. B. Trask.

† The deed of the purchase is dated 7 May, 1748. "Stephen Botineau, the only surviving Elder of the said French Church, Andrew Le Mercier, Clerk, Minister of said Church, Zechariah Johonnot, John Arnault, John Brown, Andrew Johonnot, Jas. Packenett, Wm. Bowdoin and Andrew Sigourney, proprietors of said Church, made over their right and interest in it to Thos. Fillebrown, James Davenport, Wm. Hickling, Nathl. Proctor, and Thos. Handyside Peck, trustees for the New Congregational Church, whereof Mr. Andrew Croswell is Pastor, for the sum of £3000 old tenor, for the sole use of a Protestant Church, from henceforth and forever." — Dr. A. Holmes, in 2 *Colls. Mass. H. Soc.*, ii. 63. The house stood on the lot next east of the Universal Meeting-house. — *Snow*, 201.

‡ Mr. Croswell was installed 6 Oct. 1748. He had been a preacher at Groton in Con. The day previous had been set for the purpose, but a sort of remonstrative injunction from the Old South Church occasioned a delay of one day. — Rev. Mr. Croswell's *Narrative*, p. 7, 9. —The Church was formed on the 17 Feb. 1747–8. — *Ibid.* p. 3.

§ The Records of the French Church are supposed to be in existence, but their possessor is unknown. The Great Bible used in the Church, is, or was recently, in the hands of George Livermore, Esq. It was a present from Queen Anne. Many curious facts were collected by L. M. Sargent, Esq., about members of the French Society, and published in the *Daily Transcript*, Jan. 28, Feb. 22, March 1, and March 8th, 1851. These facts may be interesting to descendants of the Huguenots.

They were perhaps encouraged to pursue that kind of lawless adventure, considering, probably, that the Governments both in Old and New England were in too distracted a state to be able to call them to account. One Thomas Hawkins, of Boston, with a small crew of desperate young men, boarded the ketch Mary, of Salem, of which Hellen Chard was master, and forcibly robbed it of goods to the amount of sixty pounds. The ketch was loaded principally with fish, and the place of the robbery was about three leagues from Halfway Rock, in the Massachusetts' Bay. It does not appear that any violence was offered to the crew, further than was necessary to effect the object of plunder. Hawkins was indicted of piracy by the Grand Jury, and the Trial Jury brought him in guilty accordingly. He was sentenced to be hanged on Monday, the twenty-seventh of January, following.*

Aug. 9.

At the same term, nine others were convicted of piracy and murder, and were all executed with Hawkins. The principal of these was Thomas Ponnd.† The armed sloop Mary, of Boston, sailed in quest of Hawkins and Ponnd, under the command of Captain Samuel Pease, of Salem.‡ He discovered the latter at Tarpaulin Cove, in a small vessel well manned and armed. On coming up to him, Captain Pease ordered him to strike, but Ponnd, with his sword drawn, and standing upon the quarter deck, flourished it in defiance, and ordered his men to fire upon the Mary. They did so, and a smart skirmish ensued, in which Captain Pease was mortally wounded. Ponnd and his party were at length overpowered and taken. In his indictment it was set forth that he, "being under a red flag at the head of the mast, purposely, and in defiance of their Majesties' authority, had wilfully, and with malice aforethought, committed murder and piracy upon the high seas, being instigated thereunto by the Devil." §

Oct. 4.

One Edward Browne was found in Ponnd's company, and was arraigned with the rest, but it was proved by the pirates themselves that he had been forced into their service, and was detained among them against his will, and was therefore acquitted.

Soon after the depredations above detailed, another piratical crew

* The Court was thus constituted: — Thomas Danforth, Esq., Deputy Governor, presided as Chief Justice, and James Russell, Samuel Appleton, John Hathorne, Samuel Sewall, John Smith, John Richards, William Johnson, Elisha Hutchinson, John Phillips, and Jeremiah Swayne, Esquires, as Judges. The Grand Jury was composed of Mr. Bernard Trott, foreman, Moses Paine, Thomas Harwood, Arthur Mason, John Marion, Sen., John Capen, Isaac Jones, Robert Pierpont, William Garey, Richard Louden, Henry Spring, John Alden, Sen., Richard Buckley, Samuel Lynde, Ephraim Sale. The Trial Jury consisted of Elizur Holyoke, foreman, Jacob Melyne, Isaia Tay, Joseph Griggs, Samuel Craft, James Bird, Samuell Hasting, Joseph Weekes, Edward Winchip, Wm. Welsteed, Sen., Benjamin Garfield, Tho. Downe. All the above names are spelled as they stand upon the records made at the time.

† The evidence against Ponnd is printed from the original minutes in the *Gen. Reg.*, ii. 393.

‡ What number of men he had is not stated. Only four testified at the trial, who said they were "of the company late belonging to the sloop Mary, Capt. Samuel Pease commander." Their names were, Benj. Gallop, Abraham Adams, Colburn Turell, and Daniel Langley.

§ *Records in the Clerk's Office, S. J. Court.* Those concerned with Ponnd, and executed with him, were Thomas Johnson, Eleazer Buck, John Sicklerdam, William Dun, Richard Griffin of Boston, gunsmith, Daniel Lander, Wm. Warren, and Samuel Watts. The place of residence of Griffin only is given.

Nov. 21. took the ketch Elinor, of Boston, William Shortriggs master. They were charged only with piracy, but piracy, however small, was visited with death, and four individuals were hanged as the perpetrators.

Aug. 9. The year 1690 is remarkable for Sir William Phips' expedition against Canada. Forces were collected at Boston, whence they sailed upon that design, to the number of about 2000 men, in "between thirty and forty" transports and small men-of-war. The largest vessel was a frigate of forty-four guns. The design utterly

Nov. 19. failed, and Sir William returned to Boston in November, having lost by the enemy and sickness near 300 men. The fleet, upon its return voyage, was dispersed in storms; two or three of the vessels were never heard of after; one was lost on Anticosti, and some were blown off to the West Indies. The small-pox,* which prevailed in the Town before the forces sailed, spread into the fleet, and on the return of the fleet many died of the camp disease, and spread the infection among the inhabitants.†

These were not all the calamities brought about by the failure of the Canadian expedition of this year. No preparation was made by the Government for paying the soldiers, most culpably relying upon the plunder to be taken from the enemy for that purpose. There being no money in the treasury, and no time to raise it by a levy upon the Country, a mutiny was feared among the suffering troops. To avert this, resort was had to Paper Money, then called Bills of Credit. This was the first introduction of a paper currency into New England. It was an experiment, a new expedient, and of course the people were slow in giving it currency. It turned out like other issues of Bills of Credit of a later period; the holders eventually lost large sums by their depreciation.‡

* In a private letter, dated Aug. 5th, 1690, to the Rev. John Cotton, of Plymouth, from his son, he says, "The small-pox is as bad as ever; printer Green died of it in three days, his wife also is dead of it." This was the end of Mr. Samuel Green, so favorably spoken of by Mr. John Dunton, and before detailed; and of his wife, of surpassing excellence, according to the same author. — See Thomas, *Hist. Printing*, i. 280–2.

† Major John Walley, of Boston, commanded the land forces in that expedition, and bore his share of the blame for its miscarriage. He was a member of the Artillery Company, and its Captain in 1679; one of Sir Edmund Andros' Council, a Councillor under the New Charter, and a Judge of the Supreme Court. His Journal of the Canada campaign may be seen in the first volume of Gov. Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. He was among the founders of Bristol, R. I., and died in Boston, 11 Jan., 1712, aged 68. His will is dated 4 Jan., 1711 [1711–12]; the inventory of his estate, 14 Mar., 1712–13; amount, £9061 11*s.* 5*d.* Son John sole executor, and to have his present dwelling-house, with the land and wharf belonging thereto, the garden and land on the southerly side thereof to be laid out thence to Milk Street; also £3000. To dau. Sarah Chancey, widow, the land and tenement in the occupation of Capt. Nathl. Oliver, and £200. To his two other daughters, Elizabeth and Lydia Walley, £1500 each, when of lawful age. These were all his children. Major Walley's residence was in Water Street. In 1755, John Walley, Esq., the only son of the Major, was dead, and the spacious mansion, "containing upwards of 20 rooms," was advertised for sale. Major Walley's brother, Thomas, died before him. Several MS. letters, written by early members of Major Walley's family, are in possession of the Author.

‡ A Bill of the issue of 1690, a specimen of which is now before me, reads: — "N°. (916) 20ˢ. This indented Bill of Twenty Shillings due from the Massachusets Colony to the Possessor shall be in value equal to money, and shall be accordingly accepted by the Treasurer and Re-

Aug. 2. Besides the disasters to Boston this year, already mentioned, there was a very extensive fire. It broke out on Saturday evening, "consuming about fourteen houses, besides warehouses and brue houses; from the Mill Bridgh down half way to the Draw Bridgh." *

Mar. 10. In Town-meeting it was voted that the eleven o'clock bell, which had formerly been rung at the charge of the Town, should now be discontinued; voted also "that Muddy River inhabitants are not discharged from Bostone to be a hamlett by themselves, but to stand related to it as they were before the year 1686." †

Mar. 9. At a Town-meeting, Mr. Theophilus Frarie was chosen Moderator. The Selectmen were, Mr. Thomas Walker, Mr. John Joyliffe, Capt. Bezoone Allen, Mr. John Foster, Capt. Timothy Prout, Mr. Obediah Gill, Capt. Penn Townsend, Capt. Jeremiah Dummer, and Mr. John Mirrian. Mr. James Taylor was Treasurer, and

Mar. 10. Mr. Joyliffe Recorder. Deputies to the General Court chosen were Capt. Penn Townsend, Capt. Theophilus Frarie, Capt. Timothy Prout, and Mr. Adam Winthrop.

Mar. 16. From the large number of officers appointed to oversee and regulate the cording of wood, the business must have been very extensive at this period. This year they were Lawrence White, Henry Adams, Samuel Davis, Percie Clarke, Daniel Fairefield, Wm. Ridghill, Fearnot Shaw, John Tuckerman, Sen., Stephen Swazie, John Alisett, Robt. Noakes, Wm. Kine, Goodman Honywell, John Tuckerman, Jun., James Mericke, and Wm. Dyer.

April 27. The Town granted liberty to Josiah Franklin to erect a building of eight foot square upon the land belonging to Lieut. Nathaniel Reynolds, near the south meeting-house. This was the father of Doctor Benjamin Franklin,‡ and on this spot the world-renowned philosopher is said to have been born.

ceivers subordinate to him in all Publick paym^ts; and for any Stock at any time in the Treasury. Boston in New-England, February the third, 1690. By order of the General Court. Elisha Hutchinson, John Walley, Tim Thornton, Comitee." The "Comitee" were the signers of the Bills. They were struck from an engraved plate, upon pieces of paper nearly square, about 5¾ inches from top to bottom, and about five inches wide. In the left hand corner, at the foot, was the Colony seal, a trifle smaller than that given on page 472.

* Original Letter, cited in Thomas' *Hist. Printing*, i. 282.

† Mar. 11th, Mr. Richd. Midlecot is chosen Treasurer, and Mr. John Joyliffe, Recorder. Mar. 17th. — "Agreed that Robert Williams shall continue as formerlie to warne the Towne-meetings vpon occasion, to ringe the bell at Five of the clock in y^e morning, Exchange bell at eleaven and at nine in the night; and carfullie looke after and keepe the Towne-clocke in the Old Meeting-house. To which is added his goeinge about the Towne at least once a month or oftner, as may be occasion, to inquire after the New Comers into the Towne, and inform the Select-men at theire monthlie meetinges; for which he is to be paid 12 lb. for one year."

Deputies to the General Court were, Capt. Penn Townsend, Dr. John Clarke, Capt. Timothy Prout, Capt. Theophilus Frarie. Chosen, April 2d. July 18, the General Court order the Selectmen "to take care that the house in the Fort on the hill be provided for entertaining of sick and wounded soldiers and seamen."

‡ On the spot now covered by Messrs. Mason & Lawrence's mercantile house. But Franklin himself told Mrs. Hannah M. Crocker, as she told me in 1828, that he was born at the sign of the Blue Ball, on the corner of Union and Hanover streets, where his father then lived and carried on his business. — *MS. minutes of a conversation with Mrs. H. M. Crocker.* It is only necessary to show that Josiah Franklin removed from Milk street before the date of

Mr. Francis Hudson, having held for some time a lease of the ferry to Winesemet, relinquished it, and it was let to Samuel Hudson and John Scolly for one year.

The Deputies to the General Court were the same from Boston this year as last. The Overseers of the poor, "chosen by paper votes," were Mr. Samuel Lynd, Lieut. Samuel Checkley, Mr. Edmond Browne, and Mr. William Robie. The Selectmen chose Joseph Bridgham, Recorder.* Major Elisha Hutchinson was chosen Commissioner, but he "being called to the Eastward," Mr. James Tayler was chosen in his stead.†

Mar. 14.

July 22, 24.

About this time a deep melancholy pervaded the whole community, some gentlemen having returned to Boston from the West Indies, where they had escaped being swallowed up by one of the most stupendous earthquakes upon record. They were at Port Royal, in Jamaica, and witnessed the dreadful ruin which came upon that city. Nine-tenths of it was buried beneath the sea, in which above 2000 people perished, and a much greater number upon the island fell victims to the pestilence which followed it. The gentlemen who brought the intelligence were William Harris, Esq., William Welsteed, Esq., Thomas Steel, Esq., and Mr. William Turner.‡

The witchcraft delusion of former ages has become a by-word, since superstition has been so far subdued that laws among enlightened people recognize no such crime; and a belief in its existence has become an object of ridicule among many. And yet it cannot be denied that there was something manifested in those times never fathomed by the keenest intellectual powers which have ever been brought to bear upon it. Among a great amount of deceptions and falsehoods, there was, nevertheless, an unexplained, and perhaps unexplainable, mystery, as far beyond human comprehension as the mystery of life itself. That such mystery is near akin to the "spiritual manifestations" of the present day may be very possible, and a time may come when to ridicule these may be as strong an indication of ignorance as a belief in them in other days.

The testimonies which are adduced for many things, and by a multitude of witnesses, against whose integrity none ever whispered aught, have confounded many unbelievers, and overwhelmed others of strong and clear minds.§

Benjamin's birth. Mr. Sparks appears to have satisfied himself that he did not remove until after Jan. 6th, 1706, the date of the Doctor's birth. Mrs. Crocker may have misunderstood Franklin, or may have misremembered.

* He fell much short of Mr. Joyliffe in spelling.

† The Commissioner was chosen "to joyne with the Select-men in order to mackeing a valluation of each man's estate and the number of the heads."

‡ Sewall, *N. Heaven*, &c., 38–9. Holmes, *Annals*, i. 445.

§ In the case of Margaret Rule, the witnesses testified that she was "lifted up from her bed, wholly by an invisible force, a great way towards the top of the room where she lay, having no assistance even from her own arms or hands; and that, when so lifted up, a strong person could not pull her down, nor could the weight of others upon her prevent her from ascending up." The following named persons were witnesses of the facts stated, viz. Samuel Aves, Robert Earle, John Wilkins, Daniel Williams, Thomas Thornton, and William Hudson.

No period in the history of New England possesses such an extraordinary interest as that of the prosecutions for witchcraft. Nor are there any events, the details of which cause such sorrows, such regrets, and such humiliating reflections, as the sufferings of that period must call forth in every mind, however indifferent they may be to other distressing details. Nor can the consideration essentially alleviate the anguish, that witchcraft did not originate in New England, — that a belief in its existence was coëval with the remotest records of the world, — that the most wise and learned of the Judges of England fully believed in it, and up to the time of its appearance in New England were sentencing those accused of it to be put to death, in great numbers. At the period now under consideration, few could be found who had the hardihood to deny the existence of witchcraft. Such were *infidels*, in the most objectionable sense of the term, and were in danger of personal violence in their own society. To deny its existence was to deny the inspiration of the Bible ; for nothing was more plainly set forth in that volume, than that witchcraft existed among mankind.

It is not strange, therefore, with the belief in such a supernatural agency, and the law of God before them, — " Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," — that prosecutions for such a crime should take place. Laws were made in accordance with the teachings of the Bible, and a law once made must be enforced, or all laws would soon be disregarded. Then, however, as now, there were a few minds in advance of their age, who, although they did not deny that there was such a thing as witchcraft, had the prudence to counteract the prosecutions against it as much as was consistent with their own personal safety.*

Among the many remarkable things connected with the trials for witchcraft, it is necessary to consider the following : the proceedings of the Court with regard to the evidence ; that is, the inconsistency practised in receiving the evidence of certain witnesses. The persons complaining of being afflicted by witches, being brought into Court, testified as to who tormented them. Then the evidence of those professing themselves to be witches was taken against the accused. This

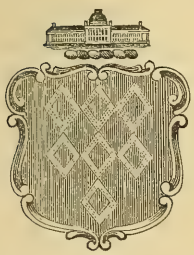
* A case of witchcraft was tried before the founder of Pennsylvania. It is not stated whether he believed in the capability of mortals to commit such a crime or not, but certain it is he got over the case in the following ingenious way. The evidence having been gone through with, Gov. Penn so charged the jury that they found they were to decide only whether the accused was *suspected of witchcraft or not !* Their verdict was in accordance with the charging ; namely, that the accused was " guilty of having the common fame of a witch, but not guilty in the manner and form she stands indicted." — Watson, *Annals Phila.*, i. 265.

It is related of a certain English Judge, that on one occasion a poor, old, superannuated woman was brought before him, charged with being a witch. The principal evidence went to prove that she had ridden through the air upon a broomstick. She was asked by the Judge if what was alleged against her were true. The poor woman, thinking, perhaps, that she had unconsciously so ridden, because the testimony was so strong to the point, confessed that she had done so. The Judge seemed to have been prepared for the confession, and delivered his judgment to this effect : — That the prisoner was free to go where she pleased, and to ride broomsticks as often as she pleased, for *he knew of no law against it !* This was probably at a much later period than that now treated of. Few Judges would have so decided before 1700.

led a worthy gentleman* of the time to observe, that such proceeding was "a thing never heard of in this world; that such as confess themselves to be witches, to have renounced God and all that is sacred, should yet be allowed and ordered to swear in the name of the great God!" † And though this glaring absurdity was seen and detected by some in that age, one equally glaring and absurd is practised in the courts of law at this day. ‡

CHAPTER LII.

Witchcraft of 1692 continued. — Case of the Goodwin Family. — Of Mr. Parris. — Sir William Phips, Governor. — Joins the Crusade against Witchcraft. — Case of Capt. John Alden. — Other Cases. — Names of those executed. — Persons of high consideration accused. — Mary Watkins. — Prosecutions cease. — Town Affairs. — Slaughter-houses regulated. — Thomas Chalkley in Boston. — Society of Quakers. — Build the first brick Meeting-house. — Another Canada Expedition disastrous. — Fleet of Sir Francis Wheeler. — Troubles of Sir William Phips. — Returns to England. — His Death. — Death of the Queen. — Order to collect the Town Records. — About Trees at Wheeler's Point. — Agitation about Marriage of Relatives.



QUINCY. §

THE witchcraft of 1692 is sometimes spoken of as belonging exclusively to Salem. That is far from the truth. Boston has a share in the history of that unfortunate delusion; and not only Boston, but the country in general. About four years before its appearance in Salem, there were several cases in Boston. "Four of the children of John Goodwin, a grave man and a good liver, at the north part of the Town, were generally believed to be bewitched." ‖ Fifty years after these cases, Mr. Thomas Hutchinson, the historian, says he often heard persons of the neighborhood speak of the great consternation they occasioned. The children supposed to be bewitched "were all remarkable for ingenuity of temper, had been religiously educated, and were

1687–8.

* Mr. Thomas Brattle, who left a paper upon the witch delusion of 1692, full of good sense and instruction. It has been printed in *Mass. Hist. Colls.*, v. 61–80.

† Brattle, *Ib.*, p. 67.

‡ Persons of strict integrity, honor and honesty have been denied the right to testify in causes, from the very fact of their being truly honest and truthful! That is to say, persons who do not believe in certain received opinions, cannot be allowed to testify because they so believe; and being questioned, *honestly* confess that such is their belief! While another, full of deceit and guile, swears to a lie, and his oath is taken!

§ These Arms of Quincy are taken, so far as the Shield is concerned, from a very curious publication, entitled "Memoranda respecting the Families of Quincy and Adams," printed at Havana in 1841. But it should be stated that the Author of the *Memoranda* does not claim that the Arms given actually belonged to the branch of the Quincy family in New England. I alone am responsible for the Crest. It explains itself to every Bostonian of the present day. But, in coming ages, when Quincy Market shall have given way to *improvements*, or been so elevated and enlarged as to lose its identity, this Crest may tend to perpetuate the memory of its origin and its Originator.

‖ "These were, in the year 1688, arrested by a very stupendous witchcraft."— *Magnalia*, B. vi. 71. See Rev. Mr. Upham's interesting *Lectures on Witchcraft*.

thought to be without guile. The eldest was a girl of thirteen or fourteen years. She had charged a laundress with taking away some of the family linen. The mother of the laundress was one of the wild Irish, of bad character, and gave the girl harsh language; soon after which she fell into fits, which were said to have something diabolical in them. One of her sisters and two brothers followed her example." It appeared that these children were afflicted in the same parts of their bodies, at the same time, though the case of each was unknown to the others, who were kept in separate apartments, and knew not the complaints of the others. At least, such was the report and belief at the time. Another remarkable circumstance was, that all their pains and afflictions happened in the day-time, and that in the night they were not disturbed. Another circumstance quite as remarkable was that they were struck dumb at the sight of certain good books, as the "Assembly's Catechism," "Cotton's Milk for Babes," and others of the like kind; while at the appearance of the Common Prayer, Popish and Quaker books, they were pleased, and could read in them without difficulty. Sometimes they appeared deaf, sometimes blind, and then dumb; and again they would have all these afflictions together. Their tongues would disappear from their mouths, and at another time would hang out of them to an unnatural length. Then their joints would be dislocated, and they would make mournful complaints of being burnt and cut in pieces; and wounds were said to have been apparent afterwards. At length the Ministers of Boston and Charlestown kept a day of fasting and prayer; whereupon the youngest child was relieved, but the others continued in their afflictions. The magistrates interposed, the old mother of the laundress was apprehended, and, perhaps from consternation, would neither confess nor deny the charges brought against her. Physicians pronounced her to be of sane mind, and she was condemned and executed, declaring she could not relieve those afflicted.*

* I am aware that Hutchinson says that "the old woman would neither confess nor deny," and that "she was executed, declaring the children should not be relieved." He adds, "some things are mentioned as extraordinary, which tumblers [jugglers] are every day taught to perform; others seem more than natural. But it was a time of great credulity. The children returned to their ordinary behavior, lived to adult age, made profession of religion, and the affliction they had been under they publicly declared to be one motive for it. One of them I knew many years after, who had the character of a very sober, virtuous woman, and never made any acknowledgment of fraud in this transaction." The famous Richard Baxter published an account of the affair, with a preface by himself, in which he has this remark: "The evidence is so convincing, that he must be a very obdurate Sadducee who will not believe it." And yet the same great Divine, in writing afterwards to Mr. Increase Mather respecting the transactions of 1692, says, "All that I speak with much wonder that any man, much less a man of such abilities, learning and experience as Mr. Stoughton, should take up a persuasion, that the devil cannot assume the likeness of an innocent to afflict another person. In my opinion, it is a persuasion utterly destitute of any solid reason to render it so much as possible; and, besides, contradictory to many instances of facts in history. If you think good you may acquaint Mr. Stoughton and the other Judges with what I write."

Calef refers to this case of witchcraft, in the following brief passage: "In the times of Sir Ed. Andros his government, Goody Glover, a despised, crazy, ill-conditioned old woman, an Irish Roman Catholic, was tried for afflicting Goodwin's children; by the account of which trial, taken in short-hand, for the use of the

The case of William English has never been circumstantially published. He was a merchant, and, though not an inhabitant of Boston, was nevertheless imprisoned here.*

From the execution of "Goody Glover" for bewitching the Goodwin children, to the great commotion which broke out early this year in what was then called Salem Village, now Danvers, the country cannot be said to have been entirely quiet in respect to witchcraft. But towards the end of February the tragedy was revived anew. It begun in the family of Mr. Samuel Parris, the minister of Salem Village, and in a few months spread itself to the adjacent towns, implicating great numbers of persons, many of whom were before patterns of virtue in all the walks of life. And yet it had its rise at this

Feb. 1691–2.

Jury, it may appear that the generality of her answers were nonsense, and her behavior like that of one distracted."—*More Wonders*, &c. 151, ed. 4to.

* "Augt. y^e^ 2cond, 1692. William Beale of Marblehead, aged upward of 60 yeares, testifieth and saith, that last March past was 12 moenth, towards the latter end of the moenth, then my self being in the house of George Bonfeilds of Marblehead," &c., whither he had gone, as he says, "that I might have helpe to nurse or looke after mee because of a very greate and wracking paine had seized upp on my body." In this condition of body, a mind necessarily sympathizing therewith, and deeply imbued with the superstitions of the age, it is by no means unaccountable that William Beale should imagine that he really saw, "being broade awake, upon the iaume [jamb] of the chimney, a darke shade w^ch^ covred the iaume aforesayed;" and that "in the middllee of the darkness vppon the iaume" he should "behold somethinge of the forme or shape of a man." Then he says, "I turned my head uppon the pillow, and in y^e^ darkness aforesayed, saw the plaine shape or else the person of Phillip English of Salem, the w^ch^ reports say married with William Hollingworth's daughter of Salem, according to my best iudgement, knoledge and understandinge." But why Phillip English appeared and not some old female, may possibly be found in some unpleasant occurrence between them at an earlier day. The case of English is here cited chiefly to show what kind of evidence was received at that time to make out a case of witchcraft. Beale further says, "As I had formerly knolege and ackquaintance with him [English] my coniecktures of him and these passages aforesayed were as followeth:—What is this man's business heere now, or w^ch^ way came hee hither so soone this morneing? By land or water? Then laboreing to correkt my [*thoughts*] not to thinke that hee was a wich, and flyinge to our omnipotent Iehovah for his blessing and protection by secret eiaculations, instantly the roome aforesayed became cleare, and y^e^ shape, shade, or person vanished. And this was about the time that news brought to mee in y^e^ morning that my son Iames was very like to recover of the small pox w^ch^ I left at home sick; and y^e^ same day in y^e^ afternoon came news that hee was suddenly strooke with a paine on his side and did not expect to live three houres. And ack Cording to my Iudgment before three houres weere ended, newes came that he was departed this life; at w^ch^ docktor Iackson w^ch^ was his docktor, and William Dagget w^ch^ was his nurse, both of Marblle head told me y^t^ they admired and wondred. And it was not many moenths before that, my son George Beale departed this life in y^e^ same house after he was recovered of the small pox. Hee deceased ianuary y^e^ 23, before my son Iames death aforesayed." A modern Jurist would probably find it difficult to see what such testimony could have to do with Phillip English. However, he and his wife Mary were, in May following, imprisoned in Boston, but they escaped to N. York. They afterwards returned to Salem, where, as late as 1709, he was endeavoring to recover his confiscated estate.—*Original Deposition*, *MSS.*—See also Felt, *Annals of Salem*.

One of the indictments against English runs thus: "The Jurors for o^r^ Sou^re^ Lord and Lady the King and Queen doe present that Phillip English of Salem, in the County of Essex, merchant, vpon the 31st day of May, in the year aforesaid, 1692, and divers other dayes and times as well before as fafter, certaine detestable arts called witchcraft, and sorceries, wickedly, mallistiously and felloniously hath vsed, practiced and exercised, at and in the towne of Salem in the county of Essex aforesaid, in, vpon and against one Mary Wallcott of Salem aforesaid, single woman. By said acts the said Mary Wallcott y^e^ day and year aforesaid and divers other dayes and times both before and after, was and is tortured, afflicted, consumed, pined, wasted and tormented; against the peace and of o^r^ Sou^r^ Lord and Lady the King and Queen, their Crowne and dignity, and the lawes in that case made and provided." Endorsed, "Ignoramus. Robert Payne, foreman."—*Orig. MS.*

time among some of the most ignorant persons in the village, who happened to belong to the family of Mr. Parris.*

March 11. Early in the following month, Mr. Parris invited several of the neighboring ministers to join with him in keeping a day of fasting and prayer at his house, and soon after Mr. Deodat Lawson

March 24. preached a sermon at Salem Village, "being Lecture day there, and a time of public examination of some suspected for witchcraft." † Thus prayers and sermons were resorted to, with the hope that they might succeed "against the malicious and accursed operations of Satan and his instruments." But all to no purpose. The delusion spread like the flames among the dry leaves of autumn. In a short time the jails in Boston and Salem were filled with the accused. At length it was foreseen, by many, that their own safety depended upon their becoming accusers themselves. And thus the number of afflicted persons wonderfully increased; and it was apparent that there would soon be no witches, except those who had not joined in the cry against somebody in sufficient season to escape by that wile.

May 14. Meantime Sir William Phips arrived in Boston‡ from England, bringing with him the new Charter of the Province, granted by William and Mary, and a Commission constituting him Governor of the same. Unfortunately the new Governor fell in with the

* An Indian man and an Indian woman, concerning whom particulars will be found in Calef's and other accounts. Their names were John and Tituba or Tittube. The latter was accused of afflicting, by witchcraft, a daughter of Mr. Parris, and two other girls. Her examination before Justice Corwin is extant in his own autograph, now before me. At first her answers were direct and simple, plainly denying all knowledge of what she was accused; but the examination was pressed in an unwarrantable manner, by repetition upon repetition, until, through fear, or a thoroughly bewildered understanding, Tittube was brought to confess whatever she thought would satisfy her accusers. The first question was, "Why doe you hurt these poor children? What harm have they done unto you?" She replied, "They doe noe harme to mee. I noe hurt y^m^ at all." Magistrate — "Why have you done it?" Accused — "I have done nothing." Magistrate — "What, doth y^e^ Devill tell you that he hurts y^m^?" Accused — "No. He tells me nothing." Magistrate — "Doe you never see something appeare in some shape?" Accused — "Noe, never see anything." Notwithstanding this plain denial of all knowledge of anything wrong on her part, yet four closely-written pages of foolscap paper were completely covered with the examination of the simple Indian woman; after this was over she was committed to jail in Boston.

† It was considered a famous sermon, and was soon after printed, with a dedication "To the Worshepful and Worthily Honored Bartholomew Gidney, John Hathorne, Jonathan Corwin, Esqs.; together with the Reverend Mr. John Higginson, Pastor, and Mr. Nicholas Noyes, Teacher of the Church of Christ at Salem." Mr. Lawson was under the same delusion with the majority of persons of that day, and his sermon was *attested* by I. Mather, Charles Morton, James Allen, Samuel Willard, John Bailey and Cotton Mather. He had been settled over the same society where Mr. Parris preached, and there, in 1689, his wife and a daughter Ann had died. In 1696 he returned to England, and reprinted his sermon, to which he added an appendix, giving an account of the witchcraft; dedicating it "To the Right Worshipful and truly Honourable Sir Henry Ashhurst, Barr^t^ and his truly Honourable and religious Consort, Lady Diana Ashhurst." Lawson was living in London several years after this.

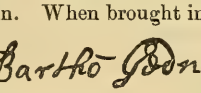
‡ His residence was at the corner of Charter and Salem streets, which was long known as Phip's Corner. Charter street was probably so named at this time, to honor Sir William, who brought over the Charter. Fifty years ago Shaw said, "an upright third story had changed the original appearance" of the house in which he dwelt. — *Descript. of Boston*, 291. His first exercise of power on his arrival in Boston, "was said to be his giving orders that irons should be put upon those in prison." — *Calef*, 95. Dr. Increase Mather came over with the Governor, thus terminating a most active agency of five years. He was received with warm demonstrations of love and esteem.

judges in their delusion respecting witchcraft, and condemnations and executions followed.

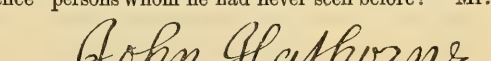
May 31. In the same month Captain John Alden, of Boston, was accused of witchcraft, taken to Salem for examination, and cast into prison. He offered bail, but no bail would be taken. After remaining in jail in Boston near three months, he effected his escape.* How long he kept out of the reach of his accusers is not stated, but he returned, and "was bound over to answer at the Superior Court in Boston, in April following." Before the time of trial, however, the "spell was broken," and Captain Alden, with near a hundred others, were cleared by proclamation. During his examination he behaved himself manfully.† He was a well-known naval commander, had had charge of the province galley for many years, and had been in service in the Indian and French wars, both before and after these trials. In 1690 he was appointed to treat with the Indians, at Sagadahock, which service he performed acceptably. In 1696 he commanded a brigantine called the Endeavor, in an expedition on the eastern coast.‡ He was a son of the first Mr. John Alden, who came to Plymouth, in 1620. As early as December, 1659, he took up his residence in Boston, and died here on the fourteenth of March, 1702, at the age of eighty years, leaving a handsome estate of upwards of 2000 pounds. He lived

* In the History of Duxbury it is said that he fled to that town and was there concealed in the house of a relative. When he arrived it was late at night, and his friends were surprised to see him, and to some anxious inquiry as to his strange arrival, he assured them that though he had fled from the Devil, the Devil was after him.—*Winsor.*

† He was examined before Gedney, Hathorn and Corwin. When brought into the presence



of the afflicted, they "plaid their jugling tricks, falling down, crying out, and staring in people's faces. The Magistrates demanded of them several times, who it was of all the people in the room that hurt them? One of the accusers pointed several times at one Capt. Hall, but spake nothing. The same accuser had a man standing at her back to hold her up; he stooped down to her ear, then she cried out Aldin, Aldin. One of the Magistrates asked her if she had ever seen Aldin? She answered, No. He asked how she knew it was Aldin? She said the man told her so. Then all were ordered to go down into the street, where a ring was made, and the same accuser cried out, There stands Aldin, a bold fellow, with his hat on before the Judges. He sells powder and shot to the Indians and French, and lies with the Indian squaws, and has Indian papooses." He was then ordered into the custody of the marshal, and his sword was taken from him, because it was said he afflicted the accusers with it. After a considerable space he was taken to the meeting-house, where his examination was more formal. Here the accusers cried out "that Aldin did pinch them." The Magistrates made him stand up in a chair, and ordered the Marshal to hold his hands open to prevent his pinching "those poor creatures." Capt. Alden demanded why they should think he came there to afflict those persons whom he had never seen before? "Mr.



Gedney bid him confess and give glory to God." Alden made an appropriate reply, and appealed to all who had ever known him to bring aught against him. Gedney replied that he had known him many years, and had been at sea with him, and always looked upon him to be an honest man, but now he had changed his opinion. Alden was then bid to look upon the afflicted, which when he did they would fall down. Then he inquired of Mr. Gedney what reason could be given that his looking upon him, did not cause him to fall down also; but Gedney could give none.

‡ Mr. Winsor, in his Hist. of Duxbury, says that it was John Alden, son of Capt. John, named in the text, who was implicated in the witchcraft accusations. But that worthy young Author was clearly wrong in that, for he was at the time called "John Aldin Senior of Boston, mariner." Calef and Hutchinson are both explicit in regard to it.



SEWALL.

on an alley leading from Cambridge to Sudbury-street, from him called Alden's lane, which it bore till 1846, when it was dignified by the name of Alden street.

After the settlement of the new Government, a special Commission of Oyer and Terminer was appointed for the trial of persons suspected of witchcraft. The appointed Judges, or a quorum of them, commenced a session at Salem, on the second of June following,* the day of the date of their Commission.† The Court consisted of William Stoughton, now Lieutenant Governor, Chief Justice; Major Nathaniel Saltonstall, who, refusing from conscientious scruples to act at such trials, was superseded by Mr. Jonathan Corwin; Major John Richards, Major Bartholomew Gedney, Mr. Wait Winthrop, Captain Samuel Sewall and Mr. Peter Sergeant. Captain Anthony Checkley had been appointed Attorney General, but refusing to serve in these prosecutions, Mr. Thomas Newton was appointed in his stead. The melancholy records of their proceedings are extant, and will ever remain an unfading scene to succeeding generations of the frailties of the human mind.

June 2.

June 10. The first person executed this year was "a poor, friendless old woman," named Bridget Bishop. She confessed nothing.

July 19. And in little more than a month after, five others suffered. On the fifth of August six others were sentenced to death, and

Aug. 19. were all executed except one, a female, Elizabeth, wife of George Procter, whose peculiar situation saved her. On the ninth of September, six others were tried and received sentence of death. And on the sixteenth of the same month, Giles Cory was pressed to death; the circumstances attending which are too revolting to be detailed here. On the following day nine others were condemned,

Sept. 22. and five days after suffered death, save one, Abigail Falkner, of Andover, whose situation reprieved her, as in the case of Elizabeth Procter.

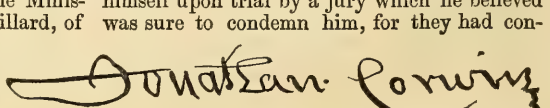
October. "And now," says an unimpeached historian of the time, "nineteen persons having been hanged, and one prest to death,‡

* Calef, 100.

† Chandler, *Crim. Trials*, i. 93.

‡ These are the names of those executed; Bridget Bishop; July 19th, Sarah Good, Rebecca Nurse, of Salem Village; Susanna Martin, of Amesbury; Elizabeth How, of Ipswich; and Sarah Wildes, of Topsfield. August 19th, Mr. George Burroughs, sometime Minister of Wells; John Procter, John Willard, of Salem Village; George Jacobs, Sen^r., of Salem, and Martha Currier, of Andover. Sept. 16th, Giles Cory. Sept. 22d, Martha Cory, of Salem Village; Mary Easty, of Topsfield; Alice Parker and Ann Pudeater, of Salem; Margaret Scot, Willmet Redd, of Marblehead; Samuel Wardwell and Mary Parker, of Andover.

In the case of Giles Cory, Roman Inquisitors could not have done more. He pleaded "Not guilty" to the indictment, but could not put himself upon trial by a jury which he believed was sure to condemn him, for they had con-



and eight more condemned, in all twenty-eight, of which above a third part were members of some of the churches in New England, and more than half of them of a good conversation in general, and not one cleared;" while of about fifty who had confessed themselves witches, not one was executed. At the same time above 150 lay in prison, and above 200 more accused. But now, fortunately, "the special Commission of Oyer and Terminer comes to a period," and there was to be no Court to try those held for trial, until the Superior Court came together, which was not till the following January. This delay gave opportunity to all for reflection upon what had been done, and for those in authority to determine whether they should again deluge the land in the blood of their friends and neighbors, without the fearful prospect of carrying that deluge into their own households, and perchance to their own wives and children. Governor Phips looked to the Ministers for direction in future; * the chief of whom was now cautiously composing "Cases of Conscience concerning Witchcraft;" a work, while it showed its author to be a firm believer in its reality, at the same time condemned all, or nearly all, the evidence which had been relied upon in the late trials, as entirely insufficient to take away the life of any one accused. † In brief, a change was coming over the community. Several of those who had composed the Juries at the late trials, afterwards signed a recanta-

demned every one brought before them, and he had made up his mind "to undergo what death they would put him to." He was the first, and so far as I can learn the last, ever pressed to death for imputed crime in New England. Mr. George Corwin was the sheriff.

The case of Mr. Burroughs, a man of unexceptionable character, was excruciating to the multitude that were assembled to witness his execution. On the ladder he made a speech, declaring in firm simplicity his innocence; and his last prayer was so fervent and sincere, that it drew tears from many; and it began to be feared that the people would hinder the execution. He was, however, "turned off." Dr. Cotton Mather was there present, and, "being mounted upon a horse," exerted his great influence to appease the spectators. He said, among other things, "that the Devil was wont to transform himself into an Angel of light," and the executions went on.— *Calef*, 103–4.

* He was one of Dr. Cotton Mather's society, and ordered and sanctioned the publication of the account of the witchcraft, since so well known by the title of "Wonders of the Invisible World," &c. It is accompanied also with the certificates of two of the Judges, dated Boston, October 11th, 1692; in which certificate they say, "Vpon perusal thereof, we find the matters of fact and evidence truly reported, and a prospect given of the methods of conviction, used in these proceedings of the Court at Salem. [Signed] William Stoughton, Samuel Sewall." And the misguided author exclaimed, that "he should rejoice if his book might conduce to promote thankfulness to God for such executions."

Wm Stoughton

Samuel Sewall.

† Notwithstanding Dr. C. Mather was completely carried away by the delusion, and would, if he had had the power, in all probability, have executed all that happened to be accused; yet, in the "Advice of the Ministers" to the Government relative to proceedings in the trials of the accused, which he published, he claimed to have been the mover of the Governor's clemency which he exercised, as related in the text. Upon this conduct of the Doctor, Mr. Calef severely animadverts, and in conclusion says: "But tho' the Minister's Advice, or rather Dr. C. Mather's was perfectly ambidexter, giving as great or greater encouragement to proceed in those dark methods, then cautious against them, yet many eminent persons being accused, there was a necessity of a stop to be put to it."—*More Wonders*, &c., 153–4. Certainly there was something rather *ambidexter*, in that the doctor should countenance every severity towards those accused of witchcraft, and at the same time applaud the Governor for pardoning the prisoners; calling it "a vanquishing the Devil, adding this conquest to the rest of his noble atchievements." —*Ibid.*

tion,* and the conscientious and honest Judge Sewall openly confessed that he had committed a great error, while some others were apparently confirmed in the course they had pursued.†

1692–3. Jan. 30. Agreeable to an Act of the General Court the first Superior Court was held at Salem, and the Judges appointed were William Stoughton, Thomas Danforth, John Richards, Wait Winthrop, and Samuel Sewall. Of fifty-six indictments, twenty-six were declared true bills, and of all the persons against whom these were returned, but three were adjudged guilty by the Jury. The reason so few were condemned has been already stated.‡ Besides, the Jurors now inquired, "What account they ought to make of the spectre evidence?" and were answered, "None whatever."

1692–3. Jan. 31. While the three persons above named awaited sentence in prison, the Court commenced its session at Charlestown. Here the Judges received word that those they had lately condemned were reprieved by the Governor. This so shocked the Chief Justice, that he left the Bench, went out of Court and did not appear there again during the session; exclaiming as he went, "We were in a way to have cleared the land of these, &c. Who it is obstructs the course of Justice I know not. The Lord be merciful to the Country!"

It cannot be disguised, that the tendency among the accusers to implicate persons in the higher walks of life, had much to do in bringing all accusations to be viewed as the grounds of the iniquity instead of the object of them. And it is to be lamented that the discovery was not made before the crime of taking the lives of innocent persons had been ignorantly perpetrated; for which no atonement can ever be made.§ While the case of the wife of Mr. Hale wrought a change in Essex, the case of the wife of Governor Phips had the same effect in Boston, where the mischief was already deeply rooted.‖

* "We do heartily ask forgiveness of you all, whom we have justly offended, and do declare according to our present minds, we would none of us do such things again on such grounds, for the whole world," &c. [Signed] — "Thomas Fisk, foreman, William Fisk, John Batcheler, Thos. Fisk, Jr., John Dane, Joseph Evelith, Thos. Perly, Sen., John Pebody, Thos. Perkins, Samuel Sawyer, Andrew Elliot, Henry Herrick, Sen."

† The Chief Justice, Mr. Stoughton, who died in 1702, was never convinced of his error, as charity is inclined to suppose, for he never acknowledged it.

‡ In October, the wife of Mr. John Hale, the minister of Beverly was accused of being a witch by a person in Wenham. Mr. Hale had been one of the most forward to bring accused persons to punishment, but now, being fully convinced that his wife was unjustly accused, he soon altered his judgment; "for it was come to a stated controversie among the New England Divines, whether the Devill could afflict in a good man's shape; yet when it came so near to himself, he was soon convinced that the Devil might so afflict; which same reason did afterwards prevail with many others, and much influenced to the succeeding change at trials."—*Calef*, 108.

§ An agreeable writer has said, that Mr. Stoughton "made atonement for his bigotry by contributing, in his lifetime, to the cause of education. He erected, for the use of Harvard College, the building known as Stoughton Hall."— Chandler, *Crim. Trials*, 135. Truly I cannot see what erecting a Hall for Harvard College had to do with atoning for Mr. Stoughton's errors while a judge. Did he intend that edifice for that purpose? As well might any good act of his life, however small, have balanced the same errors.

‖ "If it be true what was said at the Council Board, in answer to the commendations of Sir William, for his stopping the proceedings about witchcraft, namely, that it was high time for him to stop it, his own lady being accused. If that assertion were a truth, then New England may seem to be more beholden to the accusers for accusing her, than to Sir William."— Calef, 154. — Hutchinson extracts

1693. April 25. The last Court held in these tragedies was at Boston; over which Mr. Danforth, Mr. Richards and Mr. Sewall presided. It was at this Court that the aged Captain Alden "was acquitted by proclamation," but "Mary Watkins, who had been a servant, and lived about seven miles from the Town," was tried and condemned; not by the jury. Their repeated verdict was, Ignoramus; but the Court imprisoned her for some time, and she was finally sold into bondage in Virginia.

Notwithstanding the tide had been some time at flood, trials would not probably have ceased yet, but for the course of the miscreant accusers themselves, in implicating those above all suspicion; which had now become too apparent, even to the most credulous to be farther suffered, and prosecutions in consequence ceased.

At the June term of the General Court the last year, was passed "An Act for building with stone or brick in the Town of Boston, and preventing fire." This Act recites that "hence forth no dwelling-house, shop, warehouse, barn, stable, or any other housing of more than eight feet in length or breadth, and seven feet in height, shall be erected and set up in Boston, but of stone or brick, and covered with slate or tyle," except in particular cases; and then not without license from the proper authorities. By another Act, passed six years after, this of 1692 does not seem to have answered the end of its enactment, and the Legislature was obliged to legalize what it could not or did not prevent, "forasmuch as the demolishing of such houses and buildings (being now finished)" erected contrary to the Statute of 1692, "and proceeding according to the directions of the said law, would probably be thought overgreat severity. Yet that such bold and open contempt may not pass wholly unpunished; and to the intent that others may be deterred from doing the like in future. Be it enacted," &c.

The affairs of the Town seem to have gone on for the past year much as though there had been no great commotions in the Country.

Mar. 13. At the March meeting, Capt. Theophilus Frary was chosen Moderator, and Thomas Walker, Bozoun Allen, Obediah Gill, Samuel Checkley, Timothy Thornton, John Meryon, sen., Ephraim Savage, Nathaniel Williams, and Capt. James Hill, were chosen Selectmen. Treasurer and Commissioner, Mr. James Taylor. At the May Meeting,

May 2. Mr. James Taylor, Capt. Penn Townsend, John Eyers, Esq., and Capt. Theophilus Frary were chosen "Representatives."*

from a "*MS. letter*," a curious circumstance about the Lady of the Governor, whose name being Mary (the same with the Queen), who was applied to in her husband's absence for her interposition in the case of a woman imprisoned for witchcraft. The good Lady took the responsibility to sign a discharge, which the Jailer obeyed. "And truly," says the writer of the letter, "I did not believe this story till I saw a copy of the mittimus and discharge under the keeper's hand; for which delivery the keeper [Mr. John Arnold] was discharged from his trust and put out of his employment, as he himself told me." — *Hist. Mass.*, ii. 61.

* March 13.— Constables chosen were "Timothy Clarke, Tho. Cooper, Joseph Russell, Richard Cheuers, Jacob Maline, Enocke Greenleafe, Wm. Parkman and Hezekiah Hinchman; for Rumny Marsh, Wm. Bordman; for Muddy River, Danall Harris. Clerks of the Market, Nicholas Cocke, Isaac Meryon, John Benet and John Curtheue." Samuel Bridge agreed to

Mar. 30. The slaughtering of animals about the Town having been complained of as a nuisance, "the Selectmen, with three of the Justices of the Peace," ordered that "slaughter-houses for the killing of meat" should be set up in these places only; namely, "on Mr. Timothy Thornton's wharf, the wharves near the Salutation Tavern.* In the middle of the Town near and over the Mill-stream. At the South end, at or near Bendall's wharfe."

Oct. 16. The Town chose Maj. Penn Townsend, Edward Bromfield, Esq., Capt. Theophilus Frary, Mr. Timothy Thornton, for Representatives "to serv in the General Assembly to be held eighth November."

In the course of the year, Thomas Chalkley, an eminent Quaker, visited Boston, and afterwards printed an account of his travels. In his work he says: "I being a stranger and traveller, could not but observe the barbarous and unchristian-like welcome I had into Boston. 'O! what a pity it was,' said one, 'that all of your society were not hanged with the other four.' This shows that the spirit of persecution was alive in some of that people, long after the power of it was restrained."†

Some laws had been passed the preceding year exempting the Quakers from taxation, which may account for the vindictive attitude assumed by some towards Thomas Chalkley. The exact time when a house was set apart for public worship by the Denomination in Boston is not stated, but it was not far from and perhaps as early as 1665.‡ However, there had been, ever since the persecutions of 1677 an inconsiderable number of Quakers in and about Boston.§ In that year "their ordinary place of meeting" is spoken of. In 1694 they possessed a lot of land

collect the Country rate for 3d the pound, for which Mr. Simeon Stoddard stood his security in £1000. Fourteen Tythingmen were chosen out of the seven military companies: — "Tho. Banester, John Meryon, out of Capt. Sewall's; Samll. Bridges, John Adams, out of Capt. Hills; John Cunny [Coney], Wm. Adams, glover, out of Capt. Penn Townsends; James Barnes, John Kilbe, out of Capt. Allen's; Tho. Messenger, James Smith, out of Maj. Savages; Tho. Cushing, Joshua Gee, out of Capt. John Wings; John Farnum, John Niccols, out of Maj. Hutchinsons; Joseph Grant, Wm. Huffe, out of Capt. Greenoughs."

* It was in Ship Street, at the corner of Salutation Alley. It was standing long after this. June 26th, the following named persons were appointed Innholders: — "John Bishop, John Prat, Joanna Hunlock, Joshua Hewes, Elizabeth Watkins, Hannah Kent, Enoch Hubbard, Mary Wright and Capt. Wright."

† Chalkley in Besse, *Sufferings*, &c., ii. 220.

‡ May 4th, 1664, Edward Wharton of Salem, being at Boston, assembled with "George Preston, Wenlock Christison and others of their friends to worship God," &c. While they were exercised in the duties of preaching and praying at the meeting, a warrant came from Edward Rawson for the apprehension of the Preacher. This meeting was at the house of Edward Wanton. The warrant sets forth that a stranger was there preaching, "publicly among many, and endeavoring to seduce his Majesty's good subjects and people to his cursed opinions." When the Constable reached the place of meeting, the meeting was ended. But he found Wharton at Nicholas Upsall's house, and arrested him, and the next day he was whipped, and then sent to the Constable of Lynn, who was ordered to whip him, and then to send him to Salem. — Details and copy of warrants may be seen in Besse, ii. 233.

§ A law was made in 1675, subjecting every person found at a Quaker-Meeting to be committed to jail, "to have the discipline of the house, and to be kept to work with bread and water, or else pay £5." Constables were empowered to apprehend ex officio. See Besse, ii. 259. In consequence of this law some Friends received the barbarous usage referred to in the Old Indian Chronicle, cited *ante*, p. 410. By misinformation, Snow, *Hist. Boston*, 199, placed the important events of Quaker affairs of 1677 under 1675.

in Brattle street, one hundred and eight feet deep by twenty-five and a quarter in width, for a Meeting-house and Burying-ground, and built a brick house* on it twenty-four by twenty feet, which was secured to the Society by William Mumford, Edward Sheppen,† John Soames, Edward Wanton,‡ Walter Clark of Newport, and William Chamberlain of Hull. In 1708 the Society desired to sell their house, and to erect a new one, of wood, but on application to the Town Authorities, their request was denied, and in the following year Walter Newberry, John Wing and Thomas Richardson, the committee of Friends having charge of the business, so reported to the Society.§ "It was therefore concluded to build, of brick, a house twenty-five by thirty feet. This was the building lately standing in Congress Street. It was burnt in the great fire of 1760, and in the same year it was concluded by the Yearly Meeting to repair it, which was done. This building stood till April 2nd, 1825, when it was sold for 160 dollars, and immediately after demolished."‖

During and after the Revolution of 1776, the Quakers became so much diminished, that it was said, in 1826, that their Meeting-house in Congress street had been wholly unoccupied by them for nearly twenty years.¶ "Their meetings were discontinued by a vote of the Society in 1808. The Burying-ground had been undisturbed for eleven years, when the remains of one hundred and eleven bodies were removed thence to Lynn for re-interment, in July, 1826." The land was sold in 1827, and the stone building opposite the west end of Lindall Street occupies the site of the old Church. The Society has since erected a neat stone edifice in Milton Place, but meetings are held in it only occasionally, as resident members are very few.

Notwithstanding the disastrous issue of the Canada expedition of 1690, the Government in England soon after determined upon another, but it was more ill-judged then the former. The first notice here that such a design was on foot, was brought by the fleet which was to undertake it. This was, enough to have caused a fatal delay, yet it was but a slight error in comparison with another, which originated with it. The same force destined to conquer Canada was ordered to reduce Martinico in the West Indies, then to rendezvous at Boston, and after recruiting to proceed into the St. Lawrence. Before anything could be effected

* The first Meeting-house built of brick in the Town. — Bowen, *Picture Boston*, 128. Its site is believed to have been "somewhere in the neighborhood" of that on which Brattle-street Church now stands. — See Lothrop, *Hist. Brattle-st. Church*, 6.

† He afterwards went to Philadelphia, and was the first Mayor of that city, and filled other important places. His descendants have also been distinguished, among whom was Edward Shippen, LL. D., Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, and William Shippin, M. D., first Professor of Anatomy in the University of Pennsylvania. — See Miller's *Retrospect*, ii. 340. — *American Portrait Gallery*, and Allen, *Amer. Biog.*

‡ Ancestor of the four Governors of Rhode Island, of the name of Wanton. Edward, above named, died in Scituate in 1716, æ. 85. — See Deane's *Hist. Scituate*, 372.

§ The above facts are from Snow, who had them, and other items, "from a venerable professor of the denomination." But as Snow's informant misled him in some of them, and others are loosely stated, it is proper that my readers should be able to make the necessary allowance by this notice.

‖ Snow, 200.

¶ Boston Courier, 30 June, 1826. Their lands in the Commonwealth were in the hands of Trustees till 1823.

against Martinico, a most fatal sickness broke out in the fleet, and before it reached Boston 3000 men had died, being three-fifths of the whole force. Sir Francis Wheeler the commander of the fleet, by and with the advice of the Government at Boston, relinquished all ideas of effecting anything against Canada this year.*

June 11.

At a Town-meeting it was agreed that Mr. Samuel Phillips may have the ground where the Cage and Watch-house stand, on a lease of twenty-one years, to build a shop on; he building a cellar under it; and after one and a half years, to pay three pounds a year for it.†

Mar. 26.

Sir William Phips has, not unjustly perhaps, been denominated "a weak Governor," and that he was much better calculated to command a ship of war than to be Governor of a Colony. Certain it is, he very much disgraced himself by brutally assaulting Mr. Brenton, the Collector of the Port of Boston, and for caning Captain Short of the Nonsuch frigate, whom he met in the street. These assaults were occasioned by a misunderstanding in respect to admiralty jurisdiction; the Governor assuming an authority which the Collector and the Captain thought did not belong to him. He was a man of great physical strength, and seems to have been rather prone to employ that for want of other kind of argument. Meanwhile representations were being made to his prejudice in England, as the private letters from influential men in Boston were generally against him. He had, at the same time, quite as much as he could do to keep a majority of the General Court on his side, as appears by a motion in that body to address the King in favor of his being kept in his place of Governor; out of fifty members, there was but one majority for it. Many of the representatives of the country towns then resided in Boston, and they went against the Address. Out of this arose the Non-resident Act, an act requiring that a representative should reside in the town which he represented. This was carried, like the Address in favor of Sir William, by one majority. On this occasion, it is said that the Governor rushed into the House, drove out the Non-residents, and, says this authority, "I am mistaken if, either for estates or loyalty, they left any of their equals in that House." ‡

Nov. 17.

Finally, Governor Phips was ordered to appear in England, to answer to the complaints against him, and he left Boston in

* Dr. C. Mather, then writing his Magnalia, says Sir Francis Wheeler gave him the account of the mortality of his men himself. — *Magnalia*, ii. 71. *Hutchinson*, ii. 72. Sir Francis was cast away the year before near Gibralter.

† "May 9th, leave given to Joseph Maylam to go forward in building a brick building neere the west end of the Town-house, considering the great benefit that thereby may accrew to the Town, being judged at least £8 p. year at present coming in; and the benefit of a brick watch-house and security from fire, &c."

"May 14th. Comittee to draw up Instructions for the Select-men, — Doct. Elisha Cook, Isaac Addington, Esq., Coll. Sam[ll]. Shrimpton, Lt. Col. Elisha Hutchinson, and Maj. Pen Townsend. — July 16, seven Assessors chosen. Capt. Bozoone Allen, Capt. Samuel Checkley, Ephm. Savage, Mr. Timothy Thornton, Mr. Obediah Gill, Mr. Thomas Walker, Mr. John Marion, Sen. Mr. Checkley and Mr. Walker refusing to serve, Mr. Joseph Bridgham and Mr. Sam[ll]. Lynd were chosen in their room. Mr. Bridgham refusing, Capt. Nath[ll]. Green was chosen."

‡ *Letter to London*, in Hutchinson, ii. 80.

November, Lieut. Governor Stoughton assuming the Government. On his arrival in England he was much harassed by actions at law for his conduct at Boston. Damages were laid at 20,000 pounds, and Sir Henry Ashurst, the friend of Dr. Increase Mather, became his bail. These suits were thought to have brought on or aggravated the disease of which he died. His death took place in London, in February following.*

Dec. 28. Queen Mary died near the end of the year, at the early age of thirty-three, and the next day William was recognized King of England, as William the Third. What time the news of these events reached Boston, and what notice was taken of them, if any, are not ascertained, and it is probable that they were quietly passed over.

Mar. 11. What called forth the following action of the Town does not appear from the Records: "Voted, that the bookes of the Register of birthes and deathes in the town of Boston shall be demanded by the Select-men in whose hands soever they be, and that all bookes or other things belonging to the Library, and all the goods or estate belonging to the Town, be demanded, and taken possession of by the Selectmen." †

Mar. 25. It was ordered by the Town, that as Capt. Samuel Sewall had been at charge "in severall essays to plant trees at the south end of the Town for the shading of Wheeler's Point," he and his heirs, "and none else," should have liberty to lop the trees so planted,

* He was buried at the east end of the church, St. Mary Woolnoth, London, over whose remains his wife caused the following inscription to be placed: —

"Near this place is interred the body of Sir William Phipps, Knight, who, in the year 1687, by his great Industry, discovered among the rocks near the Banks of Bahama, on the north side of Hispaniola, a Spanish plate ship which had been under water forty-four years; out of which he took, in gold and silver, to the value of three hundred thousand pounds sterling; and, with a fidelity equal to his conduct, brought it all to London, where it was divided between himself and the rest of the adventurers: For which great service he was knighted by his then Majesty, King James II., and afterwards by the command of his present Majesty; and at the request of the principal Inhabitants of New England, he accepted the Government of Massachusetts, in which he continued to the time of his death, and discharged his trust with that zeal for the interest of his country, and so little regard to his own private advantage, that he justly gained the good esteem and affections of the greatest and best part of the inhabitants of that Colony. He died the 18th of February, 1694 [1694–5]; and his Lady, to perpetuate his memory, hath caused this Monument to be erected." — Maitland, *Hist. London*, vol. ii. p. 1145. See also *Gen. and Hist. Reg.*, iv. 290.

Though this inscription is long, even the age of the deceased is not mentioned, his parentage, nor place of birth. Something of these may be found in the Magnalia of his intimate friend, Dr. Cotton Mather. The reader of Sir William's life, as given by that author, however, should read in connection with it Calef's notice of it in his "More Wonders of the Invisible World." Sir William Phips' father, James Phips, came from Bristol, England, and settled at Pemaquid. He had 26 children, of whom 21 were sons, of whom Sir William was one; born 2 Feb., 1650. Hence he was but 45 at his decease. His wife was Mary, daughter of Capt. Roger Spencer, and widow of John Hull, merchant of Boston. She had no children by Phips. Spencer Bennett, son of her sister Margaret, took the name of Phips, and was Lieut. Governor of Massachusetts. He grad. H. C. 1703, died 4 April, 1757, æ. 73. His son William grad. H. C. 1728. The wife of Lt. Gov. Phips died at Cambridge, 7 May, 1764. In 1739, "John Phipps of Wrentham" petitioned the Gen. Court for a "Canada grant," in right of his uncle, Sir Wm. Phips, and for another in right of his brother James. This John Phips was probably son of John, both of whom are remembered by Sir William in his will, which he made 18 Dec. 1693, and which was proved 13 June, 1695. Sir William's widow died in 1704, leaving to her adopted son, Spencer Phips, the bulk of her estate. She was then the wife of Peter Sergeant.

† Mar. 11. Maj. John Walley chosen Moderator. Constables chosen were Daniel Oliver, John George, Edward Thomas, Epaphras Shrimpton, Thomas Palmer, Thomas Graford, Benj. Mountfort, Eleazar Moody. Graford was excused, Palmer and Moody paid fines. David Norton, Geo. Robinson, and Wm. Turner were chosen in their room.

and to cut them down and dispose of them, he or they planting others and causing them to grow.

April 29. Winnesimmet ferry was let to John Scolly for seven years.*

There was a good deal of agitation in the Churches of Boston upon the subject of marriage, particularly in respect to the lawfulness or unlawfulness of intermarriages among relatives. It is probable that some case had occurred in one of the Churches which gave rise to that agitation. However this may have been, "several of the Ministers in and near Boston" felt themselves called upon to settle a question which they thus stated: — "Whether it is lawful for a man to marry his wife's own sister?" The Ministers who took it upon themselves to decide upon the matter were Increase Mather, of the Second Church, Charles Morton, of Charlestown Church, James Allen, of the First Church, Samuel Willard, of the Third Church, Cotton Mather, of the Second, John Danforth, of Dorchester, and James Sherman. They published their judgment in a tract of eight pages, unqualifiedly asserting, "We answer in the negative, that it is utterly unlawful, incestuous, and an hainous sin in the sight of God." The answer occupies but two lines, the arguments and authorities making up the rest of the work.

This treatise of the Ministers, perhaps, influenced the General Court, at its May session, to pass a law "to prevent incestuous marriages." It provides that no persons shall be allowed to marry where there is an affinity between them, as declared in the Scriptures. Whoever offended or broke this law, "such man and woman shall be set upon the gallows by the space of an hour, with a rope about their neck, and the other end cast over the gallows; and, in the way from thence to the Common Gaol, shall be severely whipped, not exceeding forty stripes each. Also, every person so offending shall forever after wear a capital I, of two inches long and proportionable bigness, cut out in cloth of a contrary color to their cloaths, and sewed upon their upper garments, on the outside of their arm, or on their back, in open view." † If at any time such criminals were found without the letter, they were to be whipped, not exceeding fifteen stripes. ‡

* Sept. 30. The following is a list of persons ordered to appear before the Selectmen, to answer for "breach of Town Orders or Bylaws in building to the inconvenience of the Streets with timber, stones, &c., being thereof convicted; viz., James Barton, Richd. Cheever, John Orris, Joseph Ryall, John Coombs, John Soames, Ralph Carter, John Gerish, Tho. Hitchborn, Gypon Fawer, Tho. Peabody, Samll. Mattock, Wm. Wilson, John Lawson, John Nicols, Richd. Middlecot, Saml. Burrell, David Adams, Joseph Adams, Daniel Collins, John Bayley, Christ Sleg. For their trespassing on the south side of the high way, on the eastward side of the Draw Bridge." These persons were probably erecting buildings on the spot burnt over by the great fire of 5 Aug. 1690, before noticed. "Col. Nicholas Paig, John Wing, Richd. Basin, and Tho. Peck, Sen., for their trespas neer their own houses." All were given to the 1st of October "to remove the nusances, or pay 5*s.* for the use of the poor."

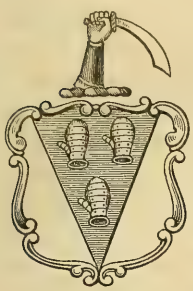
"Thomas Harris paid one penny as an acknowledgement that part of his shop stood on the Town land."

† *Colony Laws*, edition 1714, p. 68. The same is upon the statute book published in 1768. This law was the origin of the "Scarlet Letter."

‡ Justices were to consummate marriages only within their own counties, and ministers only within their towns. The marriage fee was fixed at 3*s.*, and for publishment and certificate, 1*s.* — *Laws*, p. 16.

CHAPTER LIII.

French and Indian War. — The Chief Bomazeen imprisoned in Boston. — Mission of Sheepscot John. — Hopes and Prospects of the contending Parties. — The French plan the Capture of Boston. — Severity of Winter. — Harbor frozen beyond former Experience. — Defences of the Town renewed. — Order concerning the Market. — Concerning further Defences. — Writing-school. — Death of Gov. Bradstreet. — Jews. — Peace with France. — Order concerning the Records. — Number of Houses. — Widows. — Ezekiel Cheever. — Edward Ward. — His description of Boston. — Slanderers. — Earl Bellamont Governor. — First Nobleman Governor. — His Popularity. — Arrests the Pirate Kid. — Case of Maj. Mayhew. — Death of Gov. Bellamont. — Church in Brattle street founded. — Its History. — Muddy River petitions to be set off. — Schools. — Rumney Marsh.



JOYLIFFE.†

A DISTRESSING Indian war was now laying waste the exposed frontiers of New England. Hundreds of the inhabitants were killed or carried prisoners to Canada, and a vast amount of property was destroyed. A few Indians were from time to time taken and killed, but their number bore no proportion to the mischief done by them to the English.* The French, in Canada, aided the Indians in fitting out their expeditions, and afforded them a retreat after they had performed them, and often sent some of their own people to lead and support them. Thus a most devastating warfare was kept up for ten years together.‡

1694. July 18. In the early part of the year 1694, there was "bloody fishing at Oyster River," in New Hampshire, as a Reverend Historian

* It is said that for every Indian killed it had cost the country £1000 each.

† A name written with great variation. Mr. John Joyliffe of Boston was a gentleman of wealth and consideration from 1663 to the time of his death, which happened 23 Nov. 1701. He lived in what is now Devonshire st., in that part between Water and Milk st. It was one of the few streets or lanes which retained its former name, when, in 1708, the Selectmen gave names to all the streets. It had been known by the name of Joyliffe's Lane for many years before this confirmation. John Joyliffe left a will, dated 17 Feb. 1699–1700, witnessed by Anthony Checkley, Saml. Lynde, Edward Creeke, and Benj. Stone. "To friends in England, viz. to Katharine Bowles, dau. of my bro. Dr. Geo. Joyliffe, 20*s.*; to Katharine Coope and Alice Moxley, daus., to my sister Dorothy Cane, 20*s.* each; to John Cooke of London, merchant, son of my sister Martha, 20*s.*; to sister Spicer, dau. of my sister Rebecca Wolcott, 20*s.*; to John Drake, son of my sister Margaret Drake, 20*s.*; to Margaret and Katharine Drake, daus. of my sister Margaret, 20*s.* each; to Esther, dau. of my sister Mary Biss, sometime wife of James Biss of Shepton Mallett, in the Co. of Somerset, 20*s.*; to Rev. Saml. Willard of Boston, £5; to Mr. Simon W., son of said Samuel W., £5; to the poor of the Town, £10; to Martha Ballard, dau. of my late wife, and now wife of Mr. Jarvis Ballard of Boston, house and land in Boston, now in the occupation of Capt. Nathl. Byfield, sold to me by mortgage of Richd. Price, late of Boston, merchant, deceased, for £300; all else to go to said dau.-in-law, Martha Ballard, who, with her husband, to be exrs."

"Argent, on a Pile, Az. three dexter Gauntlets of the field, is the coat Armor of John Jolliffe of the city of London, Esq., Governor of the Muscovy Company, descended from the Jolliffs of Botham in Staffordshire. Borne also by William Jolliffe of Carswall Castle in the same Shire, Esq." — Guillim, *Heraldry*, ed. 1679.

‡ Some spoil was occasionally done upon the commerce of the French by daring and enterprising Boston seamen. In July, 1695, Capt. Robert Glover ranged the eastern coast in a privateer sloop called the Dragon. In the mouth of the St. Lawrence he captured a French ship, named the St. Joseph, with a cargo valued at about £15,000.

of the time expressed himself.* Ninety-four people were killed and carried into captivity, and thirteen dwelling-houses were burned. And only nine days after, thirty-five of the inhabitants of Groton met a like fate. A noted Indian Chief, residing upon the Kennebec river, was supposed to have led the parties which committed these enormities. The name of this Chief was Bomazeen; and, within about four months after, he was, by some stratagem, taken by the English at Pemaquid, and shortly after brought to Boston, and closely confined in the common jail, with several others of his countrymen.† Here he remained until December, 1698, at which time he was liberated by an exchange of prisoners. While these prisoners were lying in jail, Lieutenant Governor Stoughton issued a Proclamation,‡ copies of which he sent to Canada,§ and to the Indians on the "Amarascogin." In that proclamation the Governor called upon all the Indians who held any of the English captives, to give immediate proof of their fidelity by a compliance with a treaty they had recently entered into to deliver them up, and to seize and deliver up to the English the Chiefs who had been concerned "in this last and bloody tragedy;" otherwise they might expect to be visited with the utmost rigors of the law. To this the Indians replied by a counter proclamation; in which they were not behind the Lieutenant Governor in threats and denunciations. "That which thou sayest to us, the same will we say to thee," is a fair specimen of their reply. However, through the mediation of Sheepscot John, several captives were not long after restored, and a truce agreed upon, but the war continued.‖

July 27.

Nov. 19.

1695–6. Jan. 21.

* Dr. Cotton Mather, *Magnalia*, ii. 626, new edition.

† The French historians charge the English with great perfidy in that seizure of the Indians. Against his account of the affair, Charlevoix sets in his margin, "Trahison faite par les Anglois aux Abénaquis." The English, he says, had turned all their attention to debauch the people about Acadie. That seven Abénaquis being sent to Pemaquid under a flag of truce, they were seized; three of them were carried prisoners to Boston, and the other four were massacred in the way. "Sept Abénaquis étant allés à Pemkuit avec un drapeau parlementaire, y furent arrêtis; trois furent menés prisonniers à Boston, et les quatre autres furent massacrés en chemin." — *Histoire et Desc. Gen. de la Nouvelle France*, ii. 159.— Hutchinson says the Indians were no otherwise maltreated than by being kept in prison in Boston, "which, it must be acknowledged, was a very bad one." — *Hist. Mass.*, ii. 87.

‡ I have not met with this proclamation except in French, as rendered by Potherie, in his *Histoire de L'Amerique Septent.*, iv. 40–2. As is commonly the case, the author of that book has made wretched work in translating the names of persons and places. Thus he makes Gov. Stoughton say, in speaking of depredations, "Commit à l'endroit de plusieurs bon sujets de sa Majestés de la *riviere d'Huitre-Egroton*," &c. Now, unless one were familiar with all the transactions, he would not suppose that "Oyster River and Groton" was meant by the words I have italicized. Nor did Mons. de la Potherie make much better work in printing the counter proclamation of the Indians, in which document he makes them say, "J'envoye les presentes parles mains de *Sheepscot, Jean Alt, Bagataouaroongan* un de leurs ôtages," &c. Now who would suppose that the words in Italic here meant "Sheepscot John, als. Bagataouaroongan?" &c.—*Ib.* 41. Potherie was licensed to print in 1702, but his work did not appear till 1722.

§ Sheepscot John was the bearer of the Proclamation. He was one of the Hostages imprisoned with Bomazeen in Boston, and was a party to the Treaty of Pemaquid of 11 Aug. 1693, made with Sir William Phips. To that instrument his name stands, "John Bagatawawongo, alias Sheepscot John." — *Book of the Indians*, 305. — Hutchinson, ii. 88. — *Magnalia*, vii. 85.

‖ See note on p. 509.

England and France continued at war. Each nation hoped to succeed on this continent against the other, and to effect a complete conquest of it. Affairs on the whole, since the expedition of 1690, had been in favor of the French and their Indian allies. The Canadians believed that the English government would send out a strong naval force against them in the spring of 1696; to counteract which they applied to the King of France to send over a fleet of sufficient force to overpower any the English might employ. It was planned that the French fleet should fall in with the English fleet on the coast, and, having destroyed it, to proceed immediately to capture Boston, which they believed to be a place of great trade. Yet the high hopes of the French were blasted in respect to their great object.

May 11. The fortifications of the Town were examined early this year, and were reported "very much out of repair, and unfit for service in this time of war." And although the Province was accountable for their efficiency, it was determined in Town-meeting, that "forasmuch as our own safety doth necessarily depend upon the speedy setting of the platform and carriages for the great artillery in repair, so as they may be of service in case of invasion," to have them prepared at once for service. At the same time it was voted that Col. Samuel Shrimpton, Lieut. Col. Hutchinson, and Maj. Penn Townsend, with the Selectmen, should make application to the Commander in Chief for his orders and direction, and to provide for whatever expenditure the Town should incur in rendering the forts serviceable.*

It was voted that Joseph Belknap's lease might be renewed, but for a term not exceeding ninety-nine years.† It was "agreed that the

June 3. Market appointed by law should be kept at one place at present; namely, in and about the Town-house, and that it be opened on the eleventh day of August next."

March 8. It was voted in Town-meeting, that the Town Rate should not exceed 500 pounds; that more money should be raised and employed about the fortifications, and to buy powder for necessary defence, but not to exceed 500 pounds. Lieut. Col. Hutchinson, Peter Sergeant, Esq., and Henry Deering, were to examine the Treasurer's accounts, and Col. Shrimpton, Col. Hutchinson and Maj. Townsend,

* The next year (22 Mar. 1697), "Col. Hutchinson, Mr. Samson Stoddard, and Mr. Tim. Clark, to be a committee to see all the great ordnance belonging to the Town of Boston well mounted on sufficient carriages; all platforms repaired, and new ones erected as they shall judge needful; stores for powder in time of Service, with all other materials necessary for our defence, and to draw upon the Treasurer of the Town, which he is to answer, not exceeding £500." The Gunner was allowed £20 per annum. Mr. Cole, Master of the Free Writing-school, to have £10 added to his salary for the coming year. It was before £30. No person allowed to keep a dog who had not £20 ratable estate "besides the poll." No person to keep more than one dog. "Noe person shall ride too and fro aboute the Common on the Sabbath-day, to water horses, on the penalty of 5*s*., and Mr. Daniel Fairfield is impowered to look after the transgressors."



† It was of a piece of ground leased to him in 1657. See *ante*, p. 350.

were "a committee to examine after the Town's powder that is lost, and also to appoint the wages of William Tilly, Gunner for this present year, and what is past." It was also "voted that part of the money given by the late Major John Richards, to be improved for the poor of the Town, should be laid out in building a chamber over Mr. Phillips his shop, and the Watch-house, and it is to be left with the Select-men to order the building of it, and to lease it out." A house for a Writing-school, adjoining to the old School-house, was voted to be built, and referred to the Selectmen also.*

Mar. 27. The venerable and respected Governor Bradstreet died at Salem, at the age of ninety-four. He was a son of Simon Bradstreet,† and was born at Horbling, in the County of Lincoln, in March, 1603. The father of Governor Bradstreet was "the son of a Suffolk gentleman of fine estate," became a Nonconformist, preached for a time in Lincolnshire, and afterwards at Middleburgh, in Holland. He was at one time "one of the first Fellows of Immanuel College, under Doctor Chadderton, and one afterwards highly esteemed by Mr. Cotton and Mr. Preston." He died about 1617. Governor Bradstreet had witnessed the events of near a century, the entire existence of Boston, and in short New England. He was living when Capt. Joshua Scottow wrote his "Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts Colony," which was dedicated to him, and published three years before his death.‡ In this his old friend saluted him as New England's Nestor, to which Hutchinson subscribed, and says, "He was the youngest of all the Assistants who came over with the first Charter," and he is said to have been the last survivor of all those who came to New England with him in 1630.§

Governor Bradstreet married Anne, a daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley, by whom he had eight children, and their posterity is widely

* The next year (Dec. 20th, 1698), at the request of Samuel Sewall, Esq., Joseph Prout measured certain distances, an account of which was entered on the Records. From this it appears that the New School-house had been built at Cotton Hill. — "From the southerly corner of the New School-house at Cotton Hill, to the northerly corner of Capt. Legg's land is 55 foot; from said north corner of said School-house to the southerly post of Capt. Sewall's gate, being the breadth cross the high-way is 53 foot 4 inches; from said gate-post to the south-easterly end of the School-house fence is 41½; the breadth upon the high-way between Mr. Coney and Belknap on the one side of Capt. Sewall's land on the other side is 17 foot; from the easterly corner of the School-house cross the high-way to the N. W. gate post of the house late of Mr. Perkins is 36 foot; from the east corner of said School-house to the northe corner of the land formerly belonging to John Mears deceased is 11 pole and one foot; from said north corner cross the high-way to Capt. Bozoon Allen's land is 25½ foote."



Jan. 30th, 1698–9. "Ordered, that the School-house lately built in the Prison-lane on the side of the Hill over against the land of Capt. Samll. Sewall remain as it is now fenced in, and that no more of said Hill be improved by building or otherways taken in, but left for accommodation of the street or high-way."

† Rev. Samuel Sewall, out of ancient (Bradstreet) family MSS.

‡ See *ante*, p. 106.

§ This is true, no doubt, as it respects the fathers of the Colony, or prominent men.

spread over New England at this day; including many families and individuals of the highest respectability.*

Among all the sects which had given concern to the early Founders of Boston, that of the Jews was among the least. At this time, there were but two of that faith in the Town. These were brothers, of the name of Frazon, Joseph and Samuel. The former was some time a scholar to the learned Da Sylva in London. Their father and grandfather had lived in the Dutch Colony in Brazil.†

The Indian war continued to cause deep distress throughout almost the entire inland borders of New England, and temporary relief only could be expected during the winter now close at hand.

Dec. 10. Nor did the joyful news of the Peace of Ryswick entirely allay the fears of further miseries from Indian depredations. However, Peace was proclaimed in Boston on the tenth of December, and celebrated with an earnestness which the prospect of relief from the horrors of war only could give.

The winter which had now commenced "was the severest that ever was in the memory of man." ‡ "From the middle of January to the first or second of March it held cold, with very little or no intermission. All the Bay was frozen over quite out to Sea; so as it was common to go horse and man over all the ferries for two months together. The main channel in Boston harbor did not open till the first of March. It snowed that year between twenty and thirty times."§ "Slays and loaded sleds passed a great part of the time upon the ice from Boston as far as Nantasket." There was also a great scarcity of provisions. Grain was never at a higher price, nor could it be readily had for money. Trade also suffered more than at any former period.‖

1698. Mar. 14. At the Town-meeting, Samuel Sewall, Esq., was Moderator. Samson Stoddard, Thomas Walker, Bozoon Allen, Obediah Gill, Thomas Hunt, John Marion, Jr., and Isaiah Tay, were Selectmen; William Griggs was Town Clerk, and James Taylor, Treasurer. The Overseers of the Poor were Benjamin Walker, Henry Dering, Richard Draper and Samuel Lind. At the same Meeting, it was voted,

* I may well be excused from any enlargement upon the posterity of Gov. Bradstreet, it having been so lately and so ably done in the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, by two gentlemen who take a deep interest in such elucidations of New England's History. See that work, vol. viii. 312—25.

The tomb-stone of Governor Bradstreet is still to be seen in the Charter-street Burying-ground in Salem, but the Inscription upon it has long been illegible; and yet, from copies often reprinted in this age, there is nothing to indicate the fact that they are copied from copies. Nearly one hundred years ago, a Correspondent of the "Boston Chronicle" made out the original with difficulty, and even then evidently made some errors in his transcript. The most accurate copy is probably that to be found in *Alden's Epitaphs*, i. p. 71; or No. 85.

† Sewall; who says, "There are several families of Jews at New York, and New England is seldom wholly without them."

‡ Mather, *Magnalia*, vii. 93, or ii. 693, new edition. It is not easy to understand by the Magnalia the precise year of this severe winter. Hutchinson is a year out of the way. See *Hist. Mass.*, ii. 101. He does not give his authority, and it is not known, therefore, who misled him.

§ Clough's *Almanack* for 1701.

‖ Clough's *Almanack* for 1701, and Hutchinson, ii. 101.

"That all choice of officers, on the day of a Public Town-meeting for that work, should be entered in a book, and not on loose paper, and so all other things voted by the Town, least they should be lost." *

Boston at this time contained above 1000 houses, and more than 7000 inhabitants.† "It was no sooner come to some consistence threescore years ago, but the people found themselves plunged into a sad non-plus what way to take for a subsistence. God then immediately put them in a way. The Town is at this day full of widows and orphans, and a multitude of them are very helpless creatures. I am astonished how they live! In that Church whereof I am a Servant, I have counted the widows make about a sixth part of our Communicants, and no doubt in the whole Town the proportion differs not very much." ‡

1699. Mar. 13. May 8. Aug. 28. It was decided by the Town that an Assistant in the Latin School should be provided for Mr. Ezekiel Cheever. It being committed to the Selectmen, Mr. Ezekiel Lewes, his grandson, was selected to fill the station, and to have a Salary of not exceeding forty pounds a year. He entered upon his duties in the following August.§

Boston was this year visited by a remarkable character; remark-

* At the same meeting, "Col. Hutchinson, Mr. Samuel Lind, Mr. Timo. Clark, and Mr. David Copp, senr., chosen a Comte to join with the Select-men to renew the antiant bounds of the high-way leading from the Black-horse lane to the Mill, by Centry Haven, and to propose how it may be better laid out, if need be."

May 9th. "John Eyer, Esq., Capt. Sam'l Legg, Capt. Nath. Byfield, and Penn Townsend," were chosen Representatives. On the 30th, Capt. Andrew Belcher was chosen instead of Capt. Townsend, who had been chosen a Counsellor. July 11th, a rate of £800 was ordered to be raised.

Oct. 11th. "Ordered that the natural and antient water course at the south end of the Town, between the wharf lately set up by Mr. Barrichia Arnold and the wharf of Peter Welcomb, deceased, in breadth 9 feet, shall for ever remaine for that vse, and shall be kept open as a common priviledge."

Nov. 14. It was voted "that a rate of £60 be raised by the Select-men, for the repairing of the Town-house, and no other use."

† *Sermon at the Boston Lecture*, 7 : 2 : 1698, by Doctor Cotton Mather. "The Small-pox has four times been a great plague upon us. In one twelvemonth, about 1000 of our neighbors have one way or other been carried unto their long home; and yet we are, after all, many more than 7000 souls of us at this hour living on the spot. Ten times has the fire made notable ruins among us, and our *good servant* been almost our *master;* but the ruins have mostly and quickly been rebuilt. I suppose that many more than a thousand houses are to be seen on this little piece of ground, all filled with the undeserved favors of God." — *Magnalia*, i. 33; or new edition, i. 92.

‡ *Ibid.* B. i. 34. The Author calls earnestly upon the Town Authorities to suppress vice of every kind, and relates many examples of judgments which had fallen upon other places for the sins of their inhabitants. "Port Royal in Jamaica," he says, "you know was swallowed up the other day in a stupendous Earthquake; that just before the Earthquake the people were violently and scandalously set upon going to Fortune-tellers upon all occasions. But none of these wretched Fortune-tellers could foresee or forestall the direful catastrophe." He had heard there were some in Boston "consulted by the sinful inhabitants;" and adds, "I wish the Town could be made too hot for these dangerous transgressors. And O! that the drinking-houses in the Town might once come under a laudable regulation. The Town has an enormous number of them."

§ July 7. "Ordered that the Draw Bridge over the Mill Creek be placed 3 foot 7 in. from the range of the corner of Mr. Giles Dyer's house, as now it is, and to extend in breadth 10 ft. 11 in. from outside to outside of the joyce of said bridge, and 10 ft. more or less, being the remainder of the breadth of said way, over to the house of Mr. Christopher Goffe, late of Boston, deceased."

Nov. 6. Mr. James Russell, of Charlestown, and Mr. John Ballentine, of Boston, or "whoever else may be concerned," or owners of the bridge over the Mill Creek, are ordered

able for nothing, however, entitling him to very respectful consideration. His name was Edward Ward.*

Mr. Ward sailed from Gravesend in the ship Prudent Sarah, but at what time in the year, or the date of his arrival in Boston, does not appear from his Journal. He commences by saying that "Bishops, Bailiffs, and Bastards, were the three terrible persecutions which chiefly drove our unhappy brethren to seek their fortunes in our foreign Colonies;" and frankly acknowledges that "one of these bugbears" (doubtless the latter, though he says otherwise), forced him "to leave his own dear native country, for religious Boston." After a humorous and ludicrous description of his voyage, being tossed by the waves "like a dog in a blanket," as he expresses it, he "got sight of the promised land of Boston," of which he *promises* to give an account, "free from prejudice or partiality;" proceeding as follows: —

"On the south-west side of Massachusetts Bay is Boston, whose name is taken from a town in Lincolnshire, and is the metropolis of all New England. The houses in some parts join, as in London. The buildings, like their women, being neat and handsome; and their streets, like the hearts of the male inhabitants, are paved with pebbles."

At the "stately edifices in the chief or High-street," and their proprietors, he sneers in a manner practised only by the envious or ignorant. Some of these edifices, he remarks, "have cost their owners two or three thousand pounds; which I think plainly proves two old adages true, namely, 'that a fool and his money are soon parted;' and 'set a beggar on horseback, he 'll ride to the devil;' the fathers of these men were tinkers and pedlars."

The Meeting-houses and Ministers escape some better in the following passage: — "To the glory of Religion and the credit of the Town, there are four Churches, built with clapboards and shingles, after the fashion of our Meeting-houses; which are supplied by four Ministers;

forthwith to repair the pavement on each side of the bridge, and to move the gutters beside it, that it might be passable for horse and cart, according to the grant of the Town, or pay 20*s.* a week till it should be done.

* In Jacob's *Lives and Characters of the English Poets*, i. 225, printed in 1723, "Mr. Edward Ward" is thus noticed: — "A very voluminous Poet, and an imitator of the famous Butler. Of late years, he has kept a public house in the City [of London], but in a genteel way; and with his wit, humor, and good liquor, has afforded his guests a pleasurable entertainment; especially the High Church party, which is composed of men of his principles, and to whom he is very much obliged for their constant resort." Pope gives him a very low seat among the "Dunces": —

"Nor sail with Ward, to ape-and-monkey climes,
Where vile Mundungus trucks for viler rhymes."

From another passage it seems our author had, some time or other, honored the Pillory, or the Pillory him: —

"As thick as bees o'er vernal blossoms fly,
As thick as eggs at Ward in Pillory."

Nor does Mr. Ward's biographer fare much better; though he was the Author of several law books of reputation: —

"Jacob, the scourge of grammar, mark with awe,
Nor less revere him, blunderbuss of law."

Though a vulgar retailer of scandal and falsehood, it was thought best to notice Edward Ward in this work, as many of his jests and stories have passed into by-words, and are still remembered; that their origin may be known, or the vehicle through which they have found their way to this age.

to whom some, very justly, applied these epithets ; — one a scholar, the second a gentleman, the third a dunce, and the fourth a clown."

"Every stranger is unavoidably forced to take this notice, — that in Boston there are more religious zealots than honest men ; more Parsons than Churches, and more Churches than Parishes. The inhabitants seem very religious, showing many outward and visible signs of an inward and spiritual grace. But though they wear in their faces the innocence of doves, you will find them in their dealings as subtle as serpents. Interest is their faith, money their God, and large possessions the only heaven they covet. Election, Commencement, and Training days are their only Holy-days. They keep no saints' days, nor will they allow the Apostles to be saints ; yet they assume that sacred dignity to themselves, and say, in the title-page of their Psalm-book, 'Printed for the edification of the Saints in Old and New England.'"

This Traveller has a few remarks upon certain laws then in force, especially that upon kissing in public, which, he says, is "at the same price as fornication."* The women afford a constant theme for the Author's erratic pen. "They are not at all inferior," he says, "in beauty to the ladies of London, having rather the advantage of a better complexion ; but, for the men, they are generally meagre, and have got the hypocritical knack, like our English Jews, of screwing their faces into such puritanical postures that you would think they were always praying to themselves, or running melancholy mad about some mystery in the Revelations. So that 't is rare to see a handsome man in the country, for they have all one cast, but of what tribe I know not."†

The extracts here given are more favorable to their Author than the parts omitted ; and, although there is some truth in his account, his work, on the whole, is grossly slanderous, or was intended to be so, but its extravagance in that respect defeats the object he had most in view. Such is, and ever will be, the ultimate fate of dealers in slander and detraction.

The Earl of Bellamont,‡ a new Royal Governor, who had been

* In this connection Ward relates this anecdote : — "A Captain of a ship, who had been a long voyage, happened to meet his wife, and kissed her in the street, for which he was fined 10*s*. What a happiness, thought I, do we enjoy in Old England, that can not only kiss our own wives, but other men's too, without the danger of such a penalty."

† "The gravity of their looks is of great service to these 'American Christians.' It makes Strangers that come amongst them give credit to their words. And it is a proverb with those that know them, 'Whosoever believes a New England Saint shall be sure to be cheated. He that knows how to deal with their traders, may deal with the Devil and fear no craft.'"—*Ibid.*

‡ His family name was Coote. His father, Richard, was the third son of Sir Charles Coote, Bart., and was born in 1620 ; and for whose hearty concurrence with his brother, Sir Charles Coote, in restoring Charles II., he was raised to the Peerage, being, the same day his brother was made an Earl, created Baron Coote of Coloony. Of the three sons of Baron Bellamont, our Governor, Richard, was the first. In 1688, he was returned Member of Parliament for Droitwich in Worcestershire, and served in several succeeding Parliaments ; but in that held by James II. at Dublin, in 1689, he was attainted, having been, 27th March preceding, made Treasurer to King William's Queen, being one of the first who went over to the Prince of Orange. He married Catharine Nanfan of Bridgemorton, in the

May 26. some time looked for, arrived in Boston, and the people vied with each other in rendering him respect and homage. He was appointed by the King to the government of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and New York, as far back as 1695,* but his affairs detained him a long time in England, and he had a very protracted passage thence to New York, having embarked in one of his Majesty's ships early in the fall of the year 1698, was blown off the American coast, and obliged to winter in Barbadoes. On his arrival at New York, a government deputation was despatched to that Province from Boston with congratulations, and to consult him upon matters of government.

Bellamont was the first Nobleman who had been sent over to govern the Colony, and the novelty of such a presence among the people of Boston caused a general feeling of respect, similar to that for Royalty, even at a later day. The new Governor evidently understood more of human nature than many of his predecessors ; sparing no pains to gain the respect and esteem of all classes, by an affability and condescending courtesy, which seldom fails of success. Though an Episcopalian, he was not a High Churchman ; pursuing as well as professing the most moderate course both in Religion and Government. He regularly attended the Boston Weekly Lecture, and treated the Ministers of the Town with marked attention and regard.† In administering the Government, he avoided all controversies with the Legislature, and thus became universally popular. This will account for his receiving a larger salary than any Governor of the Province before him, which was also larger than that of many which succeeded him, even though the Province was far better able than it was at this time.‡

One object in the appointment of Lord Bellamont as Governor, is said to have been that he might suppress piracy, which had long been an appalling scourge on the whole American coast. What his abilities were for this work, above others, does not appear, but certain it is he effected something in this branch of duty. He caused Capt. William

County of Worcester, and had two sons, Nanfan and Richard, successively Earls of Bellamont. — Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, i. 386–93, ed. 1754. The well-known Sir Eyre Coote, Governor-General of India, was of the same family. John Nanfan, "a kinsman of the Earl of Bellamont," came over with the Earl, "in quality of our Lieut. Governor." — *Smith, N. Y.*, 150, ed. 1814.

* "In the beginning of the year 1695, his Lordship was named by the King Governor of New York, a place then remarkably infected with the two dangerous diseases of an unlawful trade and the practice of piracy." — Lodge, *Ibid.*, 390.

† The General Court in those days always adjourned to attend the Lecture. On one occasion the following pleasant occurrence took place. In returning from Lecture, the Governor passed by the apothecary shop of the well-known Dr. Benjamin Bullivant, his friend. The Doctor, standing at his door, was accosted by His Lordship as he passed, in these words : — "Ah, Doctor, you have lost a precious sermon to-day!" Bullivant observed, in an under tone, to a person standing by, "If I could have got as much by being there as His Lordship will, I would have been there too." — *Hutchinson.*

‡ "For though he remained but fourteen months in the Province, the grants made by the General Court amounted to £2500, lawful money, or £1875 sterling." — *Hutchinson.* There was at this time no house built for a Governor, and it cost Lord Bellamont £100 a year for one, besides his stable expenses. He earnestly recommended that a house should be built for the Governor, and designated a spot "in the best part of the Town, where Sir Edmund Andros lived." — *Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vi. 83. On or near the site where the Old Province House stood.

June 1. Kidd to be arrested, who was brought to Boston and imprisoned, and subsequently hanged in England.* About the same time Kidd was taken, one Bradish, a more noted pirate, and another, escaped out of the jail, with the connivance, as was said, of the jailer; but Bradish was afterwards retaken. He was also sent to England, and suffered with Kidd.†

June 27. There were occasional disturbances of another character. One month after the arrival of Governor Bellamont, Major Matthew Mayhew, of Martha's Vineyard, was committed to jail in Boston, charged, as by a copy of his mittimus appears, "for publickly declaring sundry atheistical, seditious, scandalous and reproachful words and speeches, to the great dishonor of Almighty God and the reproach of his holy Religion; maliciously and wickedly scandalizing and villifying of his Majesty's Governor and Government." Whether the charges were substantiated at his trial, if one took place, does not appear.‡

May, 1700. Soon after the May session of the General Court, Lord Bellamont returned to New York, where he remained in the exercise of his office until the following March, on the fifth day of which

Mar. 5, 1700–1. month he died. As soon as the news of his Lordship's death reached Boston, a Proclamation was issued by the Deputy Governor and the Council for the observance of a Fast throughout the Province. In June, after his arrival in Boston, several "merchants and traders" petitioned him for a bankrupt law, "as in England." §

The founding of Brattle-street Church was in the year 1699, although steps had been taken earlier. ‖ The reasons for establishing this

* The Governor declared the laws of the province insufficient to execute criminals guilty of piracy. Hence Kidd was sent to England, and there tried, condemned, and executed.

† See Smith's *Hist. New York*, 150–2, ed. 1814. *Hutchinson*, ii. 119.

‡ I have not examined the Court Records for further facts, not deeming the circumstance of sufficient interest at this time. It appears from a deposition dated March 20th, 1700, that his trial had not then taken place.

§ What action was taken upon the Petition, if any, does not appear from the original, and I have not looked farther. The names of the Petitioners were: — Penn Townsend, Fra. Burroughs, John George and Co., Wm. Clarke, Elias Heath, Simo. Stoddard, Samll. Keeling, Charles Chauncy, John Borland, William Clark of North Boston, P. Chardon, B. Walker, Samll. Legg, John Marshall, Jno. Cambbell, L. Boucher, Daniel Oliver, Wm. Welsteed, Jun., Tho. Fitch, Danll. Zachary, John Colman, Jno. Maxwell, Fra. Foxcroft, Timo. Clarke, Zec. Tuthill, Ease Apthorp, William Tailer, George Whitehorn, Thaddeus Macarty, Robert Howard, Joseph Sparrow, Ed. Martyn, John Fayrweather, Thos. Cooper, John Pitts, David Jenner, for self and Partner, Roger Kilcup, David Jeffries, Joseph Parson, Jos. and Samll. Frazon, Samll. Phillips, Jos. Coysgarne, John Ballantine, Tho. Hubbart, and A. Roberts. — W. B. Trask *from Mass. Archives*.

‖ "The first movements towards the formation of this Society seem to have been made as early as 1697."—Lothrop's *Hist. Brattle-St. Church*, 4. The deed from Thomas Brattle, conveying the land for a Meeting-house, is dated 10 Jan. 1698. The number of persons interested in the conveyance was twenty, and the lot conveyed was called Brattle's Close. The consideration was £150, "and for other good causes." The dimensions of the purchase were 107 feet on the south and west sides, 97 on the north, and 120 on the east, extending to within 17 feet of the present south line of Brattle-street, and on the east and north sides from 3 to 13 feet beyond the walls of the present Church. The original dimensions have since been extended on two sides by purchase, but some abridgment has also taken place for the convenience of the Town. The original grantees were Thomas Clark, John Mico, Thomas Bannister, Thomas Cooper, Benjamin Walker, Benjamin Davis, Timothy Clark, Stephen Minot, William Keen, Richard Draper, William Harris, Abraham Blush, Zechariah



BRATTLE-STREET CHURCH.

Church do not appear to have been the same as for some of the others.* Mr. Benjamin Colman, a native of Boston, but then residing in England, was invited to become its Pastor. He accepted the invitation, and arrived here on the first of November, 1699. About this time an Edifice had been completed, and on the twenty-fourth of December following he preached the first sermon in it.†

Having, in some particulars, departed from the Cambridge Platform, and hence broken in upon "the Order of the Churches," the Brattle-street Church could not be tolerated by some of the old Fathers of the Churches of New England. A Protest was therefore publicly made by them against it. This drew from the Brattle-street Church a defence of its course, which was denominated a "Manifesto or Declaration." This gave the Church the name of the "Manifesto Church," which it bore among many opposed to it for several years.‡ However, a reconciliation was brought about in a few years, and no Church in the City, perhaps, has had less of trouble and difficulty, internal and external, than this of Brattle-street, in the same period. It has had a succession of talented preachers, not surpassed, if paralleled, in any Church in any country.§ Of these to speak separately would be a most pleasing and agreeable task, but it cannot be indulged in in these pages. Concerning nearly all of them truthful and elegant memorials are to be found.‖ That by Doctor Colman upon his colleague Pastor, "Mr. William Cooper," is of surpassing excellence; that of the Rev. John Clarke upon Dr. Samuel Cooper, it is enough to say, is one of that excellent minister's best efforts; that of the Rev. William

Nov. 17.

Tuthill, Thomas Palmer, John Colman, James Meers, Joseph Allen, Elkanah Pembroke, John Kilby, and Addington Davenport. These were called Undertakers. Brattle-street, and "a way leading to the Town Dock" to it, are mentioned in the Deed. On 17 Oct., 1700, a new avenue to the Church was secured, 10 feet wide, through land of John Dassett, since called Dassett's Alley, "where a post, with a lock to secure it for foot passengers, is still maintained." — Palfrey's *Sermon*, 7, 31.

* This appears from the letter of invitation to Mr. Colman, in the following passage: — After stating "that they had chosen him to be their Minister, and urging him to make what haste he could to them," they add, "We only propose that the Holy Scriptures may be publicly read every Sabbath in the worship of God, which is not practised in other Churches of New England at this time; and that we may lay aside the relation of Experiences, which are imposed in other Churches, in order to the admission of persons to the Lord's table." — Turell's *Life of Dr. Colman*, 43.

† *Ibid.*, 47.

‡ It is printed in Mr. Palfrey's *Sermon*, 32–4.

§ They succeeded in the following order: —

Benjamin Colman, D. D., from 4 Aug., 1699, to his death, 29 Aug., 1747, æ. 73.

William Cooper, from 23 May, 1716, to 13 Dec., 1743, the time of his decease, æ. 50.

Samuel Cooper, D. D., from 22 May, 1746, to 20 Dec., 1783, the time of his decease, æ. 58.

Peter Thacher, D. D., from 12 Jan., 1785, to 16 Dec., 1802, the time of his decease, æ. 50.

Joseph Stevens Buckminster, from 30 Jan., 1805, to 9 June, 1812, the time of his decease, æ. 28.

Edward Everett, from 8 Feb., 1814, to 5 Mar., 1815, when he resigned.

John Gorham Palfrey, from 17 June, 1818, to 22 May, 1830, when he resigned.

Samuel Kirkland Lothrop, installed 17 June, 1834.

‖ The reader hardly need be referred to the *N. Eng. Biographical Dictionary* of Dr. Eliot, to Dr. Allen's *American Biographical and Historical Dictionary*, to Dr. Palfrey's *Sermon*, and to Dr. Lothrop's *History of the Church.*

Emerson upon Doctor Thacher is not only valuable as a funeral sermon, but for the genealogical and historical notes which accompany it also.*

The Old or First Brattle-street Church was built of wood, and "never painted within or without. The tower and bell were on the west side, and a door on the south, opposite to the pulpit. The window-frames were of iron." It stood until 1772, when, having "fallen into a ruinous and decayed state," it was agreed that a new one should be built. Accordingly, on the twenty-third of June of that year, the corner-stone of a new house was laid by Major Thomas Dawes, the architect.† This is the house now standing.‡ It was opened for public worship July the twenty-fifth, 1773. "In part of the years 1775 and 1776, a regiment or two of British troops were quartered in the Church, a Sugar-house which stood north of it, and other houses in the neighborhood." They kept possession of it till the town was evacuated in March, 1776. The Society had been compelled to abandon it in April the preceding year. "Gen. Gage had his head-quarters in the house opposite the Church. He told Mr. Turell he had no fear of the shot from Cambridge while his men were within such walls." The Americans were cannonading some points in the Town, and a heavy cannon-ball struck the house the night before the evacuation, knocking a hole in the wall. The shot was picked up by Mr. Turell, who preserved it, and when the house was afterwards repaired, it was placed in the breach which it made, facing Brattle Square, where it is to be seen projecting from the surface at this day.§

The Brattle-street Society early favored reforms, considered by it as such. In 1699, it was voted to dispense with the custom of reading and singing the Psalms line by line alternately; and the first Singing Society in the Town was established by its members. This was between 1717 and 1724. Singing by note was first practised in Boston, also, by this Church.‖

At the Town-meeting in March, Capt. Nathaniel Byfield was chosen

* These Funeral Sermons are in the Author's Collection. Dr. Colman resided at one time in State-street. In 1715 he removed thence to a house at the north-west corner of Dassett's Alley. This situation was bought in 1769 of Stephen Deblois for a Parsonage to the Society, for about £566. Dr. Samuel Cooper lived in various places; at one time in Brattle Square, where the Quincy House now is; then in the Parsonage house in Court-street, now occupied by Mr. Lothrop, in which James Otis had lived. — *Palfrey*, 56–7.

† A liberal subscription was obtained among the opulent people, £3200 in one week. The house cost £8000. Gov. Hancock gave £1000, besides a bell; and Gov. Bowdoin, £200. Major Dawes did half the mason-work; William Homer, Benj. Richardson, and David Bell, the other half. Benj. Eustis and Wm. Crafts did half the carpenter's work; Benj. Sumner, Jun., and James Sumner, a quarter; the other quarter was done by John Stetson and Nathl. Call; the two latter companies were to admit Wm. Flagg, James Robbins, Benj. Sumner, Jos. Eustis, and — Appleton to participate with them. Capt. John Gore and Mr. Daniel Roe were the painters. — *Palfrey*, 64–5.

‡ It has, however, undergone much change.

§ As represented in the above engraving.

‖ Palfrey's *Sermon* and Snow's *Hist.* The following is a list of the Deacons: — Thomas Brattle, chosen 1699; Benj. Davis, 1699; Richard Draper, 1699; John Kilby, 1701; Benj. Gibson, 1717; Jacob Parker, 1722; John Phillips, 1729; Daniel Bell, Timothy Newell, Isaac Smith, Ebenezer Storer [no date set against these]; John Gore, 1788; Saml. Barrett, 1788; James Lanman, 1788; Nathl. Hall, 1793; Moses Grant, 1793; Peter O. Thacher, 1804; Wm. Andrews, 1808; Alden Bradford, 1814; Moses Grant, 1818. — Palfrey's *Sermon*.

Mar. 11. Moderator. The Selectmen were Daniel Oliver, Isaiah Tay, Joseph Prout, John Marion, Jr., Timothy Clark, Elizer Holioke, and Obediah Gill. Town Clerk, William Griggs; Treasurer, James Taylor.* Constables Benj. Fitch, Henry Hill, Wm. Man, Wm. Welsted, Wm. Clark, Joseph Billings, James Gooch, and Joseph Dowden.†

At the same meeting a Petition from the inhabitants of Muddy River was presented, asking to be set off from Boston, because their children could not have the benefit of the Public Schools, and some other considerations. It was voted that they should not be set off, but it was ordered that the Selectmen should provide a School-master for them, "to teach their children to read, write and cypher."

Then "some of the inhabitants of the north end of the Town stood up and requested that they might have the libertie of a Free School for the teaching to write and cypher;" whereupon a vote passed in their favor.‡ "The inhabitants of Rumney Marsh standing by, and seeing the Town in so good a frame, also put in their request" for a Free School among them. The vote being put resulted favorable to them also; but the Selectmen were instructed, "that if there were a suitable number of children to come to the School," then they might proceed to provide a School-master.§

It was also voted that all the land on both sides of the Way between the Oak and Walnut, and the Fortification should be given to persons who would undertake to maintain the highway forever, not less than fifty feet wide. Those accepting the offer were to have an "unquestionable

* After voting that there should be but seven Selectmen, and "That the Town be at no charge to the maintaining the Water-ways over at Winnicimet ferry," the services of Mr. Taylor as Treasurer were considered. He having served the Town in that capacity for eight years, "never charging but £5 per year for the same," which "being far less than really the service is worth," it was voted that the Selectmen "cause a piece of plate to be made to the value of £20, and to present the same to the said Mr. James Taylor, as a small retaluation." It was also voted that for the past year's service £10 be paid him.

† Constables for Rumney Marsh and Muddy River, Jesse Winthrop and Joseph Davis. Tything men, Wm. Everton, Joseph Williams, Tho. Jackson, Samll. Turell, John Jepson, Joseph Hillier, Samll. Jacklin, Geo. Eliston, Tho. Clark, John Edwards, Richard Christopher, John Gerrish, Benj. Hallowell, John Borland, Wm. Gibbins, Samll. Bridge, Samll. Townsend and James Bell. Hogreaves, Anthony Greenhill, Samll. Burnell, Samll. Bridge, Henry Emes, and Samll. Earle.

‡ Some temporary house was probably at first provided, but about 1712, one adapted to the use of a School was built on the spot ever since improved for a Public School. It stood in Love Lane, now Tileston-street. In 1792 the old house was taken down, and a new one erected. In 1838 the present house was finished, fronting on N. Bennet-st. at a cost of $24,072. This is the "Eliot School" so named after the Rev. Doctors Eliot, Andrew and John, father and son.

§ A writer, describing Boston about 40 years later, said there were then five Printing-houses, and that the presses were generally full of work, "which is in a great measure owing to the Colleges and Schools for useful learning in New England: whereas at New York there is but one little Bookseller's shop, and none at all in Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, Barbadoes and the sugar Islands." That "the Town-house or Exchange was surrounded with Booksellers' shops." — Oldmixon. "The best furnisht PRINTING HOUSE with PRESS and LETTERS in the Country," was consumed by fire, 16 Oct. 1690. The fire was very near the South Meeting-house, which hardly escaped. Several houses were burned, and a lad was burned to death in the house where it begun." —*Almanack*, for 1701. The "Printing House" was that of Bartholomew Green. He had commenced business in Boston the same year (1690). He was Deacon of the Old South Church, and died 28 Dec., 1733.

title" to the land given them. Samuel Sewall, Esq. and Capt. Bozoon Allen were appointed to attend to the order.

May 14. At this Town-meeting, Capt. Timothy Clark, Mr. Nathaniel Oliver, Mr. Isaiah Tay, and Mr. James Barnes, were chosen Representatives. Mr. Oliver refusing to serve, Capt. Bozoon Allen was chosen. Major John Wally, Col. Benjamin Townsend, Capt. Byfield, Mr. Nathl. Oliver, Capt. Samuel Checkley, and Capt. Thos. Frary, were chosen a Committee to instruct the Representatives.

CHAPTER LIV.

By-laws. — Almanacks. — A House built for Master Cheever. — Windmill. — Watchmen's Orders. — Bills of Credit. — Persons licensed to build. — Decline of the Churches. — Death of Lieut. Gov. Stoughton. — Death of the King. — Queen Ann Proclaimed. — Great Fire. — Order about Streets. — Privateering. — Great Sickness. — Preparations for War. — Indian Hostilities. — Appropriations for Defence. — For Pavements. — New School-House — The first Newspaper. — Its Name, Rise, Progress, and Termination. — Society for Propagating the Gospel. — Execution of Pirates. — Expedition against the French. — Muddy River set off. — Weights and Measures. — The Forts Enlarged. — A Powder House on the Common. — Death of President Willard.



MOUNTFORT.†

1701. THE Town ordered a regular compilation of its scattered By-laws, which had not hitherto been done, and they were printed the next year.*

The popular Almanack of this period was by John Tulley, who, to his "Friendly Readers" says, "I have now served you with an Almanack twice seven years, and as often given you the liberty to toss my name about by censure and applause." That for this year he says was more than he intended, because "another ingenious person hath undertaken the work."

* They are embodied upon the records, and occupy about 18 pages, and are entitled, "A Body of Town Orders for one year." At the end is, "Ordered, That the Town Orders be put in print."

† The family of Mountfort claims descent from an ancient Norman family, which came to England with William the Conqueror. One of the seats occupied by the early Mountforts is or was very recently in possession of Henry Mountfort, Esq. This seat is known by the name of Beamhurst Hall, and is near Uttoxeter in Staffordshire. "In Dugdale's Hist. Warwickshire is given an elaborate and authentic pedigree of the family, from Turstain de Montfort, 1030, to Simon Mountfort, 1633; which Simon was father of Edmund, who, with his brother Henry, arrived at Boston from London, in the ship Providence, in 1656. Benjamin, also of Boston, was another brother." These were called "educated merchants." The Mountforts of Portland are descended from Edmund. See Willis' *Smith and Deane's Journal*, p. 8. On the tomb-stone of the first Edmund, in the Granary Burying-ground, is this inscription: — "Here lyeth buried Edmund Mountfort, senior, brother to Henry and Benjamin Mountfort. Left issue six sons and two daughters. Deceased in y^e^ 61 year of his age, upon the 14th day of August, 1690." The late Col. John Mountfort, formerly of the U. S. A., Hon. Judge N. B. Mountfort of N. Y., and George Mountfort, Esq., now Consul to a Port in the Mediterranean, are his descendants. —*Family Papers.*

The arms, as given above, are copied from the tomb of Jonathan Mountfort, in Copp's Hill Burying-ground, erected 1724. Upon which is inscribed, "Mr. John Mountfort, Ætatis LIV. Obt. Jan. VI. MDCCXXIV. — Benjamin Mountfort, son of John Mountfort and Mary Mountfort, Ætatis XXV. Obit. March X. MDCCXXI." — See *Epitaphs from Copp's Hill*, 81.

The "ingenious person" was probably "Samuel Clough," who published the "New England Almanack," also, for this year. They were both printed by "B. Green and J. Allen," but the latter was for "Samuel Phillips at the Brick Shop," and the former was sold as well as "printed by B. Green and J. Allen, at the Printing-House at the South End of the Town." They were both very neat specimens of printing for that day.*

Mar. 10. At the regular Town-meeting, Capt. Nathaniel Byfield was chosen Moderator, and Joseph Prout, Town Clerk. A vote was passed to build a house for "Old Mr. Ezekiel Cheever, the Latin School-master." Mr. John Arnold requested liberty to set up a Windmill on Fort-Hill, which was referred to the next meeting. It was then voted that he might erect one there, "on the Town's land," paying such quit rent therefor as the Selectmen should agree to.

May 10. The Town now chose for Representatives, Mr. John White, Capt. Samuel Legg, Mr. Nathaniel Oliver, and Capt. Andrew Belcher. Watchmen were "enjoyned to be upon duty from ten o'clock till broad day-light" † At an adjourned meeting, two days after, a

May 12. vote passed to raise 1050 pounds to meet the necessary expenses of the Town. The following year but 1000 pounds were raised, and the Treasurer was ordered to receive the "Province Bills of Credit" in payment of rates.

Persons intending to build were required to apply to the Selectmen for liberty.‡ The only applicants this year were William Griggs, William Burroughs, Richard Henchman, Jonathan Loring, and Mr. Stephen Minot. Their licenses were all for structures of wood or timber.

The Town, judging from its records, appears to have been steadily advancing in wealth and importance at the commencement of the century now begun. Nevertheless, was there no other record to which to refer but some publications of the Fathers of the Town, a very different

* A transcript of Tulley's title-page may be curious as well as interesting to readers. — "Tulley 1701. An Almanack for the Year of our Lord 1701. Being first after Leap-year, and from the *Creation*, 5650. And from the Discovery of America by *Chr. Columbus*, 209. And the reign of our Gracious Sovereign K. *WILLIAM* the Third (which began *Febr.* the 13*th*, 1688, 9.) the 13*th* year. Wherein is contained the *Lunations*, *Courts*, *Spring Tides*, *Planets*, *Aspects*, and *Weather*, the Rising and Setting of the *SVN*, together with the *Sun* and *Moon's* place and time of *Full Sea*, or *High Water*, with an account of the *Eclipses*, and other matters useful and necessary. The Vulgar Notes of this Year are, Golden Number 11, The Epact 1, Cycle of the Sun 2, Dominical Letter E. Calculated for and Fitted to the Meridian of Boston in New England, where the North Pole is Elevated 42 *gr.* 30 *min.* But may indifferently serve any part of New England. By JOHN TULLEY. Licensed by Authority."

The title of Clough's is similar, but he has in the calendar pages "Brief Observations of the most noted things hapning in Boston since its first settlement."

† From 10. Mar. to 10 Sept., and from 9 to 8 the other half of the year. They were to go about the Town "silently with watch bills, forbearing to use any bell, and no watchman to smoke tobacco while walking their rounds; and where they see occasion, they are to call to persons to take care of their lights."

‡ The Selectmen were also charged with the admission of residents. I find a record of but four for this year, viz.: Edwd. Croslet, and Richard Christophers gave his obligation that he should not become chargeable to the Town. For Adam Bosquain, Peter Daille [Pierre Daillé] was security; for Noah Guile, Wm. Rouse; for Daniel Bernardo, James Mountor,

conclusion would be inevitable.* It is true that some parts of the picture of the period have a very gloomy aspect. The Indian and French war had caused great desolation; the crops for several years together had been not only short, but in some parts had almost entirely failed; and the very long and severe winters of late had a tendency to make the inhabitants distrust the future.

July 7. Lieut. Governor Stoughton died at his residence in Dorchester,† and the duties of Governor devolved, for the first time, upon the Council. The Government did not continue in their hands long. Joseph Dudley, Esq., having arrived from England with a Commission of Governor, asumed the Government. He had been in England since 1693. In the winter of that year King William appointed him Governor of the Isle of Wight, where he continued eight years. During his residence there he was elected to Parliament from the Borough of Newton in that Island.‡

June 11.

Dudley had long hoped for the power which he now possessed. He had not forgotten the twenty weeks' imprisonment he had suffered at the hands of the Bostonians when Andros fell; and one of his first steps was to reject all those members of the Council who were members at the time of his imprisonment.§

* Towards the close of this year Dr. Increase Mather published two Sermons, which he entitled "Ichabod, or the Glory departing from New England." Although this had special reference to the declining state of the Churches, a great decline in the temporal affairs of the Country is often referred to. The following brief extracts will show the desponding tone of one of the greatest preachers in the Town. "O NEW ENGLAND! NEW ENGLAND! Look to it that the Glory be not removed from thee. It has come to the threshold of the house, if not to the East Gate."—"And if the fountain should fail; I mean the COLLEGE, which has been one of the Glories of New England; and if that should fail, or (which is worse) become a Nursery not of Plants of renown, but of degenerate plants, who will forsake those holy principles of truth, which their Fathers came unto this Land with respect thereunto, the Glory is like to be gone from these Churches in less than one Generation: So that little or nothing of New England will be found in New England."—*Ichabod*, &c. 44.

† His age was 70. The Rev. Samuel Willard, of the Old South, preached his funeral Sermon, to which he gave this title:—"Prognosticks of Impending Calamities. Delivered in a Sermon Preached on the Lecture at Boston, July 17, 1701. Occasioned by the DEATH of the Truly Honorable William Stoughton, Esq.," &c. Gov. Stoughton lived and died a bachelor. The family arms are given *ante*, p. 210. He was son of Capt. Israel Stoughton, often mentioned in previous pages. There is a pedigree of the ancestors of Gov. Stoughton, in the *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, v. 350.

‡ He came over in the Centurion frigate, Capt. Herne, whose passage was six weeks and one day. The Lieut. Gov., Col. Thomas Povy, came with him. At the same time came "the Rev. Geo. Keith, A. M.," Mr. John Talbot, Mr. Patrick Gordon, Missionary for Long Island, and "Mr. Morris." The Governor and his company treated them with great kindness and generosity, at whose desire, says Keith, "we did eat at their table all the voyage on free cost." Keith was an Episcopal Missionary. He seceded from the Quakers in Pennsylvania in 1692. Talbot, who had been Chaplain to the Centurion, was associated with Keith in his Mission. The latter preached in "the Queen's Chapel" the first Sunday after his arrival, and his Associate the following Sunday. Keith printed his Sermon, which occasioned a hot controversy with Dr. I. Mather.

§ They were, according to Hutchinson, "Winthrop, Cooke, Hutchinson, Foster, Addington, Russell, Phillips, Browne, Sargent, and others." His reminiscences of some of them are of much interest. "Elisha Cooke had been of the Council nine or ten years, had been an Assistant before the Revolution, married a daughter of Gov. Leverett, and was allied to the best families in the Province; had a better estate than the Governor himself. Peter Sargent had married the relict of Sir William Phips, Thomas Oakes had been one of the Agents in England with Cooke. Col. Ephraim Hutchinson was discharged from the command of the Castle. He was succeeded by Lieut. Gov. Povey, who came over with Dudley. The Legislature granted Povey £200 a year, but he complained of its insufficiency, and returned to England in 1705, and never came to New England again.

The Representatives were "desired to promote the encouraging the bringing of White Servants and to put a period to Negroes being Slaves."

"Thirty hundred weight of bullets, and five thousand flints were ordered to be forthwith provided for a Town Stock; and Mr. Gyles Dyer, Mr. Richard Draper and Mr. Robert Gibbs were deputed to provide them."

The great number of licenses granted this year for the sale of liquors indicate an alarming increase of tippling shops. They were generally for selling "out of doors." *

Notifications of Town business were usually written documents, posted up in three or four places. This year some were printed.†

Mar. 11. A fire, which was for many years known as the "seventh great fire," broke out near the Dock, destroying a large amount of property. Three warehouses were blown up to hinder its spreading.‡ Two days before, it was voted in Town-meeting "that the Select-men should procure two water-engines § suitable for the extinguishing of fire, either by sending for them to England, or otherwise to provide them." ‖

May 12. "It being reported that as yet there hath been no sufficient record made of the breadth of the several streets and highways belonging to the Town, it is voted that the Select-men cause the same to be measured, and report to the next Town-meeting." ¶ This vote does not appear to have been fully carried into effect till the year 1708.

* The Records of some of them are thus expressed: — John Carthew may sell wine and liquors; John Lane may keep an Ordinary, and sell all sorts of drink; Jane Davis may sell beer and cider out of doors, by retail; Exercise Conant, all sorts of drink, out of doors; David Gwin, both within and without doors; Capt. Grigory Shugers, out of doors; Thos. Phillips, same; Mehitabell Pumery may keep a victualing house and sell liquor; John Pastree may keep an Ordnary or Public House; Peter Townsend, to sell liquor out of doors; Mrs. Ann Checkley, same; Mr. Wm. Turner, same; John Verrin, same. Many of these were, doubtless, respectable inhabitants.

Frequent warnings to people to leave the Town are recorded. Such warnings, however, were not an indication that the persons "warned out" were not good and respectable people. All new comers who neglected to give security that they would not be chargeable to the Town, were liable to be ordered to depart. Thus, "Sept. 30th, 1701, John Strong to depart the Town with his wife and 4 children, unless he give security; Henry Hed to forbear opening shop and to depart the Town, or give security," &c.

† Oct. 2d. "Bartholomew Green is allowed 8*s.* for printing notifications for warning the Town-meeting last May."

‡ Snow, *Hist. Boston*, 204.

§ March 9th. "The Select-men are desired to get the Water-Engine for the quenching of fire repaired, as also the house for keeping the same in." Pemberton ventured the conjecture that there were no fire-engines in the Town as late as 1711, and Shaw says the same, probably on Pemberton's authority. Conjectures in such matters are never safe.

‖ This order was made at the Town-meeting on the 9th of March. At the same meeting an other was made respecting the choice of Jurymen, directing that they should be chosen from a list to be made out by the Selectmen, which should contain the names of all the inhabitants who, in their judgment, "were proper to serve on juries."

¶ At the same meeting, three Overseers of the Poor were added to the former number. These were, "Mr. Simion Stoddard, Mr. Francis Thrasher, and Mr. Robert Calef." At the meeting June 3d, Mr. Samuel Sewall was Moderator. Dr. Thomas Oaks was chosen a Representative in place of Capt. Andrew Belcher.

From the Selectmen's Minutes, it appears that the following named persons were allowed to reside in the Town. May 25, John Biles, Josiah Biles being security. July 27, John Nichols, Thomas Gold security; Anthony Blount, Florence Maccarty security. July 28, Thomas Harvey, William Hough security. Aug. 21, Gosprit Teams, Henry Franckling secu.; Evan Floyd, same secu. Aug. 29, John Danford, Henry Emmes security.

May 28. The news of the death of the King having reached Boston, and, at the same time, that Anne was proclaimed Queen,* the Council ordered a salute of twenty-one guns to be fired.†

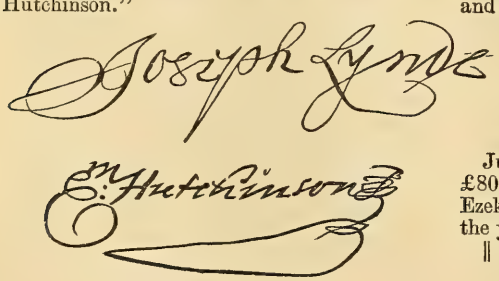
1703. Jan. 18. At the first Town-meeting this year, Mr. Henry Deering was Moderator. The Selectmen were instructed "Humbly to address His Excellency the Governor that he will please to prevent men's going out of the Province on privateering designs." War had been declared against France the preceding year,‡ which was the occasion of this action of the Town. Every man was wanted at home, as the Indians and Canadian French were expected to ravage the frontiers of New England in every direction.

At the close of the last year and the beginning of this, the Town suffered greatly from sickness. The Small-pox carried off above three hundred persons. § It is said not to have visited Boston for thirteen years previous. ‖ Thus, at this period, with pestilence upon them, and the horrors of war at their very doors, it must be supposed that these were days of despondency to great numbers of the inhabitants. And yet the Records show a spirit and determination worthy of the founders

* King William III. died March 8th, 1701–2, in the 52d year of his age. Queen Anne was the only surviving child of King James II., by the Lady Anne Hyde, eldest daughter of Edward Earl of Clarendon.

† The order for the Salute is now before me, with the autographs of the Counsellors. It is here copied: — "Province of the Massachusetts Bay. By the Council. Having, upon the Intelligence arrived here of the death of his late Majty King William the Third, of glorious memory, ordered that the Proclamation of the high and mighty Princess Anne of Denmark to be Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., be published to-morrow in Boston. We order, that upon the publication thereof you cause Twenty-one pieces of Ordnance to be discharged from the Fort under your command. Given under our hands, at the Council Chamber in Boston, the 28th day of May, 1702. To Capt. Timothy Clarke.

"John Pynchon, Ja. Russell, Elisha Cooke, John Hathorne, Wm. Browne, Sam. Sewall, Jonathan Corwin, John Foster, Peter Sergeant, Joseph Lynde, Nathaniel Thomas, John Appleton, Penn Townsend, Natha[l]. Byfield, E[m]. Hutchinson."



"Capt. Timothy Clark" had been chosen "Cannoneer" by the Town on the 9th of March preceding.

‡ May 4th, 1702. At what time the news of the Declaration was received in Boston I have met with no statement.

§ "It being proposed to the Town, for the regulating of Funeralls and lessening the charge thereof, that during the present sickness, and untill farder order, that there be only a first and second bell tolld at each Funerall, each bell not to exceed the space of half a quarter of an hour; and that there be a moderation in the prices of Coffins, digging of graves, and wages of porters for carrying the corps, and also that there be two or three black cloathes provided at the Town charge to lay over the corps."

At the same time, the Selectmen were directed to place a pump in the "Condit" by the Dock, nigh Wing's Lane, for the public use in case of fire.

March 8, Mr. Joseph Prout was chosen Town Treasurer, Mr. James Taylor having declined serving. Constables at Muddy River, Daniel Harris, Wm. Sharp, and Peter Bileston. Voted, that an inventory of the Town's land be taken, and to raise £700 to defray the expenses for the year.

April 12, Mr. Daniel Oliver chosen to assist about the valuation of estates in the room of Mr. Robert Gibbs, deceased.

June 1, Mr. John Love chosen Constable, in the room of Mr. John Ruck.

June 25, Mr. Nathaniel Williams to have £80 for the year ensuing, as an Assistant to Ezekiel Cheever in governing and instructing the youth at the Latin School.

‖ Holmes' *Annals and his Authorities.*

of an Empire. Every precaution was made to prevent the Enemy from coming upon them unprepared. An attempt was made to conciliate the Eastern Indians, and to prevent them from joining the French. In June, Governor Dudley left Boston with some of the principal inhabit-
June 20. ants, to bring about so desirable an object. A grand Council of the principal Tribes being assembled in the Fort at New Casco, a Treaty was made with them, which they protested should remain as "immovable as the mountains;" and that, "as high as the Sun was above the Earth, so far distant should their designs be of making the least breach between the English and themselves." *

Aug. 10. This Treaty had no other effect but to put off hostilities on the part of the Indians, who, early in August following, "at nine in the morning, began their bloody tragedy; making a descent on the inhabitants from Casco to Wells, at one and the same time, sparing none of every age or sex." † This was the commencement of another ten years' war.

The people of Boston had learned that the French were making gigantic preparations to crush the power of the Heretic English in America. This being the most important place in New England, against this Town, therefore, it was with good reason believed a for-
1704. midable force would be directed. Whereupon, at the first
Mar. 13. Town-meeting,‡ a Committee § was appointed "to view the Fortifications of this Town, and advise about the repairs thereof;" and fifty pounds were placed at the disposal of the Selectmen to enable them to proceed in any necessary steps.

April 19. At the same time, one hundred pounds were voted for paving certain sections of streets. ‖ At the meeting in April, a Committee was chosen "to inquire into the best expedient for the asserting and maintaining the Town's interest in the Flats abutting on the Streets, Lanes, and Highways." At the previous meeting, the Town voted "to build a new School-house, instead of the old one in w^{ch} Mr. Ezekiell Chever teacheth." The tax to be raised this year was fixed at 1200 pounds. ¶

* Penhallow's *Indian Wars*, p. 2. Willis' *Portland*, i. 6.

† *Penhallow*, p. 5.

‡ At the same meeting the "Overseers of the Poor" had liberty to "procure some meet person" to preach to the people in the Almshouse, once on each Sabbath, "when there was a competent number of persons there." For such service the Preacher was to have 10*s.* a day. Andrew Faneuil, Joseph Marriner, and Wm. Brown, "accepting" to pay their fines, were excused from serving as Constables. Capt. Roger Lawson to Saml. Baker's place, in the same office; and Thomas Foster and Nicholas Buttolph took the places of Thomas Hood and Thomas Newton.

§ "Elisha Cook, Esq., Collonell Elisha Hutchinson, Coll. Pen Townsend, Coll. Tho. Savage, and Capt. Timothy Clark" composed the Committee.

‖ "Such places of the Streets as the Selectmen shall judge most needful, and therein to have particular regard to the Highway nigh old Mrs. Stoddard's house." Two years after, 29 Mar., 1706, another £100 was appropriated for pavements; namely, "for paving the mayn street towards the Landing to the South End of the Town, and £50 for paving at the lower end of the Town-house."

¶ The thanks of the Town were voted to Mr. Francis Thresher for his service in overseeing the repairing the Almshouse and yard, and fencing the Burying-place and the Pound, and his managing the paving at the Neck, and

April 24. Five days after this Town-meeting, was issued in Boston the first Newspaper published in North America. This was the Boston News-Letter.* The Proprietor and Publisher was John Campbell, of whom mention has been made in a previous page.† He was Postmaster of Boston, and this office gave him superior facilities for the circulation of a Newspaper. Nicholas Boone was associated as Publisher.

Boone published but a few numbers of the News-Letter.‡ Green printed it until near the close of the year 1707. John Allen then printed it until the Great Fire of 1711, which destroyed his printing-office.§ Then Green printed it again for Campbell, without his own name. It was thus continued till 1715, when Green's name appeared in the imprint as the printer.‖ Up to 1717, the old method of beginning the year on the twenty-fifth of March was observed in the News-Letter; after that it was recorded from the first of January.

Notwithstanding the News-Letter was got out in the cheapest style, at an expense hardly half of that of a common play-bill of the present day, it is evident the Publisher found great difficulty in sustaining it. And it was fifteen years before he thought seriously of permanently enlarging his publication. It was, however, enlarged from time to

his service as Overseer of the Poor. Mr. Robert Calef was included in the vote for his service as Overseer of the Poor also.

* It was printed on a half sheet, or single leaf, small folio. In the centre of the first page, at the top, is N. E., and at the right hand margin, in a line with N. E., is Numb. 1. Then immediately below (the N. E.) is the title, "The Boston News-Letter." In the next line (separated from the title by a rule), "Published by Authority." That is, with the approbation of the Colonial Government. Then another rule; then, "From Monday, April 17, to Monday, April 24, 1704." The imprint is at the foot of the 2d page: — "*Boston*, Printed by *B. Green*, sold by *Nicholas Boone*, at his shop near the Old Meeting House."

The following is the substance of nearly the *whole* of the first News-Letter: — "Boston, April 18. Arrived Capt. *Sill* from *Jamaica*, about 4 weeks passage, says *they* continue very sickly. Mr. *Nathaniel Oliver*, a principal Merchant of this place, dyed *April* 15, and was decently inter'd, April 18th, Ætatis 53. The Honourable Col. *Nathanael Byfield* is commissioned Judge of the Admiralty for the Province of *Massachusetts Bay*, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. And Thomas Newton, Esq., Judge Deputy for the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

"The 20th, the Rev. Mr. *Pemberton* Preach'd an excellent Sermon on *Thes.* 4 : 11, *And* do *your own business*, which his Excellency has ordered to be printed.

"The Rev. Mr. Lockyer dyed on Thursday last."

This first number contained a Prospectus, which is thus expressed: — "This News-Letter is to be continued Weekly; and all Persons who have any Houses, Lands, Tenements, Farmes, Ships, Vessels, Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes, &c., to be Sold or Lett; or Servants Runaway; or Goods Stoll or Lost, may have the same Inserted at a reasonable Rate; from Twelve Pence to Five Shillings, and not to exceed; Who may agree with *Nicholas Boone* for the same at his shop, next door to Major Davis's Apothecary, in *Boston*, near the Old Meetinghouse.

"All persons in Town and Country may have said News-Letter Weekly, upon reasonable tearms, agreeing with John Campbell, Postmaster, for the Same." This was the only advertisement in the first paper.

† *Ante*, p. 455. He was a bookseller.

‡ His name was left off of No. 5, and in the imprint "Sold at the Post Office" was inserted.

§ It was in Pudding Lane. Allen had been a London printer, and is supposed by Thomas to have come over to Boston by the invitation or encouragement of the Mathers. — *Hist. Printing*, i. 287, ii. 194.

‖ Bartholomew Green's printing-office stood on the easterly side of Newbury-st., on which site a block of stone buildings was erected in 1825. A part of the old building in which the News-Letter was last printed was standing when Dr. Thomas wrote his History of Printing, which was published in 1810. It stood back of No. 56 Newbury-st., which corresponds nearly to 264 Washington-st. at the present time. "At this place began and ended the printing of the Boston News-Letter." — *Thomas*, i. 485.



COTTON MATHER, D. D.

Born 12 Feb: 1663: died 13 Feb: 1728. AE 65.



time, and was continued till 1776, when the British troops evacuated Boston.*

Aug. 3. The Society, or "Company for Propagating the Gospel in New England and the parts adjacent," resident in England, empowered several gentlemen, chiefly of the Town of Boston, to manage the affairs of the Company, in carrying out the objects for which it was incorporated. The following are the names of those commissioned: Waitstill Winthrop, Esq., Doctor Increase Mather, Gabriel Bernon, Esq., Mr. Nehemiah Walter, Samuel Sewall, Esq., Peter Sergeant, Esq., John Foster, Esq., Thomas Banister, Esq., Col. John Higginson, Mr. Edward Bromfield, Mr. Eliakim Hutchinson, Mr. Penn Townsend, Mr. Jeremiah Dummer, and Mr. Simeon Stoddard.†

Sept. 11. At the Town-meeting in September there was little business of moment transacted. Deacon John Marrion was Moderator.‡

Acts of piracy had not ceased. "John Quelch, who had been Master of the brigantine Charles, and had committed many piratical acts in India, came with several of his crew and landed in various parts of New England. Quelch and six more were condemned at Boston and executed."§

Early in the year a large armament, for the country then, sailed from Boston against the Eastern Indians and French. The well-known Col. Benjamin Church was the Commander in Chief,‖ who carried out his instructions of ravaging the coast and distressing the enemy as well as the circumstances allowed; but, as in most expeditions of the kind, those guilty of murders and depredations upon the English, generally escaped punishment, while the poor French inhabitants suffered lamentably. Many were killed, their houses and means of subsistence destroyed, and women and little children were forced to fly into the

* The same day the first News-Letter was printed, Judge Sewall notes, in his Diary, that he went over to Cambridge, and gave Mr. Willard [the President of the College] "the first News-Letter that ever was carried over the river." Sewall was one of the most curious literary men of his time. He made a vast collection of everything of the kind for his private gratification; as Almanacks, Pamphlets, Books, and Manuscripts, which, were they now together and accessible, would be of infinite value to a Historian of Boston; yea, to all New England. But, unfortunately, his collection has been scattered in every direction, and there is hardly an Antiquary in the country who has a library, and has not some book, paper or tract, which once belonged to him, and has his autograph upon it. His residence was in Newbury-street. He had a good deal to do with printing, and was at one period a Bookseller. I am indebted to Mrs. Anne S. Gilbert, of Boston, for an opportunity to examine important MSS. of Judge Sewall.

† From a copy of the Commission among Judge Sewall's MSS., Sewall was Treasurer. For an account of the origin of the Company in England, see *ante*, p. 316. The present Commission closes thus: — "By order of a Court held the third day of August, Anno Domini, 1704, at Sir William Ashhurst's the Governor's House in London. [Signed] John Bellamy, Sec.y to the said Company."

‡ "Capt. Nathaniel Green, Jr., was chosen Constable in room of Mr. John Burnaby, who is gone on a voyage to sea." The Selectmen admitted these as inhabitants: — "Mehitabell Medcalfe, John Savel, security; John Croad, Thomas Platts, sec.; Peter Patey, Andrew Garney and Edwd. Webb, securities."

§ Hutchinson, ii. 147.

‖ Church's instructions were dated at Boston, 4 May, 1704. He had under him 550 soldiers in 14 small transports; the Jersey, a frigate of 48 guns, Capt. Thomas Smith; the Gosport, of 32, Capt. George Rogers; the Province Snow of 14, Capt. Cyprian Southack. Church embarked in Capt. Southack, whom he met at Piscataqua, having accompanied the Governor there by land, to raise forces by the way.

wilderness to escape the swords of the English. But the Indians, the principal cause of the war, could not be found. They were ready, however, to retaliate, and they continued to lay waste the frontiers.

The year 1704 was remarkable on several accounts, and marks an era in the History of New England of great interest. The age of Newspapers in America commenced; a circumstance of immense moment. Newspapers were then considered of doubtful expediency, and their continuation very precarious and uncertain. Contrasted with these considerations, their omnipotence at this day is wonderful and surprising. At first but a solitary individual invoked the aid of the News-Letter, to forward his business, and that solitary individual was the owner of the same News-Letter. To look at one of those News-Letters now, it does not seem so strange that its aid was not sought by the public; for the little fragile single leaf on which it was printed looked much more like supplicating aid for itself than being able to afford it to others. It was, indeed, like the new-born infant; helpless, and without friends to nourish and strengthen, it must soon perish. The first Newspaper survived, and has brought forth a progeny to whom a race of Hercules would be insignificant pigmies.

Sept. 14. The year 1704 is marked also by the death of that excellent man and elegant Historian, the Rev. William Hubbard; and also by the death of the first white man born in New England — Peregrine White.

In this connection it may be well to note the great age to which many of the early settlers arrived. The former of the persons above-named died at the age of eighty-three, and the latter at the age of eighty-four. And numerous instances might be given of persons attaining even more years than those. In 1684, John Odlin, Robert Walker, Francis Hudson and William Lytherland, said they were "ancient dwellers and inhabitants of the Town of Boston," and that their ages were, 82, 78, 68, and 76, or thereabouts, respectively. Some of these were living many years after that date. Odlin died the next year. Hudson "was one of the first who set foot on the peninsula of Boston." He died in 1700, aged 82. He was son of Nov. 3. William Hudson, who was of Chatham, in the County of Kent, England. To what age the other two lived has not been ascertained.*

* It may be here noted, that the four men named in the text appear to have been called upon, by the Authorities of the Province, to testify in relation to the purchase of Boston by the inhabitants, of Mr. William Blackstone. Their depositions were taken, to be used, if necessary, to show that they had purchased their land of its rightful owner; as the Charter under which they held was expected to be taken from them. (See *ante*, p. 449.) They also resorted to a purchase of the Indians (as noted *ante*, p. 456), with the same view. As a valuable historical document, the substance of the depositions is here given. They say they had "dwelt in Boston from the first planting thereof, and continuing so at this day (June 10th, 1684); that in or about 1634, the said inhabitants of Boston (of whom the Hon. John Winthrop, Esq., Governor of the Colony, was chief) did agree with Mr. William Blackstone for the purchase of his estate and right in any lands lying within the said Neck called Boston; and for said purchase agreed that every householder should pay 6*s.*, none paying less, some considerably more, which was collected and paid to Mr. Blackstone to his full satisfaction for his whole right, reserving only about six acres or the

March 12. The inhabitants of Muddy River having petitioned the General Court to be set off from Boston, it was voted to raise a Committee to take the necessary steps to oppose the separation. In the time of Andros an application to him was successful; but after he was deposed the Town held jurisdiction there again, as has been noticed in the order in which the affairs took place. This year the people were successful again, and they were incorporated into a town by the name of Brookline.*

At this meeting it was proposed to purchase land for the enlargement of the North Burying-place.†

Capt. Timothy Clark, "Commander of the [south] Battery in Boston," was ordered by the Governor to furnish an account of the "ordnance, ammunition, and other stores of war belonging to his Fort, in due form, meet to be offered to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough,‡ Great Master of her Majtys Ordnance." §

Castle William, on Castle Island in the harbor, was so named this year; probably in honor of the late King. ‖

May. A law was made by the General Court regulating weights and measures. Every Town in the Colony was ordered to provide "a nest of Troy weights, of a different form from Avoirdupois, the biggest not to be less than eight ounces. As also pennyweights and grains." The standard was to be provided for the Province, "a good beam and scales, and a nest of Troy weights from 128 ounces, downward to the least denomination, marked with the mark or stamp used in her Majesty's Exchequer." ¶

point commonly called Blackstone's point, on part whereof his then dwelling-house stood. After which purchase the Town laid out a place for a training-field [the Common] which ever since and now is used for that purpose, and for the feeding of cattle. Walker and Lytherland further testify that Mr. Blackstone bought a stock of cows with the money he received as above, and removed and dwelt near Providence, where he lived till the day of his death."

The amount paid *for Boston*, excepting six acres, was £30; the raising of which is thus alluded to on the first page of the records of the Town: — "Ye 10th day of ye 9th month, 1634. Item: yt Edmund Quinsey, Samuell Wilbore, Willm Boston [Balston], Edward Hutchinson the elder, and Willm Cheesbrough the Constable, shall make and assesse all these rates, vizt., a rater for £30 to Mr. Blackston, a rater for the cowes keeping, a rater for the goates keeping and other charges in [*torn and worn*] and for losse in cowes, and a rater for the [*young?*] cattle [*and horse?*] keeping [at] Muddy River."

* As brooks form two of the boundary lines of the Town, it is supposed that the name *Brook-line* originated from that circumstance. It was incorporated November 13th.

† Tax this year was £1000. The amount voted the next year was £1150. Voted that interest be not charged on the £120 in the hands of Robt. Calef and Fra Thrasher.

‡ The ancient Marlboro'-street was named in honor of the Duke, though not so named till 1708. The streets afterwards known as Orange, Newbury, Marlborough and Cornhill, are now Washington-street.

§ *Original Warrant*, dated 25 Oct. 1705. The Account was to be dated 29th Sept., and a similar statement to be made out every six months and forwarded to England.

‖ "The fortifications of this Castle were very irregular till King William's reign, when Col. Romer, a famous engineer, was sent thither to repair them: the Colonel demolished all the old works, and raised an entirely new fortification, now called Fort William." — *Neal's New Eng.*, ii. 223.

¶ In 1692 there was an act passed "for the due regulation of Weights and Measures," requiring "that the brass and copper weights and measures formerly sent out of England, with certificate out of their Majesties' Exchequer to be approved Winchester measure according to the standard in the Exchequer, be the public allowed standard throughout this their Majesties' Province."

Mar. 11. A petition from the people of Rumney Marsh was read in Town-meeting, requesting that they might have a Meeting-house built for them. *

May. An act was passed for erecting a Powder-House in the Town, and one was soon after built "on the Common or Training-field." It stood on the hill near the Frog-pond, where a fortification was thrown up at the commencement of the Revolution. It was to keep the powder in belonging to the colony.

June 10. At a Town-meeting now held it was "voted, that the Committee appointed to consider about the suppressing of fire are continued till March next." Also, to raise another Committee "to consider what was to be done about fortyfieing the Town for its defence against the enemy," and to report at the next meeting, which was two days after. The meetings had been held in the Town-house hitherto, but at this time it was in the "Old South." At this

June 12. meeting the Committee on the fortifications reported "a projection" for carrying out the North Battery 120 feet in length, and forty in breadth, and eighteen to high-water mark. The cost was estimated at 450 pounds. The proposed alterations on the South Battery were stated at 800 pounds. The matter being debated, 1000 pounds were voted for both.

Oct. 21. At the October meeting of the inhabitants the Fortifications of the Town were again a primary object, and 1000 pounds were voted "for securing and finishing the wharffs already begun and placed att Merry's Point, and for the Fortification to be placed there; and also for some additional wharf to face the Old Wharfe where the guns formerly stood, in order to improve the same for an income to the Town." †

1707. Mar. 10. At this meeting it was voted to raise 100 pounds, to be added to the same amount raised last year; and that it be "laid out in paving the Main street towards and leading to the South end of this Town." ‡

Sept. 12. The death of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Willard, Minister of the South or Third Church, and Vice-President of Harvard College, occurred this year. He was among the most eminent of New England Divines, and was very universally respected and admired, as well for

* At this meeting, "Robt. Gutridge, Sen., John Brick [Breck], John Cotta, Jun., Ichabod Williston, Robt. Calef, Jun., and Daniel Loring, were chosen Clerks of the Market."

Mar. 29. Samuel Bridge was chosen Collector "to collect the Province Tax." An attempt to choose a Collector the last year failed. "Samuel Jackling and Josua Winsor alleging infirmity of body, and Lieut. Samuel Johnson and Robert Butcher aledging their being under oath in other offices in the Town, requested to be excused as Tythingmen;" but they were not excused.

Capt. Ephraim Savage was Moderator of the meeting on the 10 June. At the meeting, 21 Oct., Capt. Thomas Fitch. "Capt. Winsor's" was in Swing-bridge lane in 1708. "Capt. Fitch's Corner" was in King-st., and another in Union-st., corner of Marshal's lane.

† In 1708 it was entered upon the Town Records, that "over and above the £50, ordered to be laid out in Fortification in 1704, there was expended thereon £12, 8s. 4d. more, including £11, 11s. due to Mr. Nathl. Oliver for bread and beer."

‡ May 12. Representatives for this year were Col. Samuel Checkley, Mr. Elizur Holyoke, Dr. Thomas Oakes, and Capt. Ephraim Savage. Regular tax £1300. Joseph Prout to have £15 for his services as Treasurer.



SAMUEL WILLARD.

his abilities as for the good qualities of his mind. He was son of Major Simon Willard, who had been a man of high standing, and one of the pillars of the Country during the most trying periods of its history.* He was the Minister of Groton, but was driven thence by the Indian war of 1675–6, and soon after settled in Boston as a colleague with Mr. Thacher, over the Old South Church. Mr. Pemberton became his assistant in 1700. He took charge of Harvard College in 1701, on the resignation of Mr. Mather.

CHAPTER LV.

Admissions of Inhabitants. — Streets named. — Death of Ezekiel Cheever — Of Anthony Checkley. — Destruction of Haverhill. — Proposal to make the Town a City. — Rejected. — Chimney-sweeping. — Long Wharf built. — Uring's visit to Boston. — Post Office established by Parliament. — Death of James Allen — of John Foster. — Expedition against Canada. — Sir Hovenden Walker arrives. — The Expedition fails. — Great Fire. — Fire Wards. — Ferry Regulations.



WILLARD.

THERE appears this year to be recorded upon the Selectmen's Records but one admission of one inhabitant. †

An expedition against Port Royal, consisting of about 1500 men, which sailed from Boston on the thirteenth of May, was an entire failure. It was over by the seventh of the following month. Many in Boston were disposed to censure the commanders, and as usual, probably, for their inability to surmount impossibilities. In compliance with pre-

* The age of President Willard was about 67. He was the Author of a large number of works, but that by which he is the most extensively known, is "A Compleat Body of Divinity," &c., published by subscription eighteen years after his death. The list of Subscribers for the work is printed in it, and is a truly noble list, and is ample evidence of the great popularity of the Author; whose successors, Mr. Sewall and Mr. Prince, accompanied it with an elaborate and learned preface, in which occurs the following passage: "These larger Lectures soon sent forth their fame, and drew many of the most knowing and judicious persons both from Town and College, who heard them with so great a relish, that they have ever since the Author's death been earnestly desirous of their publication, and given such a character of them as has continually rais'd the same desire in others. And this has, very strangely, rather increased than declined for these eighteen years among us; so as hardly any book has been more passionately wished for, till this growing Country's become now capable of taking off the impression of so great a work. The largest that was ever printed here, and the first of Divinity in a folio volume."

The work contains 914 pages, double columns, and has this imprint: "Boston in New England: Printed by B. Green and S. Kneeland for B. Eliot & D. Henchman, and sold at their Shops. MDCCXXVI."

Other works had been printed here in folio, but they were much smaller. The Laws and General Court Journals were always in folio.

† This was James Batterson; John Smith and Thomas Thornton being his security. In 1705, there were seven admissions: — Elizabeth

May 3. vious votes of the Town, the Selectmen furnished a list of all the Streets, Lanes and Alleys, and it was "ordered that they should be recorded in the Town Booke, as they are now bounded and named." The whole number of them was one hundred and ten.*

Aug. 21. The present year is rendered memorable by the death of the venerable Schoolmaster, Ezekiel Chever. He was born in London on the twenty-fifth of January, 1614, came to New England in 1637. From Boston he went to New Haven, where he was an instructor of youth for twelve years. In 1650 he went to Ipswich, where he continued eleven years; thence to Charlestown, where he was employed nine years; thence to Boston, in 1670, where he finished his useful labors at the age of ninety-three years and seven months. †

Oct. 18. Another gentleman of distinction died also this year. This was Anthony Checkley, Esquire, an eminent merchant, though bred to the law, and was for some time Attorney General of the Province. He was member of the Artillery Company in 1662, its Ensign in 1680, and its Lieutenant in 1683. ‡

The ill-success of the English against the French and Indians the preceding year emboldened the latter to set forth expeditions against the frontiers. Fear and consternation fell upon the whole country on learning the result of one of these, the news of which was brought to Boston upon the twenty-ninth of August; on the morning of which day Haverhill was surprised, and near 100 persons killed, and many were carried away captive. The Rev. Benjamin Rolfe, Minister of the town, was killed, while two of his daughters, then little children, were remarkably preserved from the hands of the Indians. One of these, Elizabeth, was afterwards the wife of the Rev. Samuel Checkley, of Boston, and was living here when Governor Hutchinson wrote his history. §

Brigdon, Francis Holmes, sec.; John Brown, Nicholas Cook and John Mountfort, sec.; Hannah Eades, John Fosdick, sec.; George Ingerson, Timo. Thornton, sec.; Geo. Webber, John Goff, Jr., sec.; Geo. Shore, Thos. Plats, sec.; Tho. Trot, Tho. Money and Ebenr. Newell, sec. In 1706 there are but two entries: — John Obison, Wm. Obison, sec.; John Ballard, John Ballard, Jr., and Wm. Wormwell, sec. In 1708 but four: — James Whippo, James Green and John Greenough, sec.; Isaac Taylor, Saml. Kenney, sec.; Tho. Hudson, Thos. Powell, sec.; Thankfull Trobridg, Francis Thresher, sec. In 1709, John Raynor, Elizur Phillips, sec.; Laurence Hood, Danl. Johonot, sec.; Mary Harris, Eliza. Holmes, sec.; James Buck, Ambrose Vincent, sec.; Tho. Selbey, Mr. John Belcher, sec. These entries end in 1710, in which year there were but two admissions: Oliver Atwood and Edward Tillet; for the former David Robinson was security, and for the latter Ellis Callender.

* It is proposed to give an alphabetical account of them in the Appendix. There has never appeared in print an *accurate* list of them.

At the same meeting it was voted that £200 be laid out in paving "at the South End in addition to the pavement there." Also £50 for improving at the North End, "partly towards paving the Street leading from Scarlet's wharfe to Mr. Jonas Clark's, and the rest in such place as the Select-men may direct." Also £300 to support the Watch, and £900 for other expenses.

† Dr. Cotton Mather's *Funeral Sermon*.

‡ Some account of his family has been given, *ante*, p. 459.

§ This was the mother of the wife of Gov. Samuel Adams, the patriot. The name of Mrs. Adams was also Elizabeth, who was born 15 Mar. 1725, married 17 Oct. 1749, died 6 July, 1757. The preservation of Mrs. Checkley from the tomahawks of the Indians was most remarkable. Her father's maid-servant hearing that the Indians were upon them, jumped from her bed, and with wonderful presence of mind, took two of the little daughters, who probably

Dec. 17. At a meeting in December, the Selectmen recommended that, inasmuch as the By-laws of the Town had not answered the end for which they were made, owing to the inability of the present Government to execute them, an Act of Incorporation should be obtained; and that, "as the Town grows more populous, it will stand in need of a more strict regulation." They therefore proposed that a Committee should be raised to consider and report upon the subject at the Town-meeting in March next. Accordingly one was appointed, which consisted of thirty-one members, including the Selectmen. But when the people came together, although the thanks of the Town were voted to the gentlemen who had with much labor prepared a draft of an Act, yet it was rejected by a large majority.* And thus this early attempt to make Boston an Incorporated Borough or City proved abortive, notwithstanding many of the principal inhabitants were in favor of it.

1709. Mar. 14.

A general murmur continued. Town officers were censured; some for their inefficiency, some for their cupidity, and others for their want of integrity. And yet the offices were filled with the most respectable men in the Town. Offices now considered menial were then held by men of note and high standing. In this state of things, the Rev. Thomas Bridge, of the First Church, just before the Town-meeting in March of the next year, preached an elaborate sermon "for Town Officers," in which covetousness is treated of in a manner, doubtless quite significant if not suggestive to many of that day. What effect it had to correct abuses is not now apparent. It is believed, however, to have been popular at the time, and a new edition was issued some twenty years after; probably called for by similar abuses. †

slept in the room with her, one 13 and the other 9, named Mary and Elizabeth, and fled with them into the cellar. There, under two large tubs, she concealed them, and then successfully concealed herself. And although the Indians came into the cellar and rummaged it, yet the empty tubs were not thought worthy of their notice. The other child became the wife of Col. Estes Hatch. — *N. E. H. & Gen. Reg.*, ii. 353; iii. 151. — Myrick's *Hist. Haverhill.* — Hutchinson. — Adams' *Family Bible.*

* When the vote was about to be taken, a circumstance occurred; though unimportant in itself, it had much to do, it is said, in the result. An individual, forward in opposing the acceptance of the proposed Act, concluded some observations, in which he compared a corporation to a lion, saying, "It is but a whelp now. It will be a Lion by and by. Mr. Moderator! Put the Question:" This determined the wavering, and the matter was immediately settled. Had that Prophet lived in our time, it may be, he would have seen the Lion in his full strength.

† This sermon is thus entitled: "Jethro's Advice recommended to the Inhabitants of Boston, in New England, viz.: To Chuse well-qualified Men, and Haters of Covetousness, for Town Officers. In a Lecture on Exodus xviii. 21: 9th. 1st Month 1709–10. By Thomas Bridge, Pastor of a Church in Boston. The Second Edition. Luke 12: 15,—*Take heed and beware of Covetousness.* 1733." Among the many pointed passages in the discourse which might be useful in this age, the following only can be copied: "The covetous office-holders are intent on getting gain. They have many subtle artifices and devices to manage. Sometimes they are contriving to remove obstructions. Sometimes to prevent discovery, that they may act with secrecy, that they may not be mistrusted. Sometimes in supplanting their rivals. Sometimes in finding out and shaping tools to be used in their service. And when all things are ready, to know the best methods and fittest seasons for accomplishment. They spend many waking hours in imagining mischief upon their beds."

By the ensuing passage may be seen what was expected of public officers: "There are indeed divers offices in the Town, which qualified men ought to attend out of pure regard to the Public Good; as members of the Body Politic, without expecting a salary. Men hating covetousness will serve the Town in such capacities, readily, cheerfully and impartially, and ought to be treated with respect, loved and valued for their fidelity."

There was complaint that the business of chimney-sweeping, being "performed by unfaithful slaves," was badly done, and consequently there was much danger from chimneys being often on fire. Therefore, a fine of ten shillings was to be collected of those who allowed "their chimneys to take fire so as to blaze out." And, there being no persons competent to teach "the mystery or trade" of sweeping chimneys in the Town, the matter of employing suitable persons to sweep them was committed to the Selectmen.

Mar. 14. At the Town-meeting in March, Mr. Henry Dering was Moderator. It was voted to choose no Assessors, but to have nine Selectmen, and that they should perform the duty. It was also voted to excuse Mr. Timothy Lindall from serving as Constable, who pleaded that he had paid a fine of ten pounds about five years before to be excused from the same office in Salem.

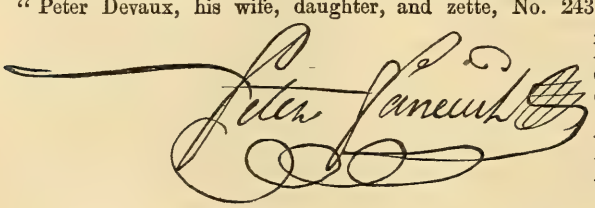
1710. A proposition to build a wharf, where Long Wharf now is, made by Oliver Noyes,* Daniel Oliver, James Barnes, John George, John Gerrish and Anthony Stoddard, was accepted by the Town. They were to build it at their own charge, with a sufficient Common Sewer. It was to run from the end of King-street to the Circular Line, and to low water mark. To be of the width of King-street between Mr. East Apthorp's and Mr. Andrew Faneuil's.† The wharf was to have a public way "on one of its sides," thirty feet wide, "for the use of the inhabitants and others forever." And about the middle of said wharf there was to be "a gap of sixteen feet wide, covered over, for boats and lighters to pass and repass." Also a passage-way on the new wharves, on each side, for carts, leaving the end free for the Town to plant guns on for defence, if occasion should require. Such was the origin of Long Wharf.‡

* Dr. Noyes died 16 Mar. 1720–1, being taken very suddenly and awfully." — Snow's *MS. note.* He had "a house and land near Fort Hill." Wife Katharine, sons Belcher and Oliver; daus. Anna, wf. of Mather Byles, and Sarah, wid. of —— Pulcepher. — *Record of* 1738.

† The Faneuils came to Boston in 1691, or, it may be, in the previous year. For I find a "List of persons of the ffrench nation admitted into the Colony by the Governor and Councill," dated, "Boston, Feb. 1, 1691." There is nothing upon the Record to show whether the 1691 should be so taken, or whether it should be 1691–2. These are the names of those then admitted, and their order upon the Record: —

"Peter Devaux, his wife, daughter, and an English maid; Francis Legare [goldsmith] and two sons; James Montier, his wife and an English maid; Isaac Biscon, his wife; Benjamin, John and Andrew Fuñell; Docter Basset; Gabriel Bernon; William Barbut; Louis Allare; Moses Secq; Peter Vrigne, to give security next meeting."

The Faneuils came from Rochelle, in France, and were brothers. Benjamin was the father of Peter, a name indelibly associated with Faneuil Hall. For some genealogical facts I can only refer my readers to Mr. Sargent's interesting *Dealings with the Dead*, *Evening Transcript*, 22 Feb., 1851, for a satisfactory account of the Faneuil family. The death of Mrs. Mary Catharine, wife of Mr. Andrew Faneuil, is recorded in the Boston Gazette, No. 243. She died 16 July, 1724. A high character is given of her: — "A gentlewoman of extraordinary perfections, both of mind and body."



‡ The stores on Long wharf were early numbered. At what time buildings on the streets or wharves were first numbered

Capt. Nathaniel Uring visited Boston in 1709,* and gives a very interesting account of the place, in his "Voyages and Travels," which he printed in 1726. He says he sailed from London in April of that year, but does not mention the time of his arrival. He observes, "The Town is near two miles in length, and in some places three quarters of a mile broad, in which are reckoned 4000 houses; most of them are built with brick, and have about 18,000 inhabitants. It is much the largest of any in America under the British government; they have built several wharfs; one of which goes by the name of the Long Wharf, and may well be called so, it running about 800 foot into the harbour, where large ships, with great ease, may both lade and unlade: on one side of which are warehouses, almost the whole length of the wharf. The Town is very populous, and has in it eight or nine large Meeting-houses, and a French Church, and but one English [Episcopal] and that built of wood; but I am informed, since I was in that country, they have another building with brick. I need say nothing of the religion of this Country, by reason it is so well known."

Captain Uring sailed from Boston "in the beginning of August," and about the middle of that month was captured by three French privateers. He was not long a captive. In 1722 he went out as Deputy Governor for the Duke of Montagu, to the Islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent. The Duke's establishment there proving a failure, Captain Uring returned to England in 1724. Two years after, he published the account of his Expeditions, which is the last notice of him. He appears now to have left the seas, after having followed them about thirty years. He was in the "Grand Fleet under Sir George Rook," in his expedition to the Bay of Cadiz, in 1702.†

There was a vote to erect a line of defence across the Neck between Boston and Roxbury. Accordingly, Fortifications were built upon the site of the old ones, constructed of brick and stone, having a parapet of earth. On this great guns were placed. There were two gates, one for carriages and the other for foot passengers. Through these was the passage to and from the Town over the Neck. Here was the southern

cannot, perhaps, be determined. There was no order of the Town about it up to this time, that I have met with. Tenants of small blocks began the practice, most likely, very soon after blocks were erected. In some early instances the shops were designated by the letters of the alphabet. In 1724, Benjamin Foster advertised "choice good Cables from 5 to 6 inches, of 120 fathoms," at "No. 11 upon the Long Wharffe." At the same time Adam Leyland's warehouse was "No. E, in Dr. Cook's new buildings at the head of Long Wharfe." Arthur Savage sold W. I. Goods at No. 6 Long wharf in 1727–8; Cornelius Waldo was No. 17.

On Bonner's plan (elsewhere described) of 1714, Long wharf is represented almost entirely covered with warehouses.

* He visited it again in 1717 and 1720, and the reader should bear in mind, that though Capt. Uring's description is apparently *for* 1709, it was evidently drawn up after 1723. Many years ago I communicated Uring's account of "Boston and New England" to the New Hampshire Hist. Society, and it was printed in the third volume of the Collections of that Society. His work, though replete in interesting incidents, is now rare, and seldom to be found on sale.

† He was born in Walsingham, Co. of Norfolk, about 1683. His father had followed the sea, but, at about 25 years of age, married, settled in Walsingham, also his native place, and followed the business of "Shop Keeper." — *Voyages and Travels of the Son.*

termination of Orange-street, corresponding now to the intersection of Washington and Dover streets.

Until this year postal affairs were under colonial regulations. Parliament now took the matter in hand and established a General Post Office in North America. This was its first enactment for the purpose, and it had in view a revenue "for the service of the war, and other her Majesty's occasions." * John Campbell was the first Post Master under this Act. He was now an elderly man, and had kept the Post Office in Boston for several years, as before noticed. †

From March, 1709, to March, 1710, there were 377 deaths in the Town. Of these 295 were "Whites," eighty Negroes, and two Indians. The increase over the previous year was fifty of the former, and thirty-six of the two latter. Among these was the Rev. James
Sept. 22. Allen, of the First Church, who emigrated to this Country in 1662, was an Assistant to Mr. Davenport six years, and ordained Teacher in 1668. ‡

1711. In the beginning of the next year the Town was deprived of
Feb. 9. another eminent man by death. This was the Honorable John
Mar. 5. Foster, who was followed in about a month after by his wife, a lady highly esteemed. These were the grandparents of Governor Hutchinson. §

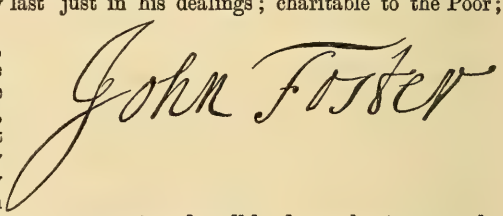
Boston felt more the effects of war, and more of the blessings of

* The rate of letters from England to this country was about the same as at present (1855), 1*s.* for single letters, 2*s.* for double ones, and so on.

† Mr. Campbell lived eight years after this. His death is recorded thus in the *N. Eng. Weekly Journal of* 11 *Mar.* 1728: — "On Monday night died here, John Campbell, Esq., aged 75 years. He was many years Post Master of Boston, and publisher of the Boston News-Letter; and for several years last past one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Suffolk; and on Saturday last was decently interred."

‡ He lived in what is since Beacon-st., at the corner of Somerset, in a stone house which he built, supposed to have been the oldest (of stone) in the Town, and occupied by his descendants till about 1806. When the first Boston Directory was made, that house was occupied by "James Allen, gentleman, and Jeremiah Allen, gentleman." The latter was the "Old High Sheriff of Suffolk," who resided there until 1806, or later. The present splendid granite pile, recently owned and occupied by the late Benjamin W. Crowninshield and John L. Gardner, was built by David Hinckley, merchant, who resided there about a quarter of a century since. It is now called the Somerset Club House.

§ In his History the Governor says, "Col. Foster was a wealthy merchant, of a most fair and unblemished character." — ii. 190. See *ante*, p. 227. Two Sermons were preached on the death of Mr. and Mrs. Foster, by the two Doctor Mathers, father and son, which were printed in a volume together; but, like most Funeral Sermons, they are almost barren of facts respecting the deceased. The latter says Mr. Foster "was a faithful Magistrate; a Counsellor continued by annual elections with the esteem of the people at the Board, for more than thrice six years that have ran since his name was inserted in the Royal Charter of the Province; a Judge of inviolable integrity; just in his dealings; charitable to the Poor;



an exact and well-bred merchant; one who loved both our liberties as an Englishman, and our principles as a New English-man." Of Mrs. Foster the same Author says, "She was courteous, affable, obliging. One of a peaceable temper; a hater of differences, and a healer of them. One who dispensed her alms with an uncommon generosity; one full of humble condescensions," etc. Col. Foster died intestate, and his son-in-law, Mr. Thomas Hutchinson, was appointed Administrator on his estate.

peace, than any other large town in the colonies, during the contests between England and France. When war existed the people of Boston entered heartily into it, for they felt fully confident that so long as the French retained Canada, so long would the Indians disturb the frontiers, and French cruisers destroy their commerce. Hence, every expedition undertaken in England against Canada met a ready response in the inhabitants of the Town. But they were alternately elated and disappointed. Two years previous to this, high hopes were entertained that a force was already on its way from England, which would sweep the French from Canada, or reduce them to submission. Captain Uring was charged with dispatches to the Authorities here, which warranted these expectations; but the expedition was diverted that year, owing to the defeat of the confederate troops in Portugal; the fleet being ordered to proceed to that country for their relief.

But now a more stupendous undertaking was on foot. Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker, Knt., arrived at Boston with far the largest fleet which at one time had ever floated upon the bosom of its waters. He had fifteen men of war and forty transports, with upwards of 5000 men.* Here they were joined by two regiments raised in New England.

June 25.

The next day after the fleet arrived arrangements were made for landing the men on Noddle's Island.† They were therefore landed and encamped at that place. Meantime the Admiral commenced negotiations for a supply of provisions, of which his forces stood much in need, and took up his lodgings with Captain Southack, in Tremont-street. The Captain, in the Province Galley, was to lead the van in the present expedition; or "to go ahead of the fleet in Canada river." But the Admiral met with difficulties henceforward in almost every step, to detail all of which would occupy a moderate-sized volume. They began with his attempts to victual his fleet. "One Captain Belcher," ‡ he says, "a very rich and leading man" in the Town, was

* A list of the ships, names of their Commanders, their number of men and guns, are given in the *Boston News-Letter* of 23 July, 1711, No. 379. The following extract from that paper will give a tolerable idea of the stir which this arrival occasioned in the Town: — "On Monday, the 25th of June last, the Castle gave the usual signal of several ships seen in the Bay, and about noon the alarm begun; and in one hour's time the Troop of Guards and Regiment of Foot were under arms. And in his Excellency's absence at the Congress in New London, the Gentlemen of her Majesty's Council received his Excellency Brigadier Hill, Commander in Chief of her Majesty's forces in North America, and the Honourable Sir Hovenden Walker, Knt., Admiral of her Majesty's fleet in the present expedition. The Troop and Regiment being still under arms, the General and Admiral were conducted and attended by her Majesty's Council to the Town-house, and congratulated on their safe arrival to New England." On the 29th, the Admiral, General, Colonels, and several of the Sea Captains, proceeded to the Governor's house in Roxbury, and dined there. — Admiral Walker's *Jour.*, 75.

† At the same time the sick were provided for by the erection of booths "on one of the Islands near Nantasket Road." — *Journal*, 69. In the army which arrived in the fleet "were seven veteran regiments from the Army of the Duke of Marlborough." The generation then inhabiting Boston had never before seen so grand a military display as these veteran troops made as they performed their evolutions on the fields of Noddle's Island.

‡ Andrew Belcher, who so efficiently relieved the *army* by his timely arrival in Narraganset Bay with provisions after the great Swamp fight of Dec. 19th, 1675. He was the father of Gov. Jonathan Belcher, and died 31

applied to, as being the only man able to undertake it; but he would have nothing to do in the matter, which the Admiral construed quite to Mr. Belcher's discredit. He next applied to "one Mr. [Andrew] Faneuil," and he undertook to furnish the supplies. Provisions, however, were scarce, and there was doubtless a disposition among such as possessed them to make the most they could out of the necessities of their present customers. Such being the state of things, a competent supply could not easily be had; and, finally, the Governor was obliged to issue an "Order for searching for provisions." In the order, Mr. William Clarke and Mr. Francis Clarke were named as searchers, to be joined with such others as the Admiral and Gen. Hill of the fleet might appoint. In the same order Capt. Samuel Gookin and Capt. Samuel Phips were appointed "to attend constantly at the camp on Noddle's Island in the day-time, to see there be no extortion or oppression in the sale of victuals or exchange of money."

July 2.

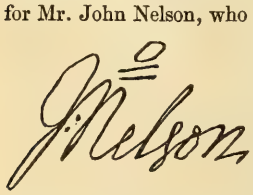
Among the troubles which surrounded the expedition, that of desertion of its men was not the least. To prevent this alarming mischief the General Court passed an Act subjecting all persons to a penalty of fifty pounds, or twelve months' imprisonment, if they harbored any soldier, marine or sailor, who should desert from the fleet. Notwithstanding this enactment, and an order previously issued to the various towns to call out the military to guard the roads, a formidable number of men succeeded in deserting, and could not be found when the fleet sailed upon its intended design in the end of July; "and thus," says the Admiral, "we left Boston, having struggled with many difficulties to get dispatched from thence."*

July 30.

The land forces were under the command of Brigadier Gen. John Hill. The other commanders of note were Col. Charles Churchill,† Col. William Windresse, Col. M. Kempenfelt, Col. Jasper Clayton, Col. Percy Kirk,‡ Col. Henry Disney, Col. Richard Kane. Col. Samuel Vetch and Col. Shadrack Walton commanded the New England forces.

Oct. 1728. — See Church, *Hist. Philip's War*, 62.

* The Admiral experienced great difficulty in procuring pilots for the River St. Lawrence, and probably sailed without being properly supplied; though during his stay in Boston he seems to have spared no pains to procure suitable men. As soon as he arrived here he sent for Mr. John Nelson, who then lived on Long Island, and conferred with him upon the subject, he being "a person of good sense, and well acquainted with the interest and affairs of those parts." The same person, I suppose, who acted so conspicuous a part in the Revolution of 1689, and had lately been a prisoner in Canada and in France.



Mr. Lediard, in his *Naval History*, has an excellent summary of this Canada expedition, for the failure of which he honorably acquits the Commanders; and there were few better judges of the nature of such undertakings than that candid author. His work can often be consulted with advantage by American authors.

† He was the Commander of the Marines. The Duke of Marlborough had a brother, son and nephew of the name of Charles. This gentleman was neither of them, though the contrary has been sometimes inferred.

‡ He was a son of that "Col. Kirk" whose history has been touched upon in a previous note (p. 458), and survived this unfortunate expedition, to find a resting-place in Westminster Abbey. He was now about 27 years of age, and lived to be 57; dying Jan. 1st, 1757. His mother was "the Lady Mary, daughter to George Howard, Earl of Suffolk. Diana Dormer, his niece and sole heiress, died Feb. 22d, 1743, aged 32." — *Hist. Descript. Westminster Abbey*, 164. Edition 1764.

Of the melancholy fate of this great armament, it is only necessary to add, that it utterly failed, owing to adverse circumstances, beyond the control of human power. A terrific storm wrecked nine of the ships, in which were lost near 900 men. Another ship, the Edgar, was blown up after reaching the coast of England, and with it 400 men more were lost.* As in all such cases, the Commanders were blamed for the miscarriage, and retired from the service in disgrace.† Censures did not stop here. There were those in England who attributed the failure of the expedition "to the barbarous treatment of New England." The falsity of this charge was at the time ably met by Mr. Agent Dummer,‡ then in England.

In the month of October a considerable part of the business portion of the Town was consumed by fire. It broke out about seven of the clock, and by two the next morning "it reduced Cornhill into miserable ruins, and it made its impression into King-street and Queen-street, and a great part of Pudding-lane was also lost, before the violence of it could be conquered. Among these ruins there were two spacious Edifices, which, until now, made a most considerable figure, because of the public relation to our greatest solemnities in which they had stood from the days of our Fathers. The one was the Town-house; the other the Old Meeting-house. The number of houses, and some of them very capacious buildings, which went into the fire with these, is computed near about an hundred." It was found that about [one hundred and ten families were turned out of doors.] This part of the Town was then filled with dwellings, as well as stores and shops, and these were stocked with valuable goods. "But that which very much added unto the horror of the dismal night was the tragical death of many poor men, who were killed by the blowing up of houses, or by venturing too far into the fire. Of these the bones of seven or eight were supposed to be found." Others, strangers belonging to vessels, were thought to have increased the number of those who perished, and several received wounds from the effects of which they afterwards died.

Oct. 2.

"Thus the Town of Boston, just going to get beyond fourscore years of age, and conflicting with much labor and sorrow, is, a very vital and valuable part of it, soon cut off and flown away!" §

"The occasion of which is said to have been by the careless sottishness of a woman, who suffered a flame which took the okum, the picking whereof was her business, to gain too far before it could be mastered." ‖

* But one of the New England transports was cast away, and from that all the men were saved. This is remarkable. The New England men doubtless better understood the coast, or how to provide themselves with pilots than their Ally, who, it is said, affected to look with contempt upon them.

† Admiral Walker resided in Dublin, Ireland, and died there in January, 1726.

‡ *Letter to a Noble Lord*, published in 1712.

§ Account appended to Janeway's *Dreadful Fire of London*, p. 41–3.

‖ *Ibid.* — "It broke out in an old Tenement within a back Yard in Cornhill, near the First Meeting-house, occasioned by the carelessness of a poor Scottish Woman, by using Fire near a parcel of Ocum, Chips and other combustible Rubbish." — *News-Letter*, 8 *Oct.* 1711. A

Thus, from School-street to Dock Square, including both sides of Cornhill, all the buildings were swept away.* It was soon found that the First Church must go, and several sailors were prevailed upon to ascend into the cupola to attempt to save the bell; but so rapid were the flames, and so intent were they to effect their object, that their retreat was cut off before they were aware of it, and they fell in with the roof and perished in the flames.

Oct. 11. In consequence of the fire, "with special reference to the frustrating of a great expedition, by the loss of part of our fleet in Canada River," a General Fast was kept At this time a contribution was taken up in the Churches for the sufferers by the fire, which amounted to about 700 pounds.†

The occurrence of this extensive conflagration, happening about two weeks before the adjournment of the General Court, probably occasioned that body to pass "An Act, providing, in case of fire, for the more speedy extinguishment thereof; and for the preserving of goods endangered thereby." The Act provided also for the appointment of Fire-wards in Boston, "not exceeding ten, in the several parts of the Town; and to have a proper badge assigned to distinguish them in their office, namely, a staff of five feet in length, coloured red, and headed with a bright brass spire of six inches long." They had full power to command all persons at fires, to pull down or blow up houses, protect goods, "by direction of two or three of the chief Civil or Military Officers of the Town."‡

Nov. 16. The first Town-meeting after the fire was held in Dr. Colman's Meeting-house; at which meeting, a concurrence was voted "with the proposals made by the General Assembly, about building a House in or near the place where the old Town house stood." Thomas Brattle, Esq., and Mr. William Payn, were appointed on the part of the Town to make an arrangement with a Committee of the General

number of this paper was printed only the day before the fire. The office in which it was printed being in Pudding-lane, was, of course, consumed; but that calamity did not prevent the issue of the paper the next week in Newbury-street. — See *ante*, p. 528.

The out-house in which the fire took is said to have belonged to Capt. Ephraim Savage, who then lived in Williams Court, and that the "poor woman's name was Mary Morse." — See Snow, 210. The houses erected in Cornhill after this fire were of brick, three stories high, with a garret, flat roof, and balustrade. — Holmes, i. 505. About four of them are yet standing on the east side, and one, No. 31, on the west side. One of them, being No. 38, Washington-street, bearing the date of its erection, 1712; and also the letters S. L., and a coat of Arms belonging to the Lynde family, which was transferred from the ancient Lynde mansion on Lynde-street to its present locality, with about as much propriety as the gravestone of Capt. Scottow was placed in the tower of the Old South Church.

The old brick building on the corner of Washington and School streets, now and for several years occupied by W. D. Ticknor & Co. as a Book-store, was the first built on that spot after this fire.

* "From School-street to what is called the stone shop in Dock Square." — *Hutchinson*, ii. 200. The "Stone shop," noticed by Hutchinson, was the same probably called "Colson's Stone House" about 1732, and stood at the "north-easterly termination of Cornhill." On an ancient MS. plan in my possession, "Colson's" is marked at the intersection of what is now called Cornhill and Brattle-street.

† Preface to Rev. Mr. Wadsworth's *Sermons*, 1713. In this preface the author gives somewhat of a circumstantial account of the fire, to whom Snow and others have been indebted.

‡ *Acts and Laws of the Prov. of Mass. Bay, &c.* 1714, p. 218.



COLMAN.

Court, for jointly constructing a House to accommodate both the Town and Colony. An arrangement was entered into, and in March 1714, the Town voted "235 pounds, fourteen shillings, and eight pence," to pay its part of the expense of the building.

At this session an Act was also passed, "further regulating of the Ferry betwixt Boston and Winisimmit." "A third sufficient and suitable boat" was ordered to be provided, "with able, sober persons to row in her;" and "one of the three boats in turn to be always passing on the water," unless prevented by ice or "extraordinary stormy weather (except on the Lord's Day, and then to pass no oftener than necessity shall require); from sunrise until nine o'clock at night, from the first of April to the first of October; and until eight at night from the first of October to the first of April." "Posts," however had some special consideration. Mail routes had been established to the east and west of Boston this year. A Post went to Maine once a week, to Plymouth also; and for Connecticut and New York once in two weeks. This arrangement was not changed for many years.

1712. The Election Sermon, which hitherto had been preached in the First Church, was this year preached in the "South Meeting-house, by Mr. Samuel Cheever, of Marblehead." Mr. Peter Thacher of Weymouth, preached the Sermon before the Artillery Company.*

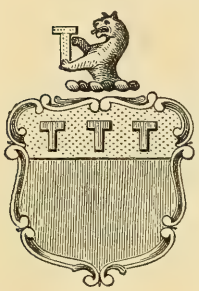
Mar. 10. At the Town-meeting in March, "the land that was lately John Mathew's in School-street," was ordered to be let out for a term of years; also "to make the Draw-bridge (so called) in Ann-street, a fast, firm bridge, the width of the street. And in case Capt. Ballentine, or any other person, sue or bring an action in the Law," the Selectmen to defend the same. A Committee of five was raised to inquire into the damage, if any, to be sustained by anybody in making the bridge in question "a fast bridge." John Clark, Esq., Captain Thomas Hutchinson, Major Thomas Fitch, Mr. Grove Hirst, and Capt. Edward Martyn, were the Committee.

May 14. At the next meeting, which was held in the "South Meeting-house," Isaac Addington, Esq., was moderator. A Committee, which had been raised to see if land could be purchased on which to erect a School-house at the North End, reported that a piece belonging to Mrs. Susanna Love, on Bennet and Love streets, 100 feet long and about 51 wide, could be had for 153 pounds, and they were instructed to purchase it.

* Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton preached the Election Sermon last year, and Dr. Increase Mather the Sermon to the Artillery.

CHAPTER LVI.

New North Church. — Church Discipline. — First Church Rebuilt. — Gunning on the Neck Prohibited. — Bad state of Prisons. — Death of David Copp. — Copp's Hill. — First Meeting in the New Town House. — Counterfeiters. — Post-Office Regulation. — George I. Proclaimed. — Gov. Burgess. — Gov. Shute. — New South Church. — Lighthouse. — Death of Isaac Addington — of Elisha Cook — of Grindal Rawson. — Tragical Fate of his sister Rebecca.



LYNDE.

ANOTHER Church was founded at the north part of the Town. This, in due time, received the name of the New North.* Its original founders were "substantial mechanics," whose names were Solomon Townsend, Erasmus Stevens, Moses Pierce, Caleb Lyman, John Pecker, Alexander Sears, Ebenezer Clough, John Goldthwait, Samuel Gardner, William Parkman, John Barrett, Isaac Pierce, Joshua Cheever, Matthew Butler, Elias Townsend, John Goff, James Barnard.† Their first meeting was previous to the month of March, and at the house of Matthew Butler, who was considered the father of the Society; and, though accidental, the pulpit of the present edifice very appropriately stands over the spot on which his pew was situated. In March following their organization, the projectors, having been joined by others, obtained liberty to erect a wooden house for their worship. A piece of land was purchased of Col. Thomas Hutchinson, at the corner of North and Clark streets, for about 455 pounds. Here a house of small dimensions was built, "without the assistance of the more wealthy part of the community, excepting what they derived from their prayers and good wishes." It appears to have been some time in building, as it was not dedicated until May 5. 1714. Three members of the Old North Church were elected Deacons; namely, Robert Comby, Edward Proctor and James Clark. This may have given rise to a jealousy said to have existed against the New Church; for when Dr. Cotton Mather was applied to to procure their dismission from his Church, he gave a decided refusal to communicate the request, and Caleb Lyman, John Barrett and Solomon Townsend, were made choice of. Mr. Townsend declined the office, and it remained vacant till 1717, when it was filled by the election of John Dixwell, who was son of the well-known Colonel Dixwell, one of the regicide Judges.‡

* On the 27th Nov. 1814, the Rev. Francis Parkman delivered "A Sermon on the Completion of a Century since the Settlement of the New North Church." Why the date 27 Nov. 1714 should be assigned for the "Settlement" of this Church, is not clear; for a Minister was ordained over it above a month before that date.

† The first thirteen, together with Mr. Webb, the Minister, Benj. Gerrish, Nathaniel Kenny and Lately Gee, were the original signers of the Church Contract. Mr. Gee was blind. Mr. Lyman died in 1742.

‡ Mr. Dixwell died 24 April, 1725. He was highly respected and much lamented. His

When a Minister was to be chosen, two only were thought of. These were Mr. John Barnard, — afterward of Marblehead, — and Mr. John Webb, who was then Chaplain at Castle William. Mr. Barnard was a member of the Old North Church, and highly in favor with Dr. Increase Mather. This was supposed to have excited the jealousy of Dr. Cotton Mather, and through his influence Mr. Webb was brought forward, and succeeded in being elected at a second trial; unanimously, as it was recorded.* The house had been dedicated on the fifth of the preceding May. The two Doctors Mather officiated at the ordination of Mr. Webb, and Mr. Barnard preached the Sermon. The principles and practice of this Church were to be the same as those established by the Synod of Cambridge in 1648, as far as that went; and as to the subject of baptism, it was agreed to follow the example of their mother Church, the Old North; which was in accordance with the Synod of 1662. In 1719, Mr. John Frizell, a merchant of Boston, presented the Church with a bell, which, though of small size and disagreeable sound, was used till 1802, when the old house was taken down. It was then sold to the town of Charlton, in the county of Worcester, where it is probably still in use.†

1714, Aug. 2.

When, in 1719, it became advisable to settle a Colleague with Mr. Webb, a fierce contest ensued between the majority and minority members of the Society. The Rev. Peter Thacher, an ordained Minister at Weymouth, was made choice of, and was installed with Mr. Webb, as Pastor; being of an older standing at college than Mr. Webb. The minority was quite small, but they were very determined in their opposition to Mr. Thacher, and at his installation, a tumultuous and disgraceful scene was presented.‡ Pamphlets were

1720. Jan. 27.

place was supplied by Deacon Samuel Barrett, 8 Dec. following. Mr. Ephraim Hunt succeeded him as Deacon, 8 March, 1726. They were ordained 18 August of the same year. The last ordination of Deacons in this Church, and perhaps in this town, was 7 Aug. 1737, when Deacon Joshua Cheever and Josiah Langdon were ordained. Mr. William Parkman was the last Ruling Elder. He was elected in 1743, and died in the country in 1775 or 1776, very aged. Mr. Samuel Holland was chosen Deacon in 1752. He lived to be the oldest man in Boston; dying about 1793.

* The succession of Ministers in the New North Church is as follows: —

John Webb, ord. 20 Oct. 1714, died 16 April, 1750.

Peter Thacher, inst. 27 Jan. 1723, died 26 Feb. 1738 [1738–9?]

Andrew Eliot, ord. 14 April, 1742, died 13 Sept. 1778.

John Eliot, ord. 3 Nov. 1779, died 14 Feb. 1813.

Francis Parkman, ord. 8 Dec. 1813, died 11 Nov. 1852.

Arthur B. Fuller, 1853.

† Mr. John Frissell, presumed to be the same who gave the bell, died in Roxbury, previous to 4 January, 1752. Mr. Joseph Williams, of that town, administered on his estate. — *News-Letter*.

‡ The Council for the installation of Mr. Thacher met at the Rev. Mr. Webb's house on the corner of North Bennet and Salem streets. The opposition or "aggrieved brethren" were assembled at the house of Thomas Lee, Esq., in Bennet-st., next the since Universal Meeting-house, and must be passed, if the ordaining Council had travelled the common streets to get to the New North Chuch. A deputation from the aggrieved members, consisting of Alexander Sears, Solomon Townsend and Owen Harris, of the Church, and Thomas Lee, Edward Pell and William Pell, of the congregation, waited upon the Council with a remonstrance against their proceeding to business. The purport of the remonstrance was, that the ordination must not take place, and must be prevented; peaceably if possible, but at all events stopped it should be. Mean time, a crowd having gathered about, which rendered the quiet movement of the Council from Mr. Webb's house to the Church somewhat dubi-

afterwards issued upon the occasion, discovering a temper not very creditable to some of their authors.*

This division in the New North Church was the cause of the withdrawal of several of its members, and another Church at the North End was the consequence, which eventually received the name of the New Brick.† As in the case of the First and South Churches, animosity continued between them for many years, sometimes exhibiting itself in a ridiculous and ludicrous manner.

In April, 1721, the New North Church publicly ordained Ruling Elders, and in the following month Deacons were ordained likewise. In 1730, the House was enlarged. Up to the middle of the eighteenth century, Church Discipline was far from being a slight matter-of-course affair. After this it was gradually much relaxed. Before that period, unfortunates, male or female, who had committed errors, were obliged to confess them before the whole congregation, however peculiar those errors might be. Females, under certain accusations, were obliged to stand up with a white robe or sheet over them, while the Minister read aloud their confession. After about 1750, such "brethren and sisters who should fall into scandal," were allowed to confess to the Church-members only, after the other part of the congregation had retired.

The "New England version of the Psalmes" was continued in use in this Church until 1755. It was then changed for "Tate and Brady's

ous, Mr. Webb led them out at a back gate into Love-lane, and through an alley which opened directly opposite the Meeting-house; and thus quiet possession of the pulpit was obtained. Whereupon a promiscuous multitude immediately nearly filled the house. The opposing party in council at Mr. Lee's appear to have been taken by surprise. They however soon came, and, forcing their way into the Meeting-house, forbid the proceedings of the ordination, and for a time the uproar was so great that it seemed impossible to proceed. Yet they did proceed, and Mr. Thacher was declared duly qualified.

* The titles of some of those tracts follow: — "A Brief Declaration of Mr. Peter Thacher and Mr. John Webb, Pastors of the New North Church in Boston, in behalf of themselves and said Church; relating to some of their late Ecclesiastical Proceedings." 1720. This was followed by

"An Account of the Reasons why a Considerable Number (about 50, whereof Ten are Members in full Communion) Belonging to the New North Congregation in Boston, could not consent to Mr. Peter Thacher's Ordination there. Who has left his Flock at Weymouth, and Accepted a Call in Boston, without the Approbation, and contrary to the Advice, of the Ministers in this Town. With a Declaration of the Dissatisfied Brethren of the Church, &c." 1720.

This was the production of the "aggrieved" party, and occupies near 60 pages. Among that party the names most conspicuous are James Tyleston, Thomas Lee, Jonathan Mountfort, Ephraim Mower, James Halsey, Edward Pell, Alexander Seares, John Waldo, Owen Harris, Francis Parnell, Solomon Townsend, William Pell, and Pelatiah Kinsman.

In justice to the opposing party it should be said that they produced certificates from Nicholas Philips and Thomas White, "members in full communion of the Church of Weymouth," that Mr. Thacher had broken his promise in leaving them. Abiah Whitman, Sen., and Abiah Whitman, Jr., also of Weymouth, made a similar statement. And when the Remonstrants laid their case before the "Ministers of Religion in Boston," desiring their opinion, as to the propriety of Mr. Thacher's leaving his people, those Ministers in reply said "he had not given or declared to them those Reasons which they judged sufficient or satisfactory." Those Ministers were Increase Mather, Cotton Mather, Benj. Wadsworth, Benj. Colman, Joseph Sewall, Thos. Prince and William Cooper.

Upon the issue of the last-named Tract, another followed, entitled "A Vindication of the New North Church from several Falsehoods spread in a Pamphlet lately published, tending to their defamation, entituled," as above. This I have not seen; not considering it important to an understanding of the history of the difficulty, I have not sought for it. The "Vindication" was followed by "An Answer to a Scandalous and Lying Pamphlet," &c.

† See *ante*, p. 311.

version." Not long after this the practice of reading and singing the psalms, line by line, alternately, was abolished, or discontinued.



NEW NORTH CHURCH.

During the Siege of Boston, or during its occupancy by the British in 1775–6, public worship was not suspended in this Church. By the close of that century the House had become old, out of repair and out of fashion. It was large, and, being of wood, in case of fire would much endanger that part of the Town. This latter consideration, doubtless, much influenced its owners to propose its removal, and the erection of one of brick; especially as attempts to set it, and buildings about it, on fire had several times been made. Accordingly the old House was taken down in August, 1802, and the corner-stone of the present House was laid in September of the same year.* It was dedicated on the second of May, 1804.† In 1805 a bell, weighing upwards of 1300 pounds, was purchased at a cost of above 800 dollars. It was from the foundery of Paul Revere.

1802. Sept. 23.

Until 1749, the Ministers of this Church, as was probably the case in most other Churches in the country, were supported by voluntary contributions. These contributions were made in this manner. At a stated time the Deacons stood up in their seats with boxes to receive the money, and the congregation, or such of them as had anything to give, came out of their pews, passed around in an established order before the Deacons, and made their deposits for the Ministers. This mode of maintaining them was abolished in the end of this year, and that of assessments on pews adopted in its stead.

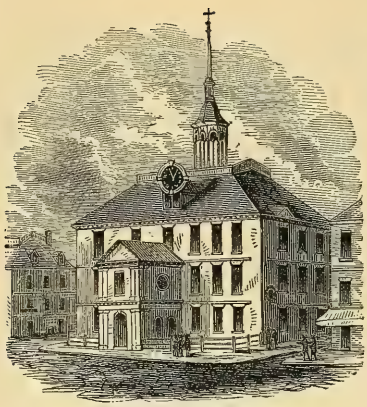
About this time portions of the Scriptures were begun to be read "between the first prayer and the singing before the Sermon." Mr. Nathaniel Holmes had lately presented the Church with an elegant folio Bible.‡

1713. May 3. The First Church, which was burnt, as already detailed, in 1711, having been rebuilt, was dedicated this year, on the third

* A silver plate and some American coins were deposited under the S. W. corner-stone of the foundation. On the plate was inscribed: "The New North Church was built, A.D. 1714. Enlarged and Repaired, 1730: A new Tower and Steeple built, A. D. 1764: August, 1802, taken down by a vote of the Society, pro bono publico. In September following, the Corner Stone of the New Edifice was laid, (Laus Deo,) By the Rev. John Eliot, Pastor of the Church."

† A subscription towards rebuilding was obtained, but it was very small — only $396.25. The donors were, Ebenezer Parsons, $136.25; Wm. Callender, $110; Sarah, widow of Capt. John White, and James Williams, each $50; John Fleet, $20; Saml. Watts, John Richardson, and Thomas Barker, each $10. The House cost $27,288.44.

‡ For much of his account of the New North, the Author is indebted to the exceedingly valuable tract upon it by Mr. Ephraim Eliot, published in 1822. In his "Advertisement," that gentleman observes, that he was one of three male proprietors of the New North. Mr. Charles Hammatt [deceased] descended from Elder Barrett, and Mr. Robert Lash, descended from Elder Baker, were the others. "His [Mr. Eliot's] maternal grand-



FIRST CHURCH.

of May. It was the second house on the same site, and stood until 1808, when it was taken down. A new house had been made ready for the Society in Chauncy Place, and was dedicated on the twenty-first of July, of the same year. The accompanying view represents the old house as it stood in Cornhill;* a durable relic of which was deposited in the vestry of its successor. It consisted of a thick piece of Slate-stone, about two feet long, which was taken from under a window in the second story on the south side. On that is inscribed this brief record: — "Burned to ashes Octobr. 3, 1711. Rebuilding June 25th, 1712. July 20, 1713." †

Jan. 21. Among the deaths this year occurred that of Mr. John Goodwin, an inhabitant of the North part of the Town since 1682. He owned a wharf and warehouses, and also several houses in Lynn-street. By trade he was a mason, and was engaged in rebuilding the South Battery or Sconce, in 1697.‡ Mr. Thomas Atkins, house-

father, Josiah Langdon, was one of the committee which superintended the first building, in 1713 and 1714. His father and his brother for 70 years stood in pastoral relation to it. From May, 1794, to May, 1817, he was himself Treasurer of the Society, and has been one of the Standing Committee for more than twenty-six years." Mr. Eliot died in September, 1827, aged 66. A Robert Lash was allowed to build with timber, 1701; perhaps the same here named. The name is not common, but still exists in the city.

* The regular succession of the Ministers of the First Church, not having before been given, may appropriately follow in this place:

John Wilson, inst. 23 Nov. 1632, d. 7 Aug. 1667, a. 78.

John Cotton, inst. 17 Oct. 1633, d. 23 Dec. 1652, a. 67.

John Devenport, inst. 9 Dec. 1668, d. 15 Mar. 1670, a. 72.

James Allen, inst. 9 Dec. 1668, d. 22 Sept. 1710, a. 78.

John Oxenbridge, inst. 10 April, 1670, d. 28 Dec. 1674, a. 65.

Joshua Moody, Asst. 3 May, 1684, to 1692, d. 4 July, 1697, a. 65.

John Bailey, Asst. 17 July, 1693, d. 12 Dec. 1697, a. 53.

Benj. Wadsworth, ord. 8 Sept. 1696, d. 12 Mar. 1737, a. 67.

Thos. W. Bridge, inst. 10 May, 1705, d. 26 Sept. 1715, a 58.

Thomas Foxcroft, ord. 20 Nov. 1717, d. 18 June, 1769, a. 72.

Charles Chauncy, ord. 25 Oct. 1727, d. 10 Feb. 1787, a. 82.

John Clarke, ord. 8 July, 1778, d. 1 April, 1798, a. 42.

William Emmerson, inst. 16 Oct., 1799, d. 12 May, 1811, a. 42.

John Lovejoy Abbott, ord. 14 July, 1813, d. 17 Oct. 1814, a. 31.

Nathl. Langdon Frothingham, ord. 15 Mar. 1815, resigned Mar. 1850.

Rufus Ellis, ord. 4 May, 1853. Mr. Ellis is the present minister.

† Buckingham's *Polyanthos*, ii. 168; from which work our engraving of the First Church is also copied.

‡ Mr. Goodwin married Martha, daughter of Benj. and Martha Lauthrop, of Charlestown, 2 Dec. 1669, where he then resided. The Rev. John Lauthrop, or Lothrop, of Scituate and Barnstable, was her grandfather. Mr. Goodwin was 65 years old at his death, and he was buried at Copp's Hill. After her husband's death, Mrs. Goodwin married John Pearson (of Lynn?), 1714, died 26 Sept. 1728, aged 76, and was buried by the side of her husband. They had ten or more children. Nathaniel, born 1672, finally settled in Middleton, Ct. Martha, born 1674, married Ebenezer Clough, and their daughter Martha married Elias Parkman. John, born 1681, married Mary Hopkins. Benj., born 1683, married Frances White, who after married Maj. John Bowles, of Roxbury. Hannah, b. 1687, married Wm. Parkman. Elizabeth, born 1694, married Joseph White. — *Memoranda of* J. G. Locke, Esq.

wright, was employed on the wood-work of the same fort. In 1701 he did the mason-work of a house built by the Town for the School-master, "on the land where Mr. Ezekiel Chever lately dwelt."

The establishment of Charity Schools was ably advocated by Dr. Benjamin Colman, who drew up regulations for their government; but the public mind was not fully prepared for them.

The practice of shooting game on the Neck, between Boston and Roxbury, had been probably attended with serious accidents; for this year the General Court passed "An Act to Prohibit shooting or Firing off Guns, near the Road or High-way, on Boston Neck." In the preamble of the Act it is said that "the Limbs and Lives of several persons had been greatly endangered in Riding over Boston Neck, by their Horses throwing of them; being affrighted and starting at the Firing of Guns by Gunners that frequent there after Game." *

There was a scarcity of bread this year, occasioning much suffering among the poor of the Town.† Persons who had the misfortune to be thrown into prison appear to have been little cared for by the proper authorities, in respect to their wants of food or their sufferings from cold. A "voice" from some of these has penetrated even to this distant day.‡

Nov. 20. Elder David Copp died, and was buried in the yard upon the hill bearing the name of his family. His grave "is not far from the north gate, on the west side of the path between the gates; and several others of the name of Copp lie around him." From an early period of the settlement of the Town a portion of the hill had belonged to the family, and received its name from them; but at what time it began to be called Copp's Hill, cannot be stated with certainty.§ It was at one period called Snow Hill, perhaps from a hill of

* *Colony Laws*, 231.

† *Remains of* Grove Hirst, Esq., p. 69.

‡ "On the 3d. of November of this year, several persons in the common jail petitioned the Gen. Court" for relief; imprisoned, they said, "for no great crime," and were compelled "to lie on the boards, cold, without bed-clothes or fire, or any nourishment, no farther than just to keep them alive, and hardly that;" therefore, say they, "We humbly beg of you to allow us some succor to keep us from perishing. We are some of us been here two or three months, as our ships we belong to are not nye sailing. So we humbly beg of you to send us some relieve in the miserable condition we are in. It is very hard for us, we having committed nothing to deserve it." There were five of the prisoners who petitioned. Two of them appear to have been imprisoned only for safe-keeping, until their vessels sailed, one for debt, one for "costs of Court;" the other, a female, *offence* not named. Whether relieved or not, my MS. does not show.

§ William Copp was made a Freeman, 2 June, 1641; David, probably his son, 11 Oct. 1670. On the records are found, Jonathan, son of William and Goodith Copp, born 23 Aug. 1640; Rebecca, 6 May 1641; and Ruth, 24. 9. 1643.

The brick house of Elder Copp is mentioned in the Selectmen's Minutes, which Snow thought was that "at the head of Hull-st., south side."

William Copp, "cordwainer," left a will dated 31 Oct. 1662, proved 27th 2d. mo. 1670; inventory of his estate, £109, 17*s.* 6*d.* "Wife Goodeth, dau. Tewksbury; grandchildn. William, Thomas, John, and Mary Harvey. To son Jonathan house and ground in Boston where I now live; he to pay daus. Ruth and Lydia, and grandchildn John and Sarah Atwood, Sarah Norden, and Mary Harvey; son David 30 acres, Jonathan 20, dau. Lydia 10, dau. Ruth 10, John Atwood 10, grandch. Saml. Norden 10, and grandch. Wm. Harvey 10, being my 100 acres beyond Braintree. Son David sole executor." — *Suffolk Wills*, viii. 32.

Among the first entries in the *Book of Possessions*, is the description of "the possession of William Copp within the limits of Bos-

the same name in Liverpool, in England, or a street in London so named also.

The war between France and England was brought to a close by the treaty of Utrecht, the news of which caused great rejoicing in Boston, and the hostile Indians sent deputations to offer peace to the harassed frontiers.

Mar. 8. The Town-house, which was destroyed in the great fire of 1711, having been rebuilt, the first meeting is held in it. The peculiar class of vessels called schooners are believed to have been first constructed about this time at Gloucester. Their importance is confirmed by their superior numbers, compared at any late period with all other craft in and about the waters of Boston. Mr. Andrew Robinson is said to have been their original contriver.*

May. A person belonging to Salem was detected in passing counterfeit Province bills among the people of Boston. The bills were of the denomination of twenty shillings. The individual who passed them had the credit of making them also, and the plate from which they were struck being found in his house, and some of the bills upon his person, he declined contending "with the Queen," and was dealt with "agreeably to the law in such cases made and provided."

May 31. The Postmaster gave notice "that the Post-Office in Boston is opened every Monday morning from the middle of March to the middle of September, at seven of the clock, to deliver out all letters that do come by the Post, till twelve o'clock. From twelve to two o'clock, being dinner-time, no office kept." In the afternoon it was open from two to six, "to take in all letters to go by the southern and western Post, and none to be taken in after that hour, excepting for the eastern Post, and till seven at night." †

Sept. 15. About the middle of September news reached Boston that Queen Anne was dead, and that her successor to the Crown was "Prince George, Elector of Brunswick-Lunenburg," as George the First. ‡

Capt. John Bonner surveyed and made a Plan of the shore of the Town from "Dr. Cook's wharf," a little to the north of Oliver's Dock to "Hels" [Hill's] wharf, about 100 yards beyond Windmill, now Wheeler's Point. §

Although George I. had been proclaimed King immediately after

ton;" namely, "one house, and lott of half an acre in the Mill field, bounded with Thomas Buttolph, southeast, John Button, northeast, the marsh on the southwest, and the river on the northwest." The Mill field was on Copp's Hill, and was so called because a Windmill was early placed there. — See *ante*, p. 141.

Some of the family probably emigrated to Connecticut. I find a John Copp of Norwich, Ct., 1727, who was Administrator on the estate of James Mead, of Greenwich, Ct.

* Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, ii. 445.

† *Boston News-Letter.*

‡ The Queen died Aug. 1st, in the 50th year of her age, and 13th of her reign. She married, 28 July, 1683, Prince George of Denmark, 2d son of Frederick III., King of Denmark. She had several children, all of whom died before her. — *Salmon.* George I. was great-grand-son of James I. Anne stood in the same relation to that Monarch.

§ A copy of this Plan, made by Francis Jackson, Esq., in 1836, was presented by him to the New Eng. Hist. Gen. Society. It is on a scale of 120 feet to an inch. No wharves laid down between "Capt. Holmes'" and "Hels."

Mar. 12. the news was received that the Queen was dead, yet, owing to several circumstances,* no orders were received from England with directions until the March following that event.

By the death of the Queen Governor Dudley lost his chief supporters in England, and the last year Col. Elizeus Burgess, who had served under General Stanhope, was appointed in his stead. But the Colonel sold out his Commission, and, perhaps, wisely remained in England. There was a great deal of intrigue and manœuvring in those days, among aspirants for office, as well as in these. Boston was the heart whence proceeded the various movements. There was a strong bank party in Boston, and an almost equally strong anti-bank party. Whichever party could secure the Governor, considered itself in a fair way to carry its favorite measures. Mr. Jonathan Belcher, a wealthy merchant of Boston, was in London, and was opposed to the banking party. He joined with the Massachusetts Agent, Mr. Jeremy Dummer; they together securing the interest of Sir William Ashurst, induced Mr. Burgess to sell his Commission of Governor of Massachusetts for a thousand pounds sterling. Of this sum Belcher and Dummer advanced equally. They then procured the appointment of Col. James Shute as Governor, and Mr. William Dummer was commissioned Lieut. Governor. Thus Lieut. Gov. Tailer was supplanted in this office, to which he was commissioned in 1711.†

Colonel Shute was supposed to be well calculated to suit the people here, and probably would have suited them had they been in a temper to be suited. But party interest admitted of no reconciliation, and this Governor had a stormy administration.‡

A Church was founded at the South end of the Town, which, to distinguish it from the South Church, received the name of the New July 14. South Church. The first steps for its formation were taken by several persons assembled at the Bull tavern in Summer-street, near the intersection of Sea and Summer streets. Mr. Nathaniel Glover had made a donation for the object. Forty-four subscribers Sept. 20. were soon obtained for carrying it into effect. In September following the Town was petitioned by "sundry inhabitants at the

* The Hazard sloop, sent express from England, with orders to the Government, was lost on Cohasset rocks, Nov. 12th, 1714. All on board were lost, and no papers saved; enough of the wreck, however, washed ashore to show what the vessel was, and a man from it had been landed at Nantucket. — *Hutchinson*, ii. 209.

† He arrived from England with his commission in the fall of the year 1711. In 1730 he was again in office, and died in 1732. He has descendants in this vicinity, who write their name Taylor.

Wm Tailer

‡ Gov. Shute belonged to a dissenting family; his father was an eminent citizen of London, and his mother was a daughter of the Rev. Mr. Joseph Caryl, who wrote eleven quartos on the book of Job, whose portrait may be seen in Calamy's Nonconformist's Memorial. Lord Barrington, as the head of the dissenting interest in Parliament, was his brother. He served in the army under William III., who gave him a Captain's commission, and was a Colonel under the Duke of Marlborough, and wounded in one of that Duke's sanguinary battles in Flanders. He became tired of trying to reconcile a factious people, and returned suddenly to England, January 1st, 1723, and died there in 1742, aged 80. He left Boston so privately that not a member of the Government knew of his intention.

southerly end of Boston, for leave to erect a Meeting-house at said South End, and for a grant of that piece of land called Church Green, in Summer-street, for the said House, to be sixty-five feet long and forty-five broad; and by the situation and name of said land, it was no doubt intended by our forefathers for that purpose." The petition was signed by Thomas Peck, Nicholas Boone, Samuel Adams, Eneas Salter, Jr., Samuel Greenleaf, Henry Hill, Jonathan Simpson, Eleazer Dorby, David Craige, William Engs, Eneas Salter, Thomas Salter, John Barton, Daniel Legre. Several of these were prominent men. Nicholas Boone was the bookseller of that name, whose "shop" was in Cornhill, "over against the Meeting-house," as early as 1701. Samuel Adams was the father of the Signer of the Declaration of Independence of the same name.

The petition was granted, and the house was finished and dedicated on the eighth of January, 1717. Mr. Wadsworth, of the Old South, and Dr. Cotton Mather, of the Old North, preached sermons on the occasion, which were printed. At first preaching was obtained by a Committee, who were authorized to pay twenty shillings for each sermon preached. There were in the mean time several candidates for settlement. The choice fell on Mr. Samuel Checkley, September the twenty-fourth, 1718, who was ordained on the fifteenth of April of the following year. On the same day these persons signed the Church Covenant, namely:—Henry Hill, Thomas Peck, John Clough, Thomas Salter, Samuel Adams, Samuel Bridgham, Benjamin White, and Thomas Doane.*



NEW SOUTH CHURCH.

The New South Meeting-house occupies one of the most beautiful locations in Boston. The house as it appeared after it was rebuilt in 1814, and as it now appears, is represented in the margin, from a view taken at the foot of Summer-street, near the site of the ancient Tavern, where its design originated. It is built of Chelmsford granite, under the architectural direction of Charles Bulfinch, Esq.†

* The succession of Pastors in the New South Church: —

Samuel Checkley, ord. 15 April, 1719, died 1 Dec. 1769.

Penuel Bowen, ord. colleague, 30 April, 1766, dismd. 12 May, 1772.

Joseph Howe, ord. 19 May, 1773, died 25 Aug. 1775.

Oliver Everett, ord. 2 Jan. 1782, dismd. 27 May, 1792.

John Thornton Kirkland, ord. 5 Feb. 1794, dismd. 4 Nov. 1810.

Samuel Cooper Thacher, ord. 15 May, 1811, died 2 Jan. 1818.

Francis William Pitt Greenwood, ord. 21 Oct. 1818, dismd. 24 Jan. 1821.

Alexander Young, ord. 19 Jan. 1825, died 16 Mar. 1854.

† The Building Committee consisted of Jonathan Hunnewell, George G. Lee, John Dorr, Stephen Higginson, and John Cotton, Esqs. The body of the building is octagonal, formed in a square of 76 feet diameter; four sides being 47 feet, and four smaller sides, 20 feet each. The height from the ground is 34 feet. The porch is of equal extent with one of the sides, and projects 16 feet, in front of which is a portico of four fluted Grecian Doric columns. A tower rises from its attic, in which is the belfry. The entire height is 190 feet. The pulpit is richly built of mahogany, supported by Ionic and Corinthian columns. On

In the course of May Session of the General Court there was passed "An Act for Building and Maintaining a Light-house upon the Great Brewster (called Beacon Island), at the extreme of the Harbour of Boston"; for the reason that the want of one "hath been a great discouragement to Navigation, by the loss of the lives and estates of several of his Majesty's subjects." It was ordered to be built "on the southernmost part of the Great Brewster, called Beacon Island, to be kept lighted from sun-setting to sun-rising." It was likewise ordered that all vessels, except coasters, should, after the Light-house was built, pay a duty of one penny per ton, inward and outward. Their tonnage to be ascertained by a method still in practice.* It was built at the charge of the Province, though Boston first moved in the matter, as appears from the records of the Town. John Hays, or Hayes, was the first keeper of it.

Two distinguished men died this year; Mr. Isaac Addington and Doctor Elisha Cooke. They had been long in public office, and may be considered as among the Fathers of the Town. Mr. Addington was Secretary of the Province before the arrival of the new Charter; was opposed to Andros, and appointed to office by the adherents to the old Charter, and received the same appointment under the Crown when the new Charter went into effect. Mr. Cooke was a popular leader in the General Court for above forty years; was an Agent when the new Charter was obtained. He was strenuous for the restoration of the old one, saying he would have that or none at all.†

Feb. 6. Died also this year the Rev. Grindal Rawson, a zealous and distinguished Minister to the English and Indians for about thirty-five years. He was born in Boston, on the 23d of Jan. 1659–60, and was named Grindal, for Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, between whom and his father's mother there was a relationship.‡

the floor are 118 pews, and in the gallery 32. — *Dedication Ser. of S. C. Thacher*, 29 *Dec.* 1814.

* *Colony Laws*, p. 238, *edition* 1726. — "It is about 8¼ miles from the City." Sixty years ago the island on which it stood "contained about a quarter of an acre of soil. A bar, dry at low water, connected it with the Great Brewster. Between Point Alderton and Middle Brewster." — *Pemberton*. It is in Latitude 42° 19′ 38.77″ N. — *U. S. Coast Survey, Report* 1852, p. 202. Mr. Thomas Robie, Fellow of Harvard College, computed the Latitude of Boston to be 42° 25′, N., Lon. 71° 30′.

† Hutchinson, and Eliot. — Mr. Addington lived in what was called "Half Square Court," near what is now the corner of State and Devonshire streets. He died on the 19th of March, aged 70. Dr. Cooke died May 31st, a. 78. A copy of the autograph of the former is given, *ante*, p. 472, and the latter, p. 484. After Mr. Addington's death, the Governor appointed his son Pauld Dudley, and Addington Davenport, Commissioners for keeping the Great Seal and the Public Records and Files, until His Majesty should appoint a Secretary for the Province. One arrived here, 22 Sept. following. His name was Samuel Woodward. Mr. Addington Davenport was grandson of Isaac Addington, Esq., by his daughter Rebecca, and Eleazer, son of Capt. Richard Davenport, killed by lightning at the Castle, as noted *ante*, p. 285.

‡ Dr. Cotton Mather preached a sermon on the death of Mr. Rawson, which he dedicated to Judge Sewall. In that dedication he copies the following from President Oakes' Commencement Oration: — "*Tertius* [having said something of two other persons] *Grande quiddam Sonans*, Grindallus Rawsonus *est; Clarissimo quoque Genere natus; Nam Pater Ejus Honorandus illustrem in* R. P. *locum tenet; Pientissimus et* Ορθοδοξοτατος *JOHANNES WILSONUS, Apostolicus plane Vir Proavunculus, Reverendissimusque EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS, Archi-Episcopus olim Cantuarensis, Sanctissimus Vir, tantumque non in*

He married Susanna, daughter of the Rev. John Wilson, first Minister of Medfield, and grand-daughter of the Rev. John Wilson, the first Minister of Boston. He was settled at Mendon about 1680; in 1690 he went "as Chaplain with the fleet that went into Canada." Becoming greatly interested in the welfare of the Indians, he set about learning their language, that he might instruct them in Christianity and improve their temporal condition; and he so far mastered that barbarous tongue, that in nine months he was able to preach to them so as to be well understood; and he continued his labors among them about twenty-seven years.

Edward Rawson, the father of Grindal, came to Boston from Newbury, and was a long time Secretary to the General Court, having succeeded Increase Nowell in that office, in May, 1650.* He resided in the lane called from him Rawson's lane, afterwards Bromfield-street. He had before represented Newbury in the General Court several years. He died on the 27th of August, 1693, at the age of 78 years. Among his twelve children, Grindal was the fifth son, and youngest child. Another, a daughter, experienced a most singular fortune, and met with a tragical and melancholy end. Her name was Rebecca. Being accomplished and beautiful, she naturally attracted the attentions of many of the opposite sex, and in due time gave her hand to one, who, passing under an assumed name, deceived her and her friends. Her deceiver pretended to be Sir Thomas Hale, nephew of Lord Chief Justice Hale. After they were married she went with him to England, with a good outfit for those days. As soon as they arrived in London he plundered her of nearly all her valuable effects, leaving her destitute among strangers. She soon learned the name and character of the villain to whom she had been connected, and that he had a wife then living in Canterbury. She never saw him after. Thus abandoned she applied herself to various employments, as painting and needle-work, and being very ingenious, supported herself and child (for she had one by the wretch who had abandoned her) comfortably for about thirteen years. Although she had friends in England able to assist her, she would not apply to them; suffering too keenly from mortification and pride. At length, the long, tedious years having dissipated to some degree the latter, and overcome the former, she determined to return again to the place of her nativity. Accordingly, embarking for Boston in a ship bound thither by the way of the West Indies, with an uncle whose name is not mentioned, she arrived safely at Port Royal in Jamaica. And being there ready to proceed on her voyage on the morning of the ninth of June, 1692, an earthquake came, the sea where the ship rode opened under her, and she went down into a gulf of unknown depth with all on board!

Archi-Episcopatu Puritanus, Abavunculus, fuerunt. Detque Deus, ut Eruditione, Sanctitate, Moribus optimus, WILSONUM, et GRINDALLUM exprimat."

* Mr. Rawson continued in the office 36 years. He was then removed by Edward Randolph, who came over with a Commission from the King. — See p. 468. There is in the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vol. iii., a minute genealogy of Secretary Rawson's descendants.

This was the sad fate of Rebecca Rawson, who had been one of the ornaments of Boston. Her uncle, happening to be on shore at the time of the earthquake, was saved.

CHAPTER LVII.

Project of a Market-house Defeated. — Town Clock. — South Burying-place Enlarged. — Deer Island Hospital. — School-house. — Pirates. — Moll's Notice of Boston. — Fire Society Incorporated. — Death of aged Men. — Free Writing-school. — Fortifications. — Lotteries Suppressed. — New Brick Church. — Aurora Borealis. — Boston Gazette. — Bridge over Charles River Proposed. — Linen Manufacture. — Small Pox. — Inoculation. — New England Courant. — James Franklin. — Benj. Franklin. — Ministers Aggrieved.



PARSONS.

Feb. 20. IN February this year there fell such an immense quantity of snow, that it was referred to, for a long time after, as "the Great Snow." Many houses were entirely buried in it; all communication between neighbors was cut off; people in sickness could not be visited; vast numbers of domestic animals perished, and the wild animals, especially deer, were destroyed in great numbers.*

There had been frequent complaints among the inhabitants that they were imposed upon by Hucksters. The subject having been brought up in Town-meeting, the last year, a Committee was raised to consider the matter, and to report at the next meeting. Accordingly they reported that to remedy the evil it was necessary to erect a public Market.† By which it was understood that a Market-house was intended. The report was not agreeable to the majority of the voters, and an addition was made to the Committee, and they were requested further to consider the subject, and to report at the next meeting. It was, however, put over from one meeting to another, and was not finally disposed of until two years after the first report. Then "it was debated and voted disallowed."‡

* Dr. Cotton Mather gave an account of this Snow in a long letter, which goes considerably into particulars; much more so than any other writer which I have met with. Mr. Hanson has printed it entire in his *History of Danvers*. It will well repay a perusal.

† The original Committee consisted of Addison Davenport, Esq., Thomas Fitch, Esq., Elisha Cooke, Esq., Oliver Noyes, Esq., Samuel Keeling, Esq. To whom were now added, Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., Adam Winthrop, Esq., and Mr. John White.

‡ The building of Markets was kept in abeyance until 1734. Hence Capt. Uring's observations on the subject were correct, even if made in 1724, though Mr. Oldmixon, in his attempt at exactness by correcting him, misleads his readers. This is Uring's amusing sketch: — "The Town of Boston is plentifully supplied with good and wholesome provisions of all sorts, not inferior to those in England. Though the town is large and populous, they could never be brought to establish a Market in it, notwithstanding several of their Governors have taken great pains to convince the Inhabitants how useful and beneficial it would be to 'em; but the Country People always opposed it; so that it could not be settled, The reason they give for it is, if Market Days were appointed, all the Country People coming in at the same time would glut it, and the Towns People would buy their provisions for

May 8. Four Representatives were chosen to serve in the General Court. The subject of a Town Clock to be placed in the Brick Meeting-house was introduced in Town-meeting, and postponed to the next. Then it was voted to request the Representatives to move the General Court for aid in the project. If they made the application it probably failed; for the next year the Town

June 12. 1717. May 15. "voted that the Selectmen be directed, at the Town's charge, to procure a good Town Clock, and to set up the same in some convenient place in Cornhill, for the benefit of the inhabitants."

At this meeting the Selectmen were authorized, if they thought best, to enlarge the South Burying-place, by taking in part of the highway on the easterly side, if it could be done without "too much straitening said highway." And as to "erecting a row of tombs" in the same Ground, it was "voted in the negative." But persons might arrange for tombs with the Selectmen, at their own charge.*

The Selectmen were authorized to lease land on "Dere" Island, not exceeding one acre, for a Hospital or Pest-house, but for a period not to exceed ninety-nine years.

A School-house was located at the South part of the Town, "upon the Common, adjoining to Cowell's lott, over against Mr. Wainwright's." "Cowell's" was in West-street.

There was a proposal to repave Cornhill "from Mr. Boone's Corner to the gutter leading down to Spring Street." Mr. Boone's corner was where the apothecary shop now is, on the south corner of State and Washington streets.

April. A pirate ship called the Whidah, commanded by Capt. Samuel Bellamy, in cruising on the coast, captured several vessels, and putting seven of his men on board of one of them, is soon after cast away, by following this prize, "near the Table-land," and all the crew except two persons were drowned. One of these was an Englishman, and the other an Indian. The prize into which the seven pirates had been put was run on shore at Cape Cod by the captive Captain, who took advantage of his keepers in a drunken revel. Bellamy had 130 men, who were now reduced to nine.† These were tried at Boston in November by a special Court of Admiralty, and six of them

May 28. were condemned and executed. Governor Shute issued an order for firing salutes in honor of His Majesty's birthday.‡

what they pleased, so rather chuse to send them as they think fit. And sometimes a tall fellow brings in a turkey or goose to sell, and will travel through the whole Town to see who will give most for it, and it is at last sold for 3s. and 6d. or 4s.; and if he had stayed at home he could have earned a crown by his labor, which is the customary price for a day's work. So, any one may judge of the stupidity of the Country People." — *Voyages and Travels.* 111–12. Thus, if Capt. Uring's statements be correct, as to the opposition to a Market-house, and they probably are, a solution to the question is obtained, for which the Town-records furnish no clue.

In 1719, Dr. Benjamin Colman published a pamphlet in favor of the erection of a Market-house, "fairly representing the advantages thereof." — *Life by Turell*, p. 78.

* "Thomas Boylston may set his brick house partly on the northerly end of Pierce's Alley, so as he leave the Alley there full 6 feet wide betwixt his house and Dr. Noyes's brick walls."

† After Bellamy was wrecked above 100 dead bodies were washed ashore. An interesting account of the wreck of Bellamy and his companions may be found in *Mass. Hist. Colls.*, iii. 120.

‡ It is as follows: — "Boston, May 28th, 1717. To Capt. Clarke This being his

An intelligent Geographer,* speaking of Boston this year, says, it "is reckoned the biggest Town in America, except some which belong to the Spaniards. It lies on the coast, defended by a strong Castle in an island at the mouth of the harbor, and on the shore by forts on two or three neighboring hills which command the avenues. Here are abundance of fine buildings, public and private, as the Court-house, Sir William Phipps' house, &c. The inhabitants are reckoned about 12,000. Three or four hundred ships have been loaded here in a year, with lumber, fish, beef, pork, &c., for Europe and America. Here 's a market every Tuesday, and two fairs in May and October, which last three days each."

Sept. 30. A Fire Society was incorporated this year, which was in existence many years after. In 1734 its regulations were printed in the form of a handbill. By these regulations the Society was to consist of but twenty members.†

Few years have been so remarkable as this in the death of aged people in New England. Among them were five belonging to the Council of this Province. These belonged to Boston: — Eliakim Hutchinson, Grove Hirst, Andrew Belcher, Wait Winthrop, Elisha Hutchinson. Henry Dering and his wife were buried in the same grave, also Robert Winsor and his wife, all over seventy years of age.‡

1718. Mar. 11. The Town voted to raise a Committee "to inquire about encouraging the bringing in of Sea Coal." At the same Town-meeting Mr. Thomas and Mr. Edward Hutchinson offered to build a School-house at their own charge for a free Writing-school at the north part of the Town. Upon which it was voted that part of the land bought of Mrs. Susanna Love be taken for that purpose. At a meeting in June a Committee was raised to examine the

June 23. state of the Fortifications, and to consider the expediency of planting guns on the end of Long Wharf. In the reports at

Majesties Birth Day, you are hereby required to discharge the Guns upon the Batery's under your command, after you hear the Cannons at the Castle are Discharged.

Samll Shute

(*Original Warrant, MS.*) In justice to the Governor it should be stated that said warrant is only signed by him. It is probably in the hand of Secretary Woodward, who was superseded in his office this year by Mr. Josiah Willard. "Tired of his post," says Hutchinson, "of much labor and little emolument, disposed of it to Josiah Willard, Esq., who obtained the Royal Commission and arrived at Boston from London, December the 12th, 1717."

* Herman Moll. His work is entitled *Atlas Geographus*. He was an extensive publisher of maps.

† For a copy of the regulations (printed on parchment) I am indebted to the Hon. Francis Brinley, of Boston. These parchments were probably equal to the number of the Members, and contained the names (in MS.) of those composing the Society. The one now before me contains the following names: — Wm. Winter, Andrew Craige, Arthur Savage, Thomas Handasyde Peek, John Moffatt, Allan Melvill, Wm. Murrey, John Cunningham, William Brattle, Thomas Tyler, Samuel Doggett, Samuel Bass, Jona. Simpson, Samuel Hill, Wm. Fairfield, Daniel Henchman, John Tyng, David Cutler, John Hunt, Shrimpton Hunt, Thomas Marshall, Daniel Rae, Thomas Symmes, *Samuel Holbrook*, *Thomas Fayerweather*, *William Andrus*, *Robert Williams*, *Bartholomew Rand*. These in italics are upon a part of the parchment so impervious to the ink, that there is some uncertainty respecting them. The first four names, also, Melvill, Murrey, Brattle, Simpson, Hill and Henchman, are erased.

‡ See Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 223. Hirst's *Remains*, Int. iv.

subsequent meetings, the subject of guns on that wharf is not mentioned, and none appear to have been placed there for defence. At a meeting in December, the Selectmen informed the Town that they had, in view of a scarcity of grain, "purchased 10,000 weight of bread, at forty shillings per hundred, for the supply of the inhabitants." It was ordered to be sold out in small quantities to such of the people of the Town as had a mind to purchase, for one month.

Dec. 29.

In the several Churches there were raised by contributions 483 pounds, to be applied to the conversion of the Indians.

At the March meeting of the inhabitants, a Committee was appointed "to consider what can be done for the relief of the Town under its present distresses;" while the nature of the distresses, so far as the records go, are left to be conjectured. They may refer to the "unhappy misunderstandings," as Governor Shute expresses it, between the Upper and Lower Houses* of the General Court.

Mar. 10. Three pounds were voted to pay a Bell-ringer at the New South Meeting-house for a year. He was to ring at five in the morning, and nine at night, as other Bell-ringers did.

The General Court passed a law suppressing lotteries. They were declared "a public nusance, mischievous and unlawful games," and forbidden under a penalty of 200 pounds.

Another Church was formed at the North End this year, to which the name of New Brick was given. It, like many other Churches, grew out of difficulties and disagreements among members of the same Church. The disaffections in the New North have been detailed in the account of that Church, and will not require to be repeated here. †

Those who had come off when Mr. Thacher was ordained, having enlisted a number of others with them, held a meeting for the purpose of taking measures to erect a House. They were Alexander Sears, Solomon Townsend, John Waldo, Owen Harris, James Tileston, Nathaniel Jarvis, Thomas Lee, Jonathan Mountfort, William Arnold, Thaddeus Macarty, James Pecker, Ebenezer Bridge, Benjamin Edwards, Peter Papillon, Thomas Dogget, Daniel Ballard, Robert Oring, Edward Pell, Samuel Burnell, Francis Parnell, James Barnes, James Halsey and Ephraim Moore. These voted to treat with Mr. Thomas Roby, of Cambridge, for land to build upon. About five weeks after a Building Com-

Nov. 14.

* The names *Upper* and *Lower* Houses seem to have arisen about this time. The Representatives gave the name *Upper House* to the Council "as a fleer, and to intimate that they might consider themselves in another capacity than as a Privy Council." — *Hutchinson.*

† The following extract from Mr. Ephraim Eliot's work, before referred to, will convey a pretty correct idea of the state of feeling at the time the New Brick Church was formed. "The aggrieved Brethren," he says, "went off in bad humor, and proceeded to the gathering of another Church. In the plenitude of zeal, they first thought of denominating it the *Revenge* Church of Christ; but they thought better of it and called it the New Brick Church. However, the first name was retained for many years among the common people. Yet their zeal was great indeed, and descended to puerility. They placed the figure of a *Cock* as a vane upon the steeple, out of derision of Mr. Thacher, whose Christian name was *Peter*. Taking advantage of a wind which turned the head of the Cock towards the New North when it was placed upon the spindle, a merry fellow straddled over it and crowed three times, to complete the ceremony." Remarks are unnecessary.

Dec. 20. mittee was appointed, and in a short time the number of Proprietors increased to forty. Mr. Edward Pell drew a plan of the building, and it was finished for dedication in May, 1721. In one year more the Church was regularly formed, and on the day 1719. May 10. 23. of its formation Mr. William Waldron was ordained.*

Dec. 17. The Aurora Borealis, or Northern Lights, do not appear to have been observed here until this time. They were viewed by many, for a considerable period, as harbingers of some great calamity shortly to follow, and some believed they portended the end of the world. Their frequence has long since ceased to excite wonder or surprise, though at times they seem to break over ordinary bounds, and are the subject of conversation.

Dec. 21. Near the close of the year a second Newspaper was established in Boston. It was called the Boston Gazette, and the first number was issued on the twenty-first of December. Like other early Newspapers, one of them is strikingly curious at this day.† It was published "for William Brooker," who succeeded John Campbell as Postmaster, and James Franklin was the printer of it; a brother of the afterwards celebrated Doctor Benjamin Franklin. In this paper the year 1720 begun in March, but after that it begun with January. This was the first "Boston Gazette," but there were two others before the Revolution, of the same name. The establishment of a new Paper was looked upon by the Proprietors of the old one with jealousy, and a skirmishing between them soon commenced, and continued for some time.

Mr. Brooker continued to publish the Gazette but a short period. Philip Musgrave succeeded him as Postmaster, and became publisher of it, and Samuel Kneeland printed it. This arrangement continued till 1726, when it was printed for Thomas Lewis, Postmaster. The following year Henry Marshall was Postmaster, and Bartholomew Green printed the Paper for him. Marshall died in 1732, and Mr. John Boydell became its publisher, and the printing went again into the hands of Mr. Kneeland.‡

* The succession of Ministers has been given at p. 311. The signers of the Covenant on the 23 of May, 1722, were Alexr. Sears, Solomon Townsend, John Waldo, Moses Pierce, James Tileston, Josiah Baker, from the New North; and Wm. Lee, Nathaniel Loring, Daniel Pecker, Henry Wheeler, and Wm. Waldron. —Snow, 217.

† It was issued on a half-sheet of foolscap paper, and was continued thus for several years; excepting occasionally, when it was sent out on a whole sheet, a page of which often remained blank for want of matter to fill it. It purported to be "Published by Authority," and was "Printed by J. Franklin," and to "be had at the Post Office, where Advertisements are taken in." The head of the sheet was *adorned* with two engravings, an inch and a half square; one representing a ship of clumsy proportions, the other a Post, sounding his horn, mounted upon a horse at full speed, more clumsily represented, if possible, than the ship; copied perhaps from some old chronicle of Flanders. On a number of that Paper, printed in 1736, now before me, other and larger *cuts* appear, but of no better workmanship than the others. Boydell issued it in quarto.

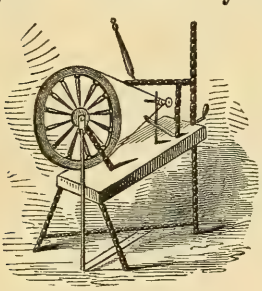
‡ Mr. Boydell died on the 11th of Dec. 1739, in the 49th year of his age. He came to Boston in 1716, as Secretary to Gov. Shute; was Register to the Court of Vice Admiralty for Massachusetts, N. Hampshire and R. Island, and afterwards Register of Probate for Suffolk, and Naval Officer for Boston. He appears to have been much respected.

On the death of Mr. Boydell, "Kneeland & Green" printed the Gazette for his heirs, till October, 1741, and then those printers became its proprietors, and incorporated it with "The New England Weekly Journal." It was continued in this way nearly fifteen years.

Mar. 15. Captain Joseph Wadsworth was chosen Treasurer, in place of Mr. Joseph Prout, who declined. The latter had served many years. Ames Anger was chosen School-master for the new Writing-school at the south part of the Town, at 100 pounds per annum.*

April 27. A Bridge over Charles River having been contemplated, the Town voted to instruct its Representatives in the General Court to move that body to promote the enterprise, but it was to be built "at the place where the Ferry hath been kept usually; namely, between Mr. Gee's and Hudson's Point, and at no other place." This appears to be the first movement upon record for a Bridge over Charles river. Of course it did not then succeed. †

About two years previous to this there arrived in the country a large colony of persons from in and about Londonderry in Ireland, denominated Scotch Irish, because they emigrated originally from Scotland to Ireland. The most of this colony settled in New Hampshire, but a considerable number of them fixed their residence in Boston. These emigrants were chiefly manufacturers of linen, and they brought their utensils for that purpose with them. ‡ The foot or linen wheel, since so familiar in the households of New England, was introduced by this colony, and the raising of flax and the manufacture of linen cloth was looked upon as of great importance to the country. The people of Boston took hold of the matter with great earnestness. The subject was put into the warrant for calling a Town-meeting, which assembled in September, and at which Judge Sewall presided as Moderator. A committee was appointed "to consider about promoting of a Spinning School or Schools, for the instruction of the children of this Town." The Committee, which consisted of seven persons,§ reported at the meeting in December, recommending the building a house for a School, "on the waste land before



SPINNING WHEEL.

Sept. 28.

Dec. 27.

* By vote of the Town the Selectmen were directed to put that piece of the Town's land nigh Mr. Belknap's, lying before Capt. Southack's, under some improvement. An order regulating trucks was passed. None to be more than eighteen feet long; to employ but two horses in one team; to carry no more than one ton at a load, and wheel tires to be 4 inches wide; the driver to go at the head of the thill horse, which he must govern by a halter to be kept in the hand.

† Charlestown does not appear to have participated in this affair of a Bridge. It is seen by the General Court Records, that the Council were "ready to promote the attainment of so beneficial a work," but recommended it to be undertaken by private gentlemen, and sketched out various regulations about toll, and what part of it should go to the College, that that institution should receive more than it received from the ferry. Here the matter seems to have rested.

‡ They introduced the Potato. This valuable plant was probably first carried to England in 1573, by Sir Francis Drake.

§ Abijah Savage, Daniel Oliver, Wm. Payn, Esqrs., Mr. Francis Thrasher, Mr. Abraham Blish, Mr. John Colman, and Mr. Benj. Fitch.

Captain Southack's; because part of it is already built, a cellar almost made, and a well in Belknap's yard belonging to the Town."

The result of this extensive movement was the establishment of Spinning-schools. A large building was erected on Long Acre-street, which stood about where Hamilton-place now is, and was standing till long after the Revolution.*

Tea is said to have been about this time introduced into the country.

The Town was visited by the Small-pox with much greater severity than at any time before. The Selectmen were instructed by a vote of

May 21. the Town to wait upon the Governor with a request that the Sea-horse [Capt. Thomas Durell] should be sent down to Spectacle Island; but whether she was sent there is not stated, and if she were it was too late to keep the disease from getting into the Town. † It was on this visitation of that dreaded contagion, that Inoculation began to be practised; and Dr. Zabdiel Boylston was the man who, almost single-handed, stood forth and buffeted a storm which the practice called forth, the violence of which is hardly conceivable in this age. ‡ The physicians were generally against him, § and Dr. William Douglass and others wrote with severity against Inoculation. There was at this time residing in Boston a Dr. Lawrence Dalhonde, who had considerable reputation for his knowledge of the disease, and of Inocula-

* Long Acre-street was that part of what is now Tremont-street between Winter and School streets. Mr. Pemberton has something to say about this Linen affair, but he has no dates or localities to elucidate it. He says: "The Manufactory-house, in Long Acre-street, is an handsome, large brick building, on the east side of the street. An act of the General Court laying an excise on carriages and other articles of luxury was appropriated to this building, designed originally for carrying on manufactures in the Town, particularly the linen manufacture, which was begun here with a spirit exerted too violently to continue long. Great show and parade were exhibited on the Common at its commencement. Spinning-wheeles were then the hobby-horses of the Publick. The females of the Town, rich and poor, appeared on the Common with their wheels, and vied with each other in the dexterity of using them. A larger concourse of people was perhaps never drawn together on any occasion before. At the anniversary of its institution (for it continued three or four years), the trustees and company attended public worship, when a sermon was delivered suited to the occasion, and a contribution made to aid the business. But some untoward circumstances taking place, the linen manufacture was wholly set aside. The building was afterwards occupied for a short time for the manufacture of worsted hose, metal buttons, etc. The Massachusetts Bank was kept here for a time. It now [1794] belongs to that Corporation, and is let to private families, divided into separate apartments. At the west end, fronting Long Acre, was portrayed on the wall a female figure, holding a distaff in her hand, emblematical of industry, which is now [1794] effaced."

† By a publication which the Selectmen made on the 22d of July, it appears that the Small-pox was communicated to the Town "the middle of April" preceding; "being brought here then by the Saltertuda's [Saltortugas] fleet." Dr. Douglass confirms this in a letter of 28 July, 1721, to Dr. Cadwallader Colden, of New York. He says: "It was imported here about the middle of April last from Barbadoes via Saltertudas. It is now 19 years since we had it in Boston."—*Mass. Hist. Colls.*

‡ In the preface to his "Historical Account of the Inoculation," the doctor says: "I have been basely used and treated by some who were enemies to this method, and have suffered much in my reputation and in my business too, from the odiums and reflections cast upon me for beginning and carrying on this practice in New England."

§ Assuming every apothecary to have been a physician, there were then in the Town fourteen. This, however, is not given, as a supposition, even, that such was the exact number of the latter, while it is true of the former, according to Dr. Douglass. At which time he says there was not in the Town a thermometer nor barometer that he knew of.

tion practised many years before in Europe, and he gave it as his opinion that the practice was attended with the most pernicious consequences. By order of the Selectmen he made a deposition respecting cases which he had witnessed in the French army in Italy twenty-five years before ; and in Flanders and Spain at a later period, all of which went to prove the practice nothing better than murder. This deposi-
July 21. tion being published, and by authority of the Town, caused, says Dr. Boylston, "a melancholly day to Inoculation in its infancy ; and was sufficient to influence and set almost the whole Town and Country against me and this method."

It is remarkable that Dr. Cotton Mather was on the side of Inoculation,* and encouraged Dr. Boylston to put it in practice. † And it may be pretty safely inferred, that, without the countenance and influence of the former, the latter could never have succeeded ; ‡ and even his life would have been in as much jeopardy as his reputation. However, the result of this important undertaking proved that it was not always the surest way to prove one's self a prophet to attempt to destroy the chances of others for gaining a name, although appearances might seem to favor such a course. Out of 286 persons who were inoculated for the Small-pox, but six died ; while out of 5,759 who took it the natural way, 844 died. § Thus was exhibited the ben-

* "That eminent Person, the Learned Dr. Cotton Mather, Fellow of the Royal Society (also to his *honor*), was the principal *Instrument* in promoting this method among us."—*Vindication of the Boston Ministers*, p. 7.

† Dr. Douglass looked upon Mr. Mather as the cause of its being undertaken, at whom, with his accustomed moroseness, he levelled his blunt sarcasms. In writing to Dr. Colden, May 1st, 1722, he says: "Having, some time before the Small-pox arrived, lent to a credulous, vain Preacher, Mather, Jr., the Philosophical Transactions, Nos. 339 and 377, which contain Timonius' and Pyllarinus' accounts of Inoculation from the Levant ; that he might have something to send home to the Royal Society, who had long neglected his communications, as he complained, he sets Inoculation to work in June ; by 18 Nov. 100 were inoculated, and by January, in all, some few more than 250, in Town and Country." That the doctor here disguised the truth somewhat, will presently be seen. Dr. Boylston remarks :

"As the practice was new in Europe, so it must needs make a strange figure in New England, and more especially so when one or two of our learned Esculapian tribe had made the discovery how this practice would produce the Plague. They cavilled and said that Dr. Mather had not given a fair representation from Timonius' and Pyllarinus' accounts. I prayed that they might be read ; but Dr. Douglass, who owned them, and had taken them from Dr. Mather, refused to have them read, or even afterwards to lend them to the Governor to read ; such was his extraordinary care, lest the People in time should have been reconciled to the practice, and taken the benefit of it."

Thirty years after, Dr. Douglass acknowledged that in 1721 he "was a sort of novice in the Small-pox practice, and that he confided too much in Dr. Sydenham's practice, which he gradually corrected." — *Summary*, ii. 394.

‡ Dr. Boylston speaks thus upon his entering upon Inoculation : "Dr. Mather, in compassion to the lives of the people, transcribed from the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, the Accounts sent them by Doctors Timonius and Pyllarinus of inoculating the Small-pox in the Levant, and sent them to the Practitioners of the Town, for their consideration thereon. Upon reading of which I was very well pleased, and resolved in my mind to try the experiment ; well remembering the destruction the Small-pox made 19 years before, when last in Boston ; and how narrowly I then escaped with my life."—*Histor. Account, Introd.* This agrees with the following :

On the 6th of June, 1721, Dr. Mather addressed the physicians of the Town, requesting them to meet and to consult whether Inoculation should be undertaken or not ; "that whoever first begins this practice," he concludes, ("*if you approve that it should be begun at all*) may have the concurrence of his *worthy Brethren* to fortify him in it."—*A Vindication of the Ministers of Boston*, p. 8. But "the Physicians never met nor consulted about it." —*Ib.*

§ There were 10,568 inhabitants in Boston,

efit of Inoculation in the most striking manner. And Doctor Boylston very clearly demonstrates that the six lost under Inoculation were so circumstanced, that, had they lived, their recovery might well have been classed with miracles. * That he was both sincere and confident in the outset, is proved by his beginning the practice with inoculating his own family. His little son Thomas, only six years of age, was the first upon whom the great experiment was tried. Then his negro man, aged thirty-six, and a negro boy only two and a half years. Before proceeding with others he waited to see if the effect would be satisfactory. It proved eminently so. "It was plain and easy to see," he observes, "with pleasure, the difference between having the Small-pox this way, and that of having it in the natural way."

June 26.

With that singularity for which Dr. Cotton Mather was so remarkable, he proclaimed, in the Life of his Father which he published soon after this visitation of the Small-pox, that that Minister "expressly fortold that an heavy judgment was impending over Boston that would speedily be executed." This prophecy the Son says the Father made "in an awful sermon" which he preached in September, 1720. † The Author might with as much propriety have claimed the gift of prophecy for himself; for, only one year before the Small-pox broke out, he preached from a Text which he characterized as "a very Awful Text;" on which occasion he gave his hearers to understand that "the people were a languishing if not a perishing people," about "to fall into very grievous Distresses." However, he was content on this occasion to give the credit to another. ‡

The Small-pox was a serious check to the prosperity of Boston; but in the midst of its ravages James Franklin commenced a Newspaper,

4,549 of whom lived in the north part of the Town, that is, north of the Mill Creek; and 6,018 to the south of it. — *Snow*. Dr. Douglass says: "In the Spring of 1722, by order of the Select-men, Mr. Salter made a perlustration of the Town of Boston. He reported 10,670 souls." He gives the number of those who died of the Small-pox as in the text, and adds: "About the same number fled from Boston [to avoid it]; thus we may estimate about 12,000 people in Boston at its arrival." — *Summary, &c.*, i. 530.

* Of the 286 persons who received Inoculation, 36 lived in the vicinity of Boston. Of the 36, Dr. Thomas Roby, of Cambridge, inoculated about 11, and Dr. Thompson, of Charlestown, about 28. Dr. Roby was a son of William Roby, of Boston, and was a distinguished mathematician, and had been a Professor in Harvard College. He was of the same family as Judge Samuel Roby, of Hampton, N. H. He died at Salem, 28 August, 1729, in the 41st year of his age.

† As it was almost a constant practice with the ministers of those days to preach "awful sermons," there is nothing very remarkable in that a sickness, a fire, or other misfortunes, should happen after some of them.

‡ It is a curious fact that Inoculation was begun in England the same month it was begun in Boston. — *Hutchinson*. It is equally worthy of remark that it was introduced by the celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montague. She "observed the Turkish invention" in her then late travels in the East, and had suffered from the effects of the contagion herself. But she met with almost as much trouble as Dr. Boylston. She began, like him, with her own child too, — a little daughter, Mary, aged about six years. "What a thankless enterprise it was, nobody is now in the least aware." "Four great Physicians were deputed by the Government to watch its progress with her daughter, with an evident unwillingness to have it succeed; manifesting a spirit of rancor and malignity." — *Letters and Works of Mrs. Montague*, ed. Paris, 1837, i. 64—5. The little girl on whom the experiment was made, was afterwards Lady Bute, wife of the celebrated minister of George III., so conspicuous in advocating the measures against the Colonies which brought on the Revolution.

called the New England Courant, which was the third established in the Town.* The general opinion then appears to have been that
Aug. 17. a third Newspaper was altogether unnecessary; and some believed Franklin commenced it to be revenged on the publisher of the Gazette, the printing of which he had taken from Franklin. In the Courant appeared papers rudely attacking the practice of Inoculation; and essays, which in these days would be denominated rather *liberal*, while at that time they were denounced in severer terms. The clergy took offence, and Dr. Increase Mather came out against the Courant in the Gazette, calling it the "Vile Courant," and said "he could well remember when the Civil Government would have taken an effectual course to suppress such a cursed libel." † The Doctor had commenced taking it, but after a few numbers he refused it indignantly.

It was to James Franklin, then a young man only twenty-five years of age, that Benjamin Franklin was apprenticed, and it was in his Paper, the Courant, that the latter, about sixteen years of age, begun his career as a writer. The Courant appears to have been very well patronized, but it was as much in advance of the age as Dr. Mather's "Thunderbolt" was behind it; and some reflections contained in it being construed into "a high affront to the Government," its publisher was imprisoned, though his Paper went on under the management of Benjamin. ‡ Franklin was imprisoned about four weeks, and then, upon an apology, and bonds for his good behavior for twelve months, he was set at liberty, and his paper was put under the supervision of Mr. Willard, the Secretary of the Province. Franklin, however, published his

* Its imprint is, "Boston: Printed by James Franklin, in Queen Street, where Advertisements are taken in." Franklin's shop was on the north side of what is now Court-street, near the easterly corner of Franklin-avenue. Here, long within my recollection, stood a Bookstore, over the sign of which was a bust of Franklin. Wells & Lilly were many years Booksellers at 18 Court-street, to whom succeeded S. Burditt and F. Sales, about 1832; J. W. Burditt's, No. 27, was the Franklin Bookstore, 1828–35.

† Mr. Everett, in his *Boyhood and Youth of* [*Dr.*] *Franklin* (Works, ii. 26), says: "The Thunderbolt of the offended Patriarch fell as harmless at young Franklin's feet, as the grenado had at [his] son Cotton's. It was behind the age." Mr. Everett had previously mentioned the fact that in the time of the excitement against Inoculation, a "*grenado*" was thrown into one of Cotton Mather's windows. Consult Hutchinson for other particulars.

‡ The proceeding against Franklin was of the most arbitrary kind, because the "reflection" complained of would hardly have furnished a pretence in a far more despotic age than this was. But the government had taken offence, and were determined to crush the Paper at all events; it therefore seized upon the matter in question, fearing, probably, that none better would offer. The offensive matter was contained in an article purporting to have been written in Newport, R. I., and related to an expedition to be sent from Boston in pursuit of pirates, who had been seen in the beginning of June, 1722, about Block Island. The government at Boston had had timely notice of the pirates, and appear to have used the utmost despatch in fitting out a vessel to go in pursuit; while, in the Newport communication, printed in the Courant of 11th June, occurred these words: "We are advised from Boston, that the Government of Massachusetts are fitting out a ship to go after the pirates to be commanded by Capt. Peter Papillon, and 'T IS THOUGHT HE WILL SAIL SOME TIME THIS MONTH, WIND AND WEATHER PERMITTING."

Notwithstanding it was said in the same number of the Courant, that above 100 men had been enlisted, and that Capt. Papillon would probably sail that day, the General Court on the next day proceeded to prosecute Franklin as above stated, and for the words I have printed in capitals. See *Mr. Everett's Address, as before cited*, p. 44, who has corrected an important inadvertence of Doctor Thomas, in his excellent History of Printing, and added much valuable new matter, and to whom I am much obliged for kindly directing my attention to them.

Paper without the approval of his articles by the Secretary, and consequently "a bill of indictment was some months after preferred against him." To relieve himself from this dilemma, James Franklin published his Paper in the name of his apprenticed brother, Benjamin. This apparent change was made about the middle of January, 1723, and, from anything which appears to the contrary, the Courant continued to be so published until the beginning of 1727, when it ceased.*

Of Franklin's Courant no perfect file or series is known to exist. Copies of this and similar papers and other documents would not only be of immense value in the Archives of Boston, but in those of every town in New England. Has even Boston to this day any Archives, properly so called? Not any! The Inhabitants must look to this. The Authorities have never yet looked to it. There are good records of what *they* have done; but what do those records tell else? It is by the Newspapers, Pamphlets, Handbills — every kind and description of them — that the rise, progress and importance, of a place is to be learned. Can the Authorities or anybody else point to the building in the City containing anything of the kind? † Let those answer who can. But this is not the place to speak of the subject as it should be spoken of. It may in due time be urged elsewhere, in a manner demanded by its vast importance.

The "Ministers of Boston" were so seriously aggrieved by the "Abuses and Scandals lately cast upon them, in Divers Printed Papers," that they came out in January with "A Vindication," purporting to have been written "By some of their People." Though Franklin's Courant was evidently the chief source of annoyance to them, yet there had been some "foolish" pamphlets issued equally annoying.‡ The pamphlets were chiefly upon the Inoculation question, of which there were several.

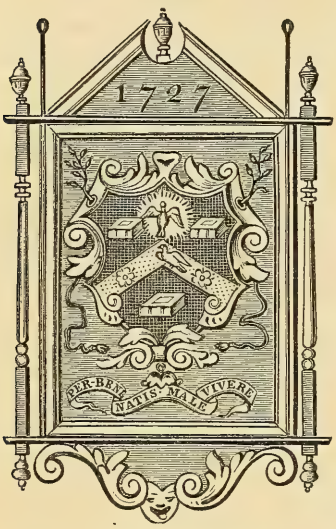
* James Franklin subsequently settled in Newport, R. I., and there, on the 27th of Sept., 1732, issued a Newspaper, the first ever published in that Colony, which he called the "Rhode Island Gazette." — *Thomas.* From an advertisement in the *New England Weekly Journal* of 11 *Dec.* 1727, it appears that Franklin printed the first Almanack in that place; or, as the advertisement says: "Being the first that was ever published for that meridian." Sold by him in Newport: "also by John Franklin, Tallow Chandler, in Cornhill, Boston." This John was the oldest brother of James, by Abiah Folger, the second wife of his father.

† This in reference to anything provided by and for the City. There are indeed a few small collections in private hands, but they are nothing compared with what might and should be.

‡ The Authors of the Vindication say, "Above all, we wonder at a Weekly Paper, which has been, and now is, Published, either *designedly* to affront our Ministers, and render them Odious; or else, it has hitherto wretchedly deviated from its *ultimate Intent*, and been notoriously prostituted to that *Hellish Servitude*. We know no Nation under the Sun, that has so openly and assiduously insulted the Ministers of their GOD; and been so strenuous, in their Endeavors, to make them despicable and detestable to their *People*, as the Authors of this scandalous Libel." They directly charge "John Williams, tobacconist," of saying, "The Ministers have generally revolted from the good old way, and have set up a way that their Fathers knew not of * * They are *revolted and gone* * * *Defective in Morals.*" In the Courant, No. 23: "Most of the Ministers are for it, and that induces me to think it is from the Devil." In No. 25: "The Instruments of mischief and trouble both in Church and State, from the Witchcraft to Inoculation." This the "Vindication" thought was enough "to make the most professed *Libertine* blush."

CHAPTER LVIII

Singing in Churches. — Town Surveyed by Bonner. — Map. — Christ's Church. — Great Inundation — Way on the Neck Fenced. — An aged Indian. — Death of Increase Mather. — Destruction of Pirates. — Indian War. — Capt. Cornwall. — Great Storm. — First Insurance Office. — Capt. Lovewell. — Indian Treaty. — Depravity. — Execution of Pirates. — Hoop Petticoats. — The Pirate Fly. — Death of Benj. Franklin. — Traffic in Slaves. — Another Newspaper Established. — Death of the King. — A Violent Storm. — Earthquake of 1727. — Scotch Irish Arrive. — Church in Long-lane.



PHILLIPS.‡

THE subject of singing in Churches was at the same time making considerable talk both in Town and Country. Some thought it a great innovation, and not to be tolerated. The Society in Brattle-street, however, had been singing for several years; but it was many years after this before singing anything except paraphrased Scripture was allowed, as may be observed in its proper order.*

An accurate Survey was made of the Town this year, from which an elegant Map was engraved. The enterprising undertaker was "Capt. John Bonner," and his Map was the basis of all other plans of the Town for many years.† William Price was interested in the sale of the Map, and had a shop "against y^e^ Town-House" as late as the year 1727, and perhaps later.

* The Rev. Thomas Symmes, of Bradford, wrote this year a tract in favor of "regular" Singing. It was not printed, however, till the next year. It was accompanied by a recommendation as follows: — "We the *Subscribers*, willing to Countenance and promote *Regular Singing*, or Singing by Note, Do signifie our Approbation of the Substance and Design of the *Ensuing Dialogue*." Signed by Thomas Blower of Beverly, Samuel Moody of York, John Rogers of Bradford, John Tufts of Newbury, and Thomas Foxcroft of Boston.

† It is entitled "The Town of Boston in New England, By Capt. John Bonner, 1722. *Ætatis Suæ* 60." At the foot is the following: "Engraven and Printed by Fra: Dewing. Boston, N. E., 1722. Sold by Capt. John Bonner and Will^m^ Price against y^e^ Town House, where may be had all sorts of Prints, Maps, &c." Its scale is that of 10 inches to the mile, nearly. It also contains these interesting statistics; that the Town contains "42 streets, 36 lanes, 22 alleys, near 3000 houses; 1000 brick, rest timber; near 12,000 people." In 1835 George G. Smith, Esq., caused a beautiful fac simile of Capt. Bonner's map to be made. In 1743 "Capt. John Bonner" was living in Mackerel Lane [Kilby-st.], near the foot of Milk-st., "in a good double house, late the estate of Deacon Samuel Marshal."

‡ This was the Sign of "John Phillips, Bookseller, at the Stationer's Armes on the Southside of the Town-House." It is taken from a copper-plate shop-bill, struck on paper 7 by 4½ inches. The Sign occupied the top of the bill, and underneath it Phillips says he "Sells Bibles large & small, Testaments, Psalters, (Psalm books with Tunes or without) Singing books & School books, with Books of Divinity, Philosophy, History, Navigation, Physick, Mathematicks, Poetry, &c., also Pressing Cartridge & Writing Paper, Books for Accounts or Records, Ink, Quills, Sealing-wax, Inkhorns, Spectacles, Letter-cases, w^th^ other Stationary wares and all sorts of Cutlery ware, at y^e^ lowest prices *by Wholesale or Retail*. Old books are also new Bound." For a copy of this curious shop-bill I am indebted to Andrew Johonnot, Esq.

John Phillips died in Boston, 30 March, 1763, a. 62, and was buried with great cere-

July 26. War was proclaimed at Boston against the Eastern Indians, which has been denominated "The Three Years' Indian War."

The Episcopalians had become so numerous that the King's Chapel could not contain them, and another Church was therefore resolved upon. Agreeably to notice given by Mr. Miles of the Chapel, a meeting was held in that house on the following Wednesday, at which Mr. John Barnes was chosen Treasurer, Thomas Graves, Esq., Mr. George Cradock, Mr. Anthony Blount, Mr. John Gibbins, Mr. Thomas Selby, and Mr. George Monk, were chosen a Committee to receive Subscriptions for a building. A piece of ground had already been purchased at the North End, and in the following April, the Corner Stone of the Second Episcopal Church was laid by Mr. Myles, and in December following it was dedicated by the Rev. Timothy Cutler, who was its first Rector.* Such was the origin of Christ's Church.

Sept. 2.

1723. April 15.

Dec. 29.



CHRIST'S CHURCH.

The architecture of Christ's Church has been much admired, and justly so, and it still stands a fine ornament to the north part of the City, though changed by various repairs, to some ex-

mony. See *News-Letter*, 28 April, 1763, where there is a long account of him. In 1734, Nathaniel Belknap and John Phillips, "stationers in Cornhill," were executors to the will of Mrs. Abigail Belknap.

* The succession of Rectors : —

Timothy Cutler, settled 29 Dec., 1793, d. 17 Aug., 1765.

James Greaton, settled 30 May, 1759, left 31 Aug.,1767.

Mather Byles, Jr., settled 22 April, 1768, left April, 1775, d. in St. John, N. B., 12 Mar.,1814.

Stephen Lewis, settled Aug., 1778, left Sept., 1784.

William Montague, settled April, 1786, left May, 1792.

William Walter, settled 29 May, 1792, died 5 Dec., 1800.

Samuel Haskell, settled May, 1801, left Sept., 1803.

Asa Eaton, settled 23 Oct., 1803, left May, 1829.

William Croswell, instituted 24 June, 1829, left June, 1840, d. 9 Nov., 1851.

John Woart, instituted 1 Nov., 1840, left 1851.

William T. Smithett, instituted 1851.

When this Church was founded, it is stated that there were about 400 regular attendants on its services; while the purchasers of pews were but 53, of whom Dr. Snow gives the following list : —

William Abraham,
Joseph Amey,
Anthony Blount,
Bissell,
[Joseph ?] Ballard, Bedgood,
Thomas Bennet,
Walter Brown,
George Barrow, Boulderson,
Daniel Crackford,
William Clarke,
Isaac Dickenson,
Timothy Daniel,
Thomas Graves,
Mary Gibbs,
Increase Gatchell,
[John ?] Hooton,
John Howard,
Robert Harris,
William Hislop,
Robert Harrison, Hender,
North Ingham,
[Robt.?] Jenkins,
William Jones,
James King, Lawlor, Moall,
Gillam Phillips,
William Patten,
William Priggs,
John Petell,
William Price,
Thomas Price,
George Pemberton,
Henry Pigeon,
Stephen Perks,
John Rachell,
Nicholas Roach,
William Rideout,
George Skinner,
Edward Stanbridge,
John Sowerby,
Arthur Savage,
Adam Tuck,
Robert Temple,
Thomas Tippen,
Mary Tomlins,
Henry Venner,
Maj. [Leonard] Vasall,
Robert Ward,
Abraham Winter.

The earliest Wardens, according to Dr. Eaton, were : —

1724–5 Thomas Graves,
1726 Anthony Blount,
1727 Edward Watts,
1728 Leonard Vassal,
1729 Gillam Phillips,
1730 George Monk,
1731 William Patten,
1732–4 William Price,
1735 John Hooton,
1736 Robert Jervis,
1737 Robert Jenkins,
1738 Edward Lutwyche,
1739–40 Hugh McDaniel.
1741 John Hammock, John Joanes,
1742 Robert Temple,
1743–6 Robert Jenkins, Robert Gould,
1747 John Baker,
1747 Alex. Chamberlain,
1748 Capt. Grushea,
1749–50 John Gibbs,
1751 Joseph Ballard,
1752 John Pullen,
1753 Giles Tidmarsh,
Then the same names

tent. Its original steeple was blown down in the violent gale of October, 1804; but it was soon rebuilt under the direction of Charles Bulfinch, Esq., who preserved the proportions and symmetry of the old one, as far as practicable.* There is in this Church a bust to the memory of Washington, — the first monument ever erected to his memory in the Country.

In 1744, Christ's Church was furnished with a "Peal of eight Bells," and it was for a long time the practice to chime them several nights previous to Christmas, — "ringing the Old Year out and the New Year in."†

The death of Mr. Robert Calef occurred this year. His name has descended to this age, and will always be remembered for the able manner in which he exposed the absurd proceedings against persons accused of witchcraft. Justice was withheld from him in his day, and traces of his unpopularity are discoverable in several proceedings of the Town. His work exposing the witch delusion was published in London in 1700; probably no Bookseller in Boston would undertake it, from fear of sharing with the Author in his unpopularity. To expose a delusion in which almost the whole community were believers, was an undertaking requiring not only a mind of firmness, but one of conscious rectitude also. These were attributes, it is believed, of the mind of Robert Calef.‡ Another circumstance shows him to have been in advance of his age, which was his favoring Inoculation for the Small-pox; several of his children being inoculated by Dr. Boylston, in 1721.

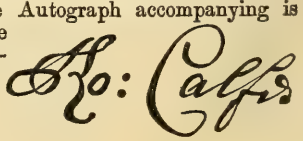
recur to 1760, when Thomas Ivers came in; 1763, Francis Shaw; 1767, Daniel Malcolm; 1782, James Sherman and George Bright.

* The Church is 70 feet long, 50 wide, and 35 high; walls 2½ feet thick; area of steeple 24 feet; brick tower 78 feet high; spire 97 feet; in all, 175 feet. The amount of the original subscriptions towards its erection was £737, 18*s.* sterling, contributed by 214 persons.

† The aggregate weight of these bells is 7272 pounds. On each of them is an inscription, showing that they were presented in 1744, "by a number of generous persons." On one is this valuable piece of history: — "We are the first Ring of Bells cast for the British Empire in North America. A. R. 1744." On another, "William Shirley, Esq., Governour, 1744." The subscription for their purchase was obtained in 1743 and 4 by "Iohn Hammock, Robt. Temple, Robert Ienkins and Ino. Gould, Church Wardens." On another, "Abel Rudhall, of Gloucester, cast us all. Anno 1744."

On the 28 Dec., 1823, Rev. Asa Eaton, D. D., preached a Century Discourse in Christ's Church, which was published; from which the above is taken.

‡ He was 2d son of Robert Calfe of Roxbury, who died 13 April, 1719, and was a merchant of Boston, and died after April, 1722, and before Feb., 1723. He m. Margaret Barton, 23 Dec., 1699, who d. before 11 Sept., 1744. They had eight or more children, most of whom died young. James was living, though not in the Province, when his mother died. Ann married —— Green, and had several children; Margaret m. —— Star, and had four or more children. Our Robert Calfe left a will, dated 2 Jan., 1720, proved 18 Feb., 1722–3. He wrote his name *Calfe*, when he signed his will, and elsewhere, although in his "More Wonders of the Invisible World" it stands as in the text. He had a sister Martha, m. to Solomon Hews, 28 Sept., 1700, and Mary, m. to Mr. Samuel Stevens, 9 Oct., 1712. Joseph Calfe of Boston, tanner, nephew of our Robert, was appointed administrator of his grandfather's estate, 3 June, 1720. This Joseph was son of Joseph, who was the eldest son of Robert of Roxbury, clothier. The Autograph accompanying is copied from the will above mentioned.



Feb. 24. An exceeding high tide overflowed all the low parts of the Town and did great damage.*

To avoid accidents to travellers by losing their way in coming and going over the Neck, the Town made an effort to have the road fenced in. The General Court, having been applied to, caused it to be done. It cost about fifty pounds, which was put into the hands of William Payne, Esq., "to satisfie the labourers, and to pay for the posts and rails used therein."

Aug. 25. An Indian named John Aquittamong, a Nipmuck, residing near Woodstock, visited Boston in August of this year, having attained the great age of 112 years. He was entertained at Judge Sewall's and Judge Dudley's; and notwithstanding his great age he was intelligent and active. He remembered coming to Boston the year it was settled by the English; saw them digging a cellar for the first house. Hence he was born in 1611, and was nineteen years old in 1630. He lived about two years after this visit; dying on the twenty-first of July, 1725.† When he last visited Boston he was able to walk ten miles a day.

Aug. 23. The death of Dr. Increase Mather marks an era in 1723. He was in the eighty-fifth year of his age; had preached sixty-six years, and presided over Harvard College about twenty. He was a voluminous Author, though his works are generally small, chiefly Sermons and Essays.‡

The play of "throwing the long bullets" on the Common is forbidden; and no person to dig sand, earth or stones, at Fox-hill, or "the Ridg near thereto, between that and Windmill-hill in the Common."

* It is thus described by Dr. Cotton Mather: "It rose two feet higher than ever had been known unto the Country, and the City of Boston particularly suffered from it incredible mischiefs and losses. It rose two or three feet above the famous Long Wharf, and flowed over the other wharves and streets to so surprising an height, that we could sail in boats from the Southern Battery to the rise of ground in King-street, and from thence to the rise of ground ascending toward the North Meeting-house. It filled all the cellars, and filled the floors of the lower rooms in the houses and warehouses in Town."—*Hist. Colls.*, ii. 11. It was very common in those days to call Boston a City. Dr. Holmes thinks this inundation happened in 1724, and that Dr. Mather used the old style; but I think, had that been the case, Mather would have written 1723–4. Besides, I find no allusion to the matter in some Newspapers consulted, printed then in Boston. Again, Dr. Mather says it was on "the Lord's day," and Lord's day did not happen on Feb. 24th, 1724, but it does fall on the 24th of 1723.

† "Forty years before [this] he had been remarked as an old Indian. He constantly affirmed that in 1630, upon a message from the English that they were in want of corn, soon after their arrival, he went with his father to Boston, and carried a bushel and a half of corn all the way upon his back; that there was then only one cellar begun in the Town, and that somewhere near the Common."—Hutchinson, ii. 306. Not knowing, perhaps, that Aquittamong lived two years after this visit, Mr. Hutchinson compares his death to that of the famous Thomas Parr; inferring that it happened immediately after his journey, which is not correct, and the cases are not at all parallel. Parr is said to have been killed by being feasted during a visit to London.

‡ The last of his publications was in 1722, according to his Biographer. For many years he used to speak in his discourses "as a dying man." In a Preface which he wrote to Mr. Webb's "Sermon to a Society of young men" in 1718, he says, "Seven and fifty years are the next week expired, since I began my ministry in Boston. It is matter of constant humiliation that I have done so little good in so long a time. It is also matter of rejoicing, that I shall leave those to succeed me, who I hope will exceed me in serviceableness to Christ and his People. The Lord grant it may be so. Boston, Aug. 28, 1718." There is a pedigree of the family in the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* for 1852.

March 9. The Selectmen begin the practice of opening Town-meetings with prayer. Dr. Cotton Mather at this time officiated.*

May 3. On the third of May the Town was thrown into much surprise by the arrival of an unknown vessel in the harbor, and it was soon found that it had been captured from pirates. A few young men, who, having been forced into the service of the dreaded sea-rover, Capt. John Phillips, seizing an opportunity, killed him and his principal men, somewhere about the Banks of Newfoundland, and sailing hence, succeeded in reaching Boston in safety with their prize, and six of the pirates as prisoners. The names of the courageous men who had thus ridden the seas of one of its worst scourges, were Capt. Andrew Harridon, of Boston, Edward Cheesman, ship carpenter, John Fillmore, of Ipswich, a Spanish Indian, taken with Harridon, and two or three others not mentioned by name. These men were chiefly taken out of fishing-vessels. They found great difficulty in making the arrangements to effect their liberty, but after a captivity of near nine months, they succeeded as already intimated.†

There appears to have been but three principal actors in the tragedy on the part of the liberators; namely, Cheesman, Fillmore and the Indian. Harridon was so overcome with fear that nothing was allotted to him to perform. At twelve of the clock at noon the attempt

April 14. was to be made, as then the officers were usually upon deck. The signal was given by Cheesman, which was to seize the Master, named Nutt, and throw him into the sea, which he did; at the same moment, Fillmore split out the brains of Phillips with an axe, and the Indian seized Turrell, the boatswain, around his arms, and so held him till his head was cleft with the axe. All was the work of a minute; the rest of the pirates were secured, six in number, all of whom were afterwards tried, condemned and executed.‡

John Fillmore, so conspicuous in this capture of pirates, was the great grandfather of Millard Fillmore, ex-President of the United States.§

The American seas continued to be almost constantly infested with pirates. The Sea-horse man-of-war, Captain Durell, was stationed here, and made occasional expeditions in pursuit of them; but with what success is not mentioned. ‖ There was at the same time a dis-

*I do not remember to have noticed any earlier mention of the custom upon the records.

†This account of the pirate Phillips is deduced from the Narrative of John Fillmore and the Boston Gazette of 1724. There is considerable discrepancy between them. Fillmore's was drawn up many years after the occurrence, and apparently from memory, altogether. It is destitute of dates, and contains but few names, and I have regarded the Gazette as more accurate in these respects.

‡The following, taken from the Boston Gazette of June 8th, probably has reference to the fate of two of Phillips's men: "On Tuesday the 2d instant, were executed here, for piracy, John Rose Archer, Quarter Master, aged about 27 years, and William White, aged about 22 years. After their death they were conveyed in boats down to an island, where White was buried, and the Quarter Master was hung up in Irons, to be a Spectacle, and so a warning to others." Bird Island is believed to have been the usual place for burying and gibbeting such malefactors.

§This information I had direct from Mr. Fillmore himself, several years ago.

‖On the 25th of July, "Mr. William

tressing Indian war in the eastern coasts, attended with the usual miseries, and loss of life and property. Soon after war was declared, the Government offered 100 pounds bounty for every Indian scalp, or for every Indian killed, and occasionally scalps were brought into Boston, exhibited on poles, and the reward claimed. Towards the end of December, Capt. John Lovewell, of Dunstable, brought in one scalp and a captive, and received the bounty.*

Aug. 10. A fire destroyed a large warehouse near Oliver's Dock, but it was prevented from spreading by several buildings being pulled down. The loss was considerable, and several men were much hurt.

Aug. 21. The man-of-war Sheerness, Capt. James Cornwall, arrived in port. She was the "station-ship." How long Captain Cornwall continued here is not known. He was afterwards actively employed in various expeditions until 1743, when he was killed on board his ship, the Marlborough, of 100 guns, while gallantly supporting Admiral Matthews in his bloody engagement with the Spanish and French fleets off Toulon.†

Nov. 23. In the end of November, a storm of great violence from the south-east did immense damage to the wharves and shipping, "some vessels being wholly ruined, others had their heads or sterns broke, some their masts, and several boats stove in pieces. A boat was overturned in the harbor, and one man drowned. A barn was blown down, and a horse killed in it. Several chimneys were also blown down." ‡

Mr. Joseph Marion established an Insurance Office in Boston, which appears to have been the first in the Town, and probably the first in New England.§

Chambers, Lieut., Mr. Gilfoy, Master, and Mr. Roberts, Master's Mate, of his Majesty's Ship Sea-Horse, sailed from this port to the Eastward in quest of the Indians; the former, Commander of a Sloop, and the two latter, Commanders of two Schooners with 4 men each." — *Gazette* of 27 July, 1724. Nothing appears to have been effected by this expedition. — *Hutchinson.*

"Aug. 1st being the Anniversary of His Majesty's happy accession to the Throne, the Guns at Castle William and on board His Majesty's Ship Sea Horse were discharged, and the Day concluded with Demonstrations of Joy on so joyful an occasion." — *Ib., Aug.* 3*d.*

How long Capt. Durell remained on this station is not mentioned; but in 1731 he commanded the Exeter of 60 guns, and was with Sir Charles Wager in the Mediterranean. Afterwards he had command of the Kent, a 70 gun ship, and was ordered with Admiral Vernon against Porto Bello; but the order as to him was countermanded, and he was sent on other service. In an action with a Spanish 70 gun ship he lost one of his hands. He died at sea 23 Aug. 1741. — *Charnock*, iv. 82–3.

* According to Hutchinson, Lovewell arrived in Boston June 5th, 1725. He made a second expedition soon after, in which he killed 10 Indians, the scalps of all which he brought to Boston on March 3d following. A more full and particular account of Lovewell's last and famous expedition may be found in the *Gen. Regr.* for 1853, than in any other work.

† A costly monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey, the inscription on which, among other things, details that he was "the third son of Henry Cornwall, of Bradwarden Castle, in the County of Hereford, Esq., who was descended from the very old and illustrious stock of the Plantagenets." — *Biographia Navalis*, iv. 131, and Schomberg's *Naval Chronology*, i. 206.

‡ *Boston Gazette*, 30 Nov. 1724. No. 262.

§ The General Court Journal of Dec. 1720, contains the following interesting facts respecting Mr. Marion: "A Memorial and Representation of Joseph Hiller and Samuel Tyley, Publick Notaries for the County of Suffolk, shewing that Mr. Joseph Marion, of Boston, Scrivener, takes upon him the character and office of a Public Notary, under pretence, as is commonly said, of a Commission from his Grace the Arch Bishop of Canterbury, request the Court to interpose, and do therein as may seem meet, etc. Ordered, that the said Marion

Mar. 30. Early this Spring died Mr. Ambrose Vincent, a gentleman of note and much respected. He was for many years "A Waiter of the Customs," and at his decease was "Marshall of Admiralty." *

The Indian war continued with great fierceness throughout most of the year 1725, but in the beginning of May the hostile Indians met with a blow from which they never recovered. Capt. John Lovewell,

May 8. at the head of about forty men, penetrating far into the northern wilderness, met the main body of the enemy upon their own ground, at a place called Pigwocket, when there followed one of the most bloody encounters, considering the numbers engaged, anywhere recorded. The leaders on both sides were killed, as were their principal followers, yet the Indians were beaten, and in October following, a large deputation from the eastern Tribes proceeded to Boston, where, by previous arrangements, they had agreed to appear to make a treaty of peace.

Dec. 15. A formal Treaty was signed in the Council Chamber, to which the names of Sauguaaram, Arexus, Francis Xavier, and Magunumba, on the part of the Indians, appear. Lieut. Gov. William Dummer signed on the part of Massachusetts, Lieut. Gov. John Wentworth on the part of New Hampshire, and Major Paul Mascarene as Commissioner on the part of Nova Scotia.

Bears were uncommonly numerous this autumn. In the month of September it was stated that not less than twenty had been killed in the course of one week within two miles of Boston.†

A case of singular depravity was detected and summarily punished. In the course of the preceding October, "a lad of about seventeen years of age" enticed into by-places three little children, barbarously whipped and otherwise abused them. Some days after he was accidentally seen passing along the street by one of them, who gave timely notice, and he was arrested and put into bridewell. On his trial in

Feb. 26. the Superior Court, at the February term, the severe sentence decreed to the culprit may be taken as an indication of the enormity of his offence. He was ordered "to be whipped thirty-nine

be notified, that he may be heard before this House to-morrow at 9 o'clock." Mr. Marion having appeared acording to this order, and being requested "to produce his Commission from the Arch Bishop, did so; whereupon the Court resolved that no one had authority to grant such license of Notary except this Government, and the said Marion was accordingly ordered not to practise as Notary any further."

In 1728 Mr. Joseph Marion's office was near where the Globe Bank now is, in State-street, where he advertised that proposals might be seen "for the erecting an Assurance Office for houses and household goods from loss and damage by fire, in any part of the Province, by the name of the *Sun Fire Office in Boston*." — *Weekly Jour.*

Joseph Marion was son of Dea. John M., who d. 3 Jan., 1728, in his 78th year, whose wife was Anna, dau. of John Harrison, rope-maker. Deacon Marion belonged to the First Church.

Marion-street, I suppose, perpetuates the name.

* He was in his 47th year. He left a wife, Sarah, who died very suddenly 14 March, 1728; "as she was walking home from making a visit, dropped down in the street," and died soon after. Mr. Charles Apthorp was one of the executors of Mr. Vincent's will. There was an Ambrose Vincent living in Bromfield's Lane in 1743. The same, perhaps, who died 16 Mar. 1800, Æ. 87, and was buried in King's Chapel burying-ground.

† *Newspaper.*

lashes at the cart's tail, twelve at the gallows, thirteen at the head of Summer-street, and thirteen below the Town-house; and to be committed to bridewell for six months."*

This was the age of "Hoop Petticoats," but, judging from an advertisement in Franklin's Courant, they had been pretty severely attacked, and the assault was probably continued until they surrendered without conditions. †

July 12. Three men were executed for piracy; the principal of whom was William Fly, the tragical story of whose life and death has been often published to the world. He was boatswain to the Snow Elizabeth, of which John Green was commander. In May preceding,

May 27. as they were upon their voyage from Jamaica to Guinea, Fly, having united with him several of the crew, cast the captain and mate into the sea, took the Snow, changed its name to the Fame's Revenge, and "set out pirating." Their career was short, however. Having coasted up into the New England seas, and captured several vessels, they made a pilot of one William Atkinson, whom they took out of a sloop on the coast of North Carolina. Atkinson submitted quietly to a fate he could not avoid, and, though closely watched by Captain Fly, he succeeded in organizing a mutiny to rescue the vessel out of the hands of the pirates, and to liberate himself and the other captives. Only three are named whom he enlisted in this dangerous service. Their names were Samuel Walker, Thomas Streaton, and James

June 29. Benbrook. The plan succeeded, and the ship was retaken without bloodshed, and soon after arrived in Boston, where the pirates were tried, condemned and executed. Four were sentenced to die, but one was reprieved at the place of execution.

The dead bodies of the pirates were, as was then the custom, carried to an island about two miles from the Town, and there buried, except that of Fly, which was hung in chains upon a gibbet. ‡ Six of the piratical crew had been put on board a prize shortly before Atkinson's successful attempt, and were absent, or he very probably could not have effected it.

1727. Mar. 17. The well-known and worthy inhabitant, Mr. Benjamin Franklin, died this Spring. He came to this country in 1715, and was brother of Mr. Josiah Franklin, and uncle of Doctor Benjamin Franklin; of whom the latter made honorable mention in his

* Franklin's *Courant* of 26 Feb. 1726, as quoted by Mr. Buckingham *in his Specimens*, etc., i. 87.

† "Just published, and sold by the Printer hereof. *†* Hoop Petticoats. Arraigned and Condemned by the Light of Nature and Law of God. *Price 3d.*"

‡ It was customary then to preach sermons to condemned criminals. Sometimes they were taken into the Meeting-house and seated upon a stool in the broad aisle. Dr. Colman preached to these, except Fly, who would not attend with the others. The discourse is entitled "*A Sermon preached to some miserable Pirates, July* 10, 1726. *On the Lord's day, before their Execution.*" To the sermon is appended a Narrative of the affair, from which the facts in the text are taken. The names of those executed with Fly were Samuel Cole and Henry Greenvill. "Fly, at his trial, as well as before and after it, behaved boldly and impenitently; and when the cart came to take him to execution, he briskly and in a way of bravery jumped up into it, with a nosegay in his hand, bowing with much unconcern to the spectators as he passed along; and at the Gallows he behaved still obstinately and boldly till his face was covered for death."

autobiography.* He was by trade a silk-dyer, at which business he served an apprenticeship in London.

This year opened with a melancholy occurrence; the accidental death of several young persons.†

The traffic in Slaves appears to have been more an object in Boston, than at any period before or since. For a time dealers had no hesitation in advertising them for sale in their own names. At length a very few who advertised would refer purchasers to "inquire of the Printer, and know further." This indicated an early prejudice against the trade; and in a few years dealers suppressed their names altogether.‡

Mar. 20. A fourth Newspaper was commenced, called "The New England Weekly Journal." Its imprint reads, "Boston. Printed by S. Kneeland, at the Printing-House in Queen Street, where Advertisements are taken in." It was issued on a half sheet of foolscap, two pages, two columns on a page, chiefly in brevier type. When the Journal had been published four months, the name of "T. Green" was associated with that of Kneeland as one of its publishers, and it was thus continued till it was united with the Gazette in 1741. The Gazette was discontinued in 1752. The Rev. Thomas Prince is thought to have had a good deal to do with the starting of the Weekly Journal. It advocated the Rev. George Whitfield in the controversy which was

* He is thus handsomely and respectfully spoken of in the *N. Eng. Weekly Journal* of 27 March, 1727: — "On Monday last was decently Interred the Remains of Mr. Benjamin Franklin, who dyed here on Friday the 17th Instant, in the 77th Year of his age. A person who was justly Esteemed and valued as a rare and exemplary Christian; one who loved the people and Ministers of CHRIST: His Presence in the House of GOD was always solemn and affecting, and though he courted not the observation of men, yet there were many that could not but take notice of, and admire the peculiar excellencies that so vividly adorned him." Mr. Sparks gives the time of his birth (22 Mar. 1650) but not that of his death. He was probably born 1650–1, which agrees with his age as given at his death.

† How these deaths occurred has not been ascertained. They are thus mentioned in a note to a Sermon on the death of two of them, by Rev. Thomas Prince. In the title-page of his Sermon, Mr. Prince says it was "Occasioned by the very Sudden Death of two young gentlemen in Boston, on Saturday, January 14th, 1726–7." — The Note referred to follows: "On January 14th, Mr. Samuel Hirst, aged 22, and Mr. Thomas Lewis, aged 32. Besides these two that were the occasion, a third falls out this very day, a fortnight after, viz.: Mr. Simon Bradstreet, aged 20." Mr. Hirst was a son of Grove Hirst, Esq., a grandson of Judge Sewall. Mr. Bradstreet was probably son of Dudley Bradstreet, who married Mary Wainwright, grandson of Dudley B. of Andover, and great-grandson of Gov. Simon Bradstreet.

‡ A few advertisements as specimens follow: — "A likely young Negro man for sale by John Brewster, at the Sign of the Boot near the Draw Bridge." May 15th, 1727.

Benony Waterman had "a parcel of likely Negroes" for sale, to be seen at Capt. Nathaniel Jarvis's house, near Scarlett's wharf. June 12th.

Andrew Treat, "several likely young Negroes" for sale at "Mr. Brownes on Milk St." But if anybody wanted to see him, "he might be enquired for at Capt. Nath. Jarvis's at the North End."

"John Miliken, in Hanover St." offered a very likely young Negro woman. June 19th. — Benj. Poole, of Reading, advertised a Negro man who had run away from him. — Benj. Muzzy, of Lexington, suffered in the same way. His slave spoke "very good English, about 26 yrs. of age; had no hat on, but a horse-lock on the small of one of his legs, and was lately a servant to Mr. John Muzzy, of Mendon."

Mr. James Lubbuck, of Boston, chocolate grinder, living near Mr. Colman's Meeting-house, offered £3 reward to anybody who would catch his Negro.

Jo Daniels, an Indian man-servant, ran away from Mr. Josiah Bacon, of Boston, sawyer. Said Daniels was a tall, slim fellow, and had on a pair of leather breeches. Oct. 16th.

Mr. John Plaisted, near the Mill-bridge, wanted to sell a Negro, lately arrived from

raised by his preaching here and elsewhere in New England.* Mather Byles, then a young man, wrote much for it, in prose and poetry. He was at this time the greatest poet in New England; or, at least, he wrote the greatest amount of poetry of any one.

Aug. News reached Boston that the King was dead. He died on the night of the tenth of June, at Osnaburgh, in Westphalia, at the age of sixty-seven years and thirteen days. He was succeeded by his only son, as George the Second. Mr. Prince was invited to preach a sermon on the occasion, which he did, "In the Audience of the Great and General Assembly of the Province," and which was "Published at the Desire of the Honorable House of Representatives." Mr. Byles published a Poem on the same occasion, surcharged with that kind of panegyric so common at that day. †

Sept. 18. On the eighteenth of September occurred a violent storm, which caused very considerable damage to the wharves and shipping. A kitchen chimney of Mr. Sheafe's blew down and beat in the roof, which killed a child about seven years of age, wounded two others, broke Mrs. Sheafe's leg, and otherwise bruised her, to that degree that her life was in danger.

Oct. 29, 30. The greatest Earthquake which had ever occurred in New England, since it was known to Europeans, was probably that which happened on the night of the twenty-ninth and the thirtieth day of October. There were two great shocks; the first was about a quarter before eleven o'clock at night, "which was the most surprising and awful for the space of about two minutes, when the earth shook and trembled to a very great degree. The houses rocked as if they would have fallen down, and the people, being amazed, ran out into the streets, calling upon the Lord for mercy." The doors, windows and movables, "made a fearful clattering." The pewter and china were thrown from their shelves. Stone walls and the tops of chimneys were thrown down, doors were unlatched and thrown open, and people with difficulty kept upon their feet. It extended all along the coast, and in the West Indies it did great damage.

Dec. 11. Governor Burnet appointed a Fast to be kept on the twenty-first of December, "throughout this Province, on account of the late surprising and amazing Earthquake; and the repeated shakings of the Earth."

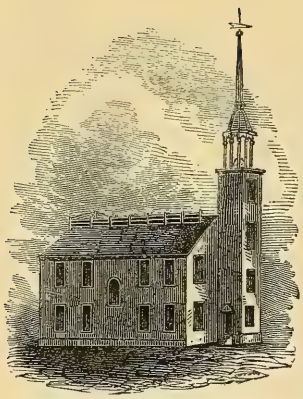
A Church of Presbyterians was this year established in Boston; at the head of which was the Rev. John Moorhead, a young man about twenty-three years of age, who arrived from Ireland with a considerable number of followers, chiefly Scotch, but who had lived some time

Guinea. Oct. 23. At the same time Augustus Lucas, of Newport, offered a Negro man and woman for sale, both young and strong.

Col. Penn Townsend died in Aug., a. 75; he had long been a distinguished Magistrate.

* See Thomas, *Hist. Printing*, ii. 225–7.

† "Thee every muse and every grace deplores,
From Thames' banks to these Atlantick shores.
Each bard his grief in gliding accents shews,
And fairest eyes distil their crystal dews.
O! were my breast flushed with an equal fire,
Vast as my theme, and strong as my desire!" &c.



FEDERAL-STREET CHURCH.

in and about Londonderry in Ireland.* They were driven from the latter Country by the impositions of exorbitant landlords; and although they were a good acquisition to this place, being industrious and orderly, and in time introduced several valuable arts and improvements among the people, yet they at first met with a cold reception, being viewed as inferiors and intruders.

These emigrants purchased a lot of ground at the corner of Berry-street and Long-lane, and converted a barn which stood on the ground into a Meeting-house. This was in 1729, and this humble edifice served them for a place of worship until 1744; although in the mean time two small additions, in the shape of wings, were added to it. In the year last mentioned a substantial and convenient Church was built, after the fashion of the Churches of that time, as represented by the engraving annexed.† And with that old Church there is much of interest associated; it was within its walls that Delegates met in Convention to decide whether Massachusetts should accept of the Federal Constitution proposed for the United States; and it was here that it was finally accepted, on the seventh of February, 1788. It was owing to this circumstance that the name of Long-lane was changed to that of Federal-street.

The old or second House was of wood, the tower fronting on Federal-street. The present Gothic structure was completed, on the site of the old one, in the course of 1809.

The Rev. David Annan was the next Pastor after Mr. Moorhead. He was installed in 1783, and was dismissed, at his own request, by the Presbytery, in 1786, and was afterwards settled over a Church in Philadelphia. In the period succeeding the death of Mr. Moorhead and the settlement of Mr. Annan, occurred the war of the Revolution, during which regular preaching was interrupted. After the evacuation of the Town by the British in March, 1776, the Rev. Andrew Croswell was employed to preach to this Society. In 1787, Dr. Jeremy Belknap was installed over this Church, he having taken a dismission from

* Mr. Moorhead was born near Belfast in Ireland in 1703; was an honest, blunt man, much beloved and respected. He died on the 2 December, 1773, having preached the Sunday preceding. He married, here, Miss Sarah Parsons, an English lady, who survived him about a year. One of their children, Mrs. Agnes Wilson, widow of Capt. Alexander Wilson, was living in Boston in 1824.

† There was in this Church, probably at an early period, an inscription giving some historical facts respecting it. It was a mixture of Latin and English, and may be seen in Dr. Douglass' *Summary*, i. 368. Dr. Channing gives it the following intelligible reading: — "This Church of Presbyterian Strangers was congregated Anno Dom. 1729. This building was begun Anno. Dom. 1742, and finished Anno. Dom. 1744, by a small but generous number. (Hujus fundamen saxum est. Domus illa manebit. Labilis è contra si sit arena peribit. Gloria Christi lex nostra suprema. Desiderio J. M. Anjus ecclesiæ, Christique pastor) and first preached in May 6th."



WILLIAM BURNET.

a Parish in Dover, New Hampshire, for that purpose. He was an eminent Scholar and Historian. "Before the settlement of this gentleman, but not at his instance, or with any view of inviting him in particular, the Society, which had become reduced to a small number, had relinquished the Presbyterian regimen, and embraced the Congregational order."

Dr. Belknap died suddenly on the twentieth of June, 1798, aged fifty-four.* He was succeeded by the Rev. John Snelling Popkin, D.D., who, in 1802, being appointed to the Greek professorship in Harvard College, was succeeded by the Rev. William Ellery Channing, D.D., who was ordained June the first, 1803. The Rev. Ezra Stiles Gannett was ordained there in 1824.†

The General Court projected a bill for fortifying the Sea-ports of the Colony. Owing to the scarcity of money, a new emission of bills of credit was proposed; 30,000 pounds of which was to be loaned to Boston for a term of thirteen years, 10,000 pounds of which it was to lay out on the forts and in stores.

The Act of 1716 having proved insufficient to cause a proper observance of Sunday, additional Acts were this year passed. Transgressors were to be fined, which if they would not or could not pay immediately, they were to be put into jail, "or set in the Cage or Stocks." People were forbid keeping open shops "the evening preceding the Lord's day or evening following." Swimming "in the water," unnecessary "walking or riding in the streets, lanes or highways, or Common Field of the Town of Boston," &c., were in like manner prohibited, under stipulated penalties.‡

Several arrivals on the closing days of the year brought the most appalling intelligence of the destructions by the late earthquake in the West Indies. Captain Cooper came in from Barbadoes on the 25th of December, with the news that "the day before he left there the houses were in great convulsion, and the streets arose and fell like the waves of the sea." Six days after, Captain Wickham arrived in about thirty days from Martinico, with the report that on the 27th of October, at noon, many buildings were shaken down and several Negroes killed. At four o'clock the same day there "was another terrible shock; which were repeated almost every day till the 10th of November, on which day, being in a boat," he thought the whole Island would be swallowed up. The hills and mountains upon it rose and fell in a surprising manner. The damage sustained was "estimated at 40,000 millions of livres."

* There is an interesting reminiscence of Dr. Belknap in Dr. Griswold's late magnificent work, "The Republican Court." — Belknap-street at the westerly part of the city was so named from the grandfather of the Doctor. Dr. Belknap was born in Boston, 4 June, 1744. He died of paralysis, having been attacked about 4 o'clock in the afternoon of 19th, and died a few minutes before 11 the next day. His wife was Ruth, dau. of Samuel Eliot, bookseller, and his mother was a niece of Mather Byles. His father was a leather-dresser, whose place of business was in Ann-street. Dr. Belknap lived in Lincoln-street. There is a fine tribute to his memory in the *Columbian Centinel* of July 4th, 1798.

† For the principal facts in this account of the Federal-street Church I have been chiefly indebted to the Appendix to Dr. Channing's Sermon on the Ordination of Mr. Gannett.

‡ *Province Laws*, edition 1742, p. 266—8. Was this law ever literally executed?

CHAPTER LIX.

Accidental Deaths. — Death of Dr. Cotton Mather. — Duel on the Common. — Its Cause, and Circumstances attending. — Arrival of Gov. Burnet. — His Family. — His Refutation of Catholicism. — His Death. — Number of Inhabitants. — Traffic in Slaves continued. — Trinity Church. — Stamp Offices. — Old South Church Rebuilt. — The General Court removed to Salem. — Gov. Dummer. — Gov. Belcher. — Small-Pox. — Death of Judge Sewall. — Termination of the First Century. — Discourses relating to the Event. — Heirs of Thomas Goffe. — Hollis-street Church founded. — Powder Regulation. — Lotteries Suppressed. — Deaths of Daniel Oliver, Bartholomew Green, John Jekyll.



WILLIAM BURNET.*

THE year 1728, like the last, commenced by several accidental deaths. Two boys, George and Nathan Howell, skating "at the bottom of the Common," were drowned. Being the only children of highly-respected parents, great sympathy was expressed by the inhabitants for the severe bereavement; and when the news of it was carried to Dr. Watts, on the other side of the Atlantic, he sent the mother a beautiful letter of condolence.†

Jan 8.

Another death, though not casual, happened early this year, which occasioned a greater sensation throughout the Town than almost any other since its settlement. This was the death of the Rev. Cotton Mather, D. D. and F. R. S., a man possessing extraordinary endowments of mind. His faculty for acquiring all kinds of knowledge has seldom been equalled; but his credulity led him into extravagances, which some have used to his discredit; and his want of judgment in ordinary things has subjected him to severe censures, which time may materially soften. ‡

Feb. 13.

* The family of Burnets, to whom our Governor of the name belonged, though originally Saxons, is traceable to high antiquity in the south of Scotland. Bernard, Burnard, Burnet, Burnett, &c., appear to have the same origin. Alexander Burnet, the great-grandfather of the Governor, was the tenth proprietor of Leys. In 1673, there was living at Newton-Morrell, in the North-Riding of Yorkshire, William Burnet, Gent., who bore the same arms as the family of the Governor. There is an interesting notice of Gov. Burnet in Dr. Eliot's *N. Eng. Biographical Dictionary;* also in Dr. Allen's work.

† The parents of these children were Nathan and Katherine (George) Howell. The boys were, one about 14, and the other about 15 years of age. Portraits of them are in the Library of the N. Eng. Hist. Gen. Soc. — See *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, i. 191, and *N. Eng. Week. Jour.*, 15 Jan. 1728.

‡ The decease of Dr. Mather is thus noticed at the time of its occurrence. "Last Tuesday in the Forenoon, between 8 and 9 o'clock, died here, the very Reverend COTTON MATHER, Doctor in Divinity of Glasco, and Fellow of the Royal Society in London, Senior Pastor of the Old North Church in Boston, and an Overseer of Harvard College; by whose Death Persons of all Ranks are in Concern and Sorrow. He was perhaps the principal Ornament of this Country, and the greatest Scholar that ever was bred in it. — But besides his universal Learning; his exalted Piety and extensive Charity, his entertaining *Wit*, and singular *Goodness of temper*, recommended him to all, that were Judges of real and distinguished Merit. After having spent above *Forty-seven years* in the faithful and unwearied Discharge of a lively, zealous and awakening *Ministry*, and in incessant Endeavors *to do Good* and spread abroad *the Glory of* CHRIST, he finished his Course with a *Divine Composure and Joy*, the day after his *Birth-Day*, which completed his *Sixty-Fifth* year, being born on Feb. 12, 1662–3." — *N. Eng. Weekly Journal*, 19 Feb., 1728. A very particular pedigree of the Mather family has appeared in a new edition of the *Magnalia*, published at Hartford, by Messrs. Andros & Son, this present year, 1855.

As the death of Dr. Mather caused universal emotion, so the extraordinary marks of honor and respect paid to his memory, at his funeral, are additional proofs of the high consideration in which he was held by his contemporaries. The publications of the time, Newspapers and Funeral Sermons, bear ample testimony both to his worth and renown.*

While upon the subject of deaths, notice may be taken of one other in this place; which was that of a young man, Benjamin Woodbridge, who fell in a duel.† It being the first death thus brought about in Boston, so far as can be ascertained,‡ created a great excitement. His murderer was also a young man, whose name was Henry Phillips. They were both merchants, and belonged to very respectable families. The immediate cause of the encounter which resulted in the death of Woodbridge, and "which set the Town in mourning," was a falling out between him and Phillips at the tavern of Luke Vardy in King-street, called the Royal Exchange Tavern. A number of young men had been in the habit of assembling at that noted house for the purpose of gaming and drinking.§ Here, on the night of the third of July, the before-named individuals were fitted for shedding each other's blood. Accordingly, between ten and eleven of the clock in the evening, they met alone on the Common, "near the water side," fought

July 3.

* In the *Weekly Journal* is given the following account of his funeral: — "On Monday last the Remains of the late very Reverend and Learned Dr. Cotton Mather, who dec'd on Tuesday the 13. Instant, to the great Loss and Sorrow of this Town and Country, were very honorably interred. His Reverend Colleague in deep Mourning, with the Brethren of the Church walking in a Body before the Corpse. The Six first Ministers of the Boston Lecture supported the Pall. Several Gentlemen of the bereaved flock took their turns to bear the Coffin. After which followed, first, the bereaved Relatives, in Mourning; then his Honour the Lieutenant Governor, the Honourable His Majesty's Council, and House of Representatives; and then a large train of Ministers, Justices, Merchants, Scholars, and other principal Inhabitants, both of Men and Women. The Streets were crowded with People, and the windows filled with sorrowful Spectators, all the way to the Burying place: Where the Corpse was deposited in a Tomb belonging to the worthy Family." — *Ib.*, 26 Feb., 1728.

The burial place of the family is at Copp's Hill.

Cotton Mather.

† He was a son of Hon. Dudley W., of Barbadoes, the same mentioned by Hutchinson, probably, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 402; and therefore grandson of Rev. Benjamin W., of Medford, by Mary, dau. of Rev. John Ward, and great-grandson of Rev. John Woodbridge of Newbury, by Mercy, dau. of Gov. Thomas Dudley. — *Memoranda* of Mr. John Dean, a descendant of Rev. Benj. Woodbridge. — See *N. E. H. and Gen. Reg.*, ix. p. 93.

‡ "This new and almost unknown case (in this country) has put almost the whole Town into great Surprise." — *N. E. Weekly Journal*, 8 July, 1728.

§ Three days after the tragical event, Dr. Colman preached a Sermon on "the late bloody Duel," which he introduces with the words "Death and the Grave *without any order*." His Text was (Prov. ii. 15, 16), "My son, walk not thou in the way with them," &c. With his accustomed ability he treated the subject of intemperance and its consequences. Addressing himself to young men especially, he said, "But the sad and dismal disorder which the righteous God permitted to fall out among us the last week, horrible to mention, and to be bewailed with *tears of blood*, leads me into a more particular Address unto our Young People, and to the Elders with them. — See the hasty and cursed fruit of criminal Disorders, in a double murder of a late hopeful and promising youth, who was heretofore of Us, a child of great expectation; but he went out from us, and ran himself into the paths of the Destroyer, and an untimely death. — Duels are the Devil all over, who was a murderer from the beginning. — Children, beware of forming yourselves into nightly or daily *Tavern-clubs*; or even into such weekly or monthly Societies for meeting and spending your evenings in drinking together and gaming. — Gaming and Wine incite and inflame to Duels. So it was in the *late* lamented calamity. What a hideous story is it!" &c. p. 14–15.

with swords, and Woodbridge was run through the body and immediately killed. Phillips fled at once to his brother Gillam Phillips, who, with the aid of their kinsman, Peter Faneuil,* Adam Tuck† and Capt. John Winslow,‡ conveyed him on board the man-of-war Sheerness, then ready to sail. The murderer thus escaped. He got to Rochelle, in France, the home of some of his relatives, but he lived only a year to reflect on the deed which had not only made him the most wretched of all the wretched, but to reflect also upon the distress and anguish his conduct had carried to the bosoms of all his friends and the friends of his victim.

July 4. The body of Woodbridge was not found until the next morning. A Coroner's inquest was immediately held upon it,§ and Governor Dummer issued a Proclamation for the apprehension of Phillips.‖ A new law was made to prevent duelling, providing that persons engaged in any way in a duel, though no injury was done to either party, should, upon conviction, "be carried publicly in a cart to the gallows, with a rope about his neck, and set on the gallows an hour, then to be imprisoned twelve months without bail." The person who should be killed to be denied "Christian burial," but to be buried "near the usual place of execution," "with a stake drove through the body." The survivor to be treated as a wilful murderer, and to be buried in like manner, "with a stake drove through his body."

* Peter was brother-in-law of G. Phillips. — Sargent in *Ev. Trans.*, 26 April, 1851.

† Tuck and Gillam Phillips belonged to Christ Church, or owned pews there. The former is styled farrier, and died in 1739, intestate. He appears to have had an extensive business, and the inventory of his estate amounted to about £1300. He had a brother John, and a Robert (Tucke) is mentioned in the probate account.

‡ Capt. Winslow allowed them the use of his boat to convey Phillips on board the Sheerness.

§ The original *finding* of the Jury being brief, and at hand, is here copied: —

"Suffolk ss. An Inquisition Indented, Taken at Boston," &c. "Before William Alden, Gent., One of the Coroners of Our said Lord the King," &c., "upon the view of the Body of Benjamin Woodbridge, then and there being dead, by the Oaths of Daniel Powning, William Wheeler, Giles Dulake Tidmarsh, William Randall, John Taylor, Sam'l Oakes, Jacob Sheafe, Wm. Young, Sam'l Torrey, Josh. Blanchard, William Rand, Sam'l Kneeland, Benj. Bridge, James Boyer, Wm. Lambert, Abraham Wendell, Jr.; Good and lawful men of Boston," "who being sworn, upon their Oaths say, that Benjamin Woodbridge came to his death with a Sword run through his Body by the hands of Henry Phillips of Boston, Merchant, on the Common in s[d] Boston, on the 3d of this inst., as appears to us by sundry evidences. — July 4th, 1728."

‖ The Proclamation was published in the *Weekly Journal* of July 8th. The preamble is thus expressed: — "Whereas a barbarous Murder was last night committed on the body of Mr. Benjamin Woodbridge, a young gentleman resident in the Town of Boston, and Henry Phillips of said Town is suspected to be the Author of the said Murder, and is now fled from Justice; I have," &c. At the close the Proclamation states, — "The said Henry Phillips is a fair young man, about the age of 22 years, well set and well dressed, and has a wound in one of his hands."

The age of Woodbridge was but about 19; presuming him to be the same person mentioned by Dr. Boylston in 1722, and who was inoculated by him for the Small-pox on the 11th of May of that year. The connections of Phillips being rich and influential, he was easily conveyed away by them, and they were not called to account for it.

It is mentioned, in the account of the Duel in the *Weekly Journal* above cited, that the body of Woodbridge was found "about 3 in the morning, after some hours' search, near the Powder-house in the Common. The body was carried to the house of Mr. Jonathan Sewall (his partner), and on Saturday last [July 6th] was decently and handsomely interred; his funeral being attended by the Commander in Chief, several of the Council, and most of the Merchants and Gentlemen of the Town."

July 19. Governor Dummer being succeeded by William Burnet, Esq.,
July 25. as Governor, the latter soon after entered upon the duties of the office.* His arrival was enthusiastically hailed, but his administration was full of difficulty; not, however, from any faults of his. The people had long since determined never to submit quietly to Royal Governors.† His troubles here were brief. He died on the seventh of September, 1729.‡ He was son of Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salis-

* Mr. Mather Byles issued a Poem on the Governor's arrival, which thus opens: —

"While rising Shouts a gen'ral Joy proclaim,
And ev'ry Tongue, O BURNET, lisps thy name;
To view thy Face, while crowding Armies run,
Whose waving Banners blaze against the Sun,
And deep-mouth'd Cannon, with a thund'ring roar,
Sound thy Commission stretch'd from Shore to Shore."

This is tame compared with the following:

"Welcome, Great Man, to our desiring eyes;
Thou Earth! proclaim it; and resound, ye Skies!
Voice answering Voice, in joyful Consort meet,
The Hills all echo, and the Rocks repeat:
And Thou, O BOSTON, Mistress of the Towns,
Whom the pleas'd Bay, with am'rous Arms, surrounds,
Let thy warm Transports blaze in num'rous Fires,
And beaming Glories glitter on thy Spires;
Let Rockets, streaming, up the Ether glare,
And flaming Serpents hiss along the Air," &c.

No person had hitherto made a public entry into the Town, probably, when there had been anything like the honors shown him that were now exhibited for Mr. Burnet. The following notice of it, written at the time, gives a vivid picture of what the Bostonians of that day did to honor a Royal Governor's arrival.

His Excellency arrived at Newport on the 11th of July, "about ten at night," in a schooner from New York. Here the next day he was received with great ceremony. On the following Monday [July 15th], a writer at Newport says, "His Excellency took his leave of our Gentlemen, acknowledging his very handsome reception; which put the Government to the willing expense of about £500; for the Taverns where His Excellency was entertained were ordered to keep open house all day, and the Governor [of R. I.] ordered the Treasury to lie open also. In short, this Government never more exerted itself than on this occasion."

His Excellency proceeded the same day to Bristol, "and was entertained at Colonel Paine's." On the 17th he set out for Boston, "accompanied by the Gentlemen who went from hence on the 15th, and several others. All along the road there was handsome provision made for him and his company, who had a comfortable journey. The next night, Thursday, July 18th, they came to Dedham, where he was received with all possible preparations at the house of the Rev. Mr. [Samuel] Dexter.* On the morning of the following day the house was surrounded with a vast collection of gentlemen, to attend and guard His Excellency to Boston; in his progress to which he was met near the George [a Tavern having a sign of the King, in Boston, near the line dividing Roxbury from Boston], by the Honorable Lieut. Governor, the Gentlemen of the Council, etc., who all stepped out of their coaches and congratulated His Excellency's arrival with all the expressions of an undissembled joy. Here His Excellency was received and welcomed by Col. Dudley's regiment. About twelve o'clock, with the attendance of fine troops, a vast number of gentlemen on horseback, and a great number of coaches and shaies, he was ushered into Boston, with a splendor and magnificence superior to what has ever been known in these parts of the world. At one of the clock, His Excellency was received by the Boston militia, with a train of Magistrates, etc., and conducted to the Court-house, where his Commission was opened and received with uncommon joy. Then the artillery at the Castle and forts, and the cannon in the ships were discharged amidst the shouts and huzzas of an almost numberless multitude. After this His Excellency was conducted to the Bunch of Grapes a few doors from the Town-house." He issued his proclamation the same day. The Province House not being ready for his reception, he was accommodated at the house of Elisha Cooke, Esq.

† His successor told the General Court, "that the King considered them as having attempted, by unwarrantable practices, to weaken, if not to cut off the obedience which they owed to the Crown." And yet Mr. Breck said, in his Election Sermon of the 29th of May of this year, "At the demise of our late most gracious Sovereign, of blessed memory, none paid a larger tribute of tears" than this Province, and "none more heartily rejoiced at the accession of his present Sacred Majesty."

‡ His wife had died in New York at the close of the last year. News reached Boston in June, that by a ship at that port Mr. Burnet had received a Commission transferring him to the Government of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. On the 20th of the same month the "General Assembly" appointed a Committee "to repair to the confines of that part of the Government which it may appear probable His Excellency may first arrive at," to escort him to Boston, and £200 were voted to be put into the hands of Mr. Sheriff

* He was ordained over the First Church in Dedham in 1724. The end of the first century from the establishment of the Church occurred on the 23 Nov. 1738, upon which occasion Mr. Dexter delivered a Discourse which contains many important facts. It was printed the same year. Mr. Dexter died 29 Jan. 1755. His family pedigree is in the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, viii. 248.

bury; the since well-known author of "Memoirs of his own Times," "The Thirty-nine Articles," "Life of the Earl of Rochester," and other works of less note.

Governor Burnet possessed good literary attainments, and, though he made considerable pretensions to a knowledge of theology, he was tolerant and liberal for the times. While he resided in Boston he wrote and published an "Answer to a Letter of a Romish Priest," which was viewed as a triumphant refutation of Popery.* Five years after the Governor's death, the General Court voted his children the sum of 3000 pounds as justly due their father.

The ratable polls in Boston were at this time estimated at 3000.† The number of burials for the year ending in March was 379 whites, and 106 blacks. Early in the year a Mr. Nathaniel Pigot proposed to open a school near Mr. Checkley's Meeting-house for the instruction of Negroes. A good deal of business continued to be carried on in the Town in buying and selling slaves.‡

Winslow to be used in defraying the expenses of his reception, etc. The Committee of reception consisted of the "Hon. William Tailer, Esq., Nathanael Byfield, Esq., Samuel Thaxter, Esq., Spencer Phips, Esq., Mr. Secretary Willard, William Dudley, Esq., and John Wainwright, Esq."

His demise is thus noticed in the *New Eng. Weekly Jour.* of Sept. 8th: — "Last Tuesday [Sept. 2] Gov. BURNET was taken ill at his house in Boston, of a feverish distemper, which quickly threw him into a degree of the *coma;* and last night, at 25 minutes after 10, to our very great surprise, he expired, in the 42d year of his age."

The funeral of Governor Burnet was a great display of respect to his memory, and cost the Province about eleven hundred pounds. It was conducted in the manner of such observances in England. From the arrangements it appears that he had in his family two sons, a daughter and "sisters," a steward named George Burnet, and a French instructor. These were to be dressed in mourning. Gloves and rings were distributed to a large number, and gloves only to still larger numbers. Among the former were included the members of the General Court, ministers of King's Chapel, three doctors, the bearers, President of the College, and the women who laid out the body. Among the latter were the twelve Under Bearers, Justices, Captains of the Castle and Man-of-war, Custom-house Officers, Professors and Fellows of the College, and Ministers of the Town, who attended the funeral. Wine "needful" for the Boston regiment was furnished. The Castle and Battery guns were discharged.

Giving scarfs at funerals had been prohibited by the General Court in 1724, "because a burdensome custom."

* The Refutation in question was printed without the Governor's name. Its title is 'A Letter from a Romish Priest in Canada, to One who was taken Captive in her Infancy, and Instructed in the Romish Faith, but Sometime ago returned to this her Native Country. With an Answer thereto, by a Person to whom it was communicated."

It may be interesting to the readers of the History of Boston to have an explanation of the Letter above referred to. Fifteen years ago (18 April, 1840), my then venerable friend, Dr. T. M. Harris, of Dorchester, put into my hands a copy of the Jesuit's Letter, etc., upon a blank leaf of which was written, in the autograph of Dr. Belknap, the historian, the following, which he extracted from the "Evening Post" of 15 March, 1773: "Died at Dover, Mrs. Christina Baker, born there in March, 1688–9; and when the Town was taken and destroyed by the Indians in June following, she was carried captive with her mother to Canada, and there brought up in the Romish faith; married and had several children; but upon her husband's death, a strong desire led her to return to the land of her nativity, upon an exchange of prisoners in 1714. Upon her return she married Capt. Thomas Baker, then of Northampton, where she renounced the Romish religion, and joined with the Church under the care of the Rev. Solomon Stoddard. An attempt was made to recover her by Mons. Siguenot, a Romish priest, who sent a long and affectionate letter to her from Canada; which being laid before the late Governor Burnet, his Excellency wrote a solid and judicious confutation of the erroneous principles therein advanced." The person which the Jesuit endeavored to reclaim was a daughter of Richard Otis. — See *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, v. 181, etc.

† Douglass, *Summary*, i. 521.

‡ The dealers mentioned last year continued to advertise Negroes, and there were often new arrivals: April 1st. "Mr. Henry Richards" wanted to sell "a parcel of likely Negro boys,

April 25. Steps appear to have been taken about the end of April for the formation of a third Episcopal Church.*

Land was at this time purchased of William Speakman at the corner of Summer-street and Bishop's-alley, now Hawley-street, by Leonard Vassall, John Barnes, John Gibbens, apothecary, who were "with all convenient speed immediately" to erect a Church on it, to be contrived in a manner "most conducing to the decent and regular performance of divine service, according to the rubrick of the Common Prayer Book, used by the Church of England, as by law established." The advance of this Church was, however, very slow. Six years elapsed before its corner-stone was laid.† The pulpit was supplied by the Ministers of the other two Churches generally, until 1740; in which year, on the eighth of May, Mr. Addington Davenport became its regular Minister. It had received the name of Trinity Church. The first officers were William Speakman and Joseph Dowse, Wardens; Lawrence Lutwych, Charles Apthorp, William Coffin, James Griffin, John Marrett, Henry Laughton, Peter Kenwood, John Arbuthnot, Benjamin Faneuil, Rufus Green, Philip Dumaresq, Thomas Aston, and John Hamack, Vestry-men; John Crosby, Clerk; John Hooker, Sexton.‡



TRINITY CHURCH.

Stamp offices were expected to be established in New England. News had reached Philadelphia, about the end of December, that Sir William Keith had obtained the grant of a commission to set up such offices. This unwelcome news was published in Boston in the course of the following month. §

and one girl, arrived from Nevis, and were brought from Guinea." "To be seen at the house of Mr. Elias Parkman, mast-maker, at the North End." April 22d. "Two very likely Negro girls. Enquire two doors from the Brick Meeting-house in Middle-street. At which place is to be sold women's stays, children's good callamanco stiffned-boddy'd coats, and children's stays of all sorts, and women's hoop-coats; all at very reasonable rates." These are merely given as a specimen from a large number; but I do not remember to have seen any other notice of Hoop-coats and Negroes being for sale at the same shop.

* "By reason that the Chapel is full, and no pews to be bought by new comers."

† Upon which was engraved, "Trinity Church. This Corner Stone was laid by the Rev. Mr. Commissary Price, *the 15th April*, 1734." *Commissary* (Roger) Price derived his commissaryship from the Bishop of London. He preached the first sermon in the Church, August 15th, 1735; Gov. Belcher being present. The Bishop of London was at this time Edmund Gibson, since so favorably known as an accurate antiquary, and for his edition of the celebrated Camden's Britannia. Boston then was within the Diocese of London. Mr. Price was rector of King's Chapel. He returned to England in 1747.

‡ Succession of Rectors, after Mr. Davenport:—

William Hooper, inducted 28 Aug. 1747. d. 5 April, 1767.

William Walter, Asst. Oct. 1763, Rector 1767, left 1775.

Samuel Parker, Asst. 1774, Rect. 1799, d. 7 Dec. 1804.

John Sylvester John Gardiner, Asst. 1792, Rect. 1805, d. 1830.

Geo. W. Doane, Asst. 1828, Rect. 1830, left 1833.

John H. Hopkins, Asst. Feb. 1831, left Nov. 1832.

Jona. Mayhew Wainwright, Rect. Mar. 1833, left. Jan. 1838.

John C. Watson, Asst. 1 June, 1836.

Manton Eastburn, Rect. 1843.

John Cotton Smith.

Thomas M. Clark, Asst. 1847, left 1851.

Henry Vandyke Johns, Asst. May, 1851.

§ *New England Weekly Journal*, 27 Jan. 1729. — "All Bills, Bonds, Deeds, Writs, etc., as in England," were to pay stamp duties.

Mar. 3. The South Church was begun to be taken down, after having "stood for about threescore years." The event was looked upon as one of great and reverential interest.* A "Publick Mar. 10. Fast" was kept, agreeably to the proclamation of the Governor; in which proclamation, as in others of the time, the divine blessing was "particularly" besought in favor of "our Sovereign Lord the King, with his Royal Consort our most Gracious Queen, the Royal Issue, and the rest of the Royal Family." On the first of the month the anniversary of the birth of Queen Caroline "was observed with abundant demonstrations of loyalty and joy." The guns of the Castle were discharged, and the Governor and Council "with many other gentlemen repaired to the Town-house, where suitable provision was made for celebrating the same at the public charge."

The General Court having been transferred to Salem in October last, the people of Boston were displeased at the measure, and a motion was made at their Town-meeting in March, "That the Town would take into consideration the extraordinary circumstances of their present Representatives."† Their "respective allowances, as stated by law," were voted them, "and the further sum of 120 pounds to be equally divided between them." There had been a difference between the Representatives and the Governor, chiefly arising from the subject of a salary for the latter. But no Royal Governor was prepared to meet a people so different from the subjects he had left at home. Here they were *subjects* only in name, notwithstanding their pretensions to, and protestations of, loyalty. Consequently difficulties increased. Salaries had been fixed for Governors in all the Colonies but in those of New England. In his Speech at the opening of the Session at Salem,

* The following notice of it appeared in the *New England Weekly Journal* of 3d March, 1729: "The last Friday was kept as a day of prayer by the South Church and Congregation in this Town, upon occasion of taking down their Old Cedar Meeting-house, and building a new one of brick; which is to stand in the same place. The Rev. Mr. Prince preached in the forenoon, and the Rev. Mr. Sewall in the afternoon. Yesterday was the last time of meeting in their Old House, which has stood for about threescore years, it being built in the beginning of 1669. This day they begin to take it down." The "stone foundation was begun to be laid, March 31, 7 foot below the pavement of the street." The old house "was near 75 feet long, and near 51 wide; besides the southern, eastern, and western porches; the length of this is near 95 feet, breadth near 68, besides the western tower, and eastern and southern porches."—*Ibid.*, 28 April.

While the new house was in building, the South Society were accommodated in that of the First Church. The season for building was a remarkably fine one. — See Wisner, *Hist. Old South*, 26–7.

† "After mature deliberation" upon the motion, the records express that, "Forasmuch as the last Session of the General Court was continued to an unusual length, (viz.) from the 24th of July last to the 20th of December following, and from the 31st of October last was held at Salem, which necessarily exposed the said Representatives to unusual charge as well as great fatigue and hardships. And whereas the said Members have behaved themselves as very loyal Subjects to our most Gracious Sovereign King George the Second, and steadfastly adhered to the rights and privileges of the people of this Province, and have been hitherto extraordinarily prevented any allowances; Therefore," the vote, as recorded in the text. It should be remembered that the Governor, being thwarted in his demand for a fixed salary, would not execute the necessary documents to enable the Representatives to draw their pay; and it is well known that the Boston members were the great cause of the opposition to fixing a salary for their Chief Magistrate; and that they were instructed to persevere in their opposition by a Committee raised by the Town for that purpose; hence, to obviate the influence of Boston over the Court, the Governor convened it at Salem.

April 2. the Governor said he expected a compliance with the King's instructions in that particular, but nothing was done, and he adjourned the Court to meet in Cambridge in August following. This increased his troubles, for it was complained that he adjourned the Court from one place to another, to harass them into a compliance with his measures. Meantime he fell sick of a fever, and died, as already stated, in Boston. Some attributed his death to a severe cold which he took, a little time before, from the overturning of his carriage on "Cambridge Causeway;" by which accident he fell into the water. Others insinuated that the perplexities he had met with in his government brought on the fever of which he died.

July 19. On the nineteenth of July deceased William Welsteed, Esq., "a considerable merchant of this place, and late one of his Majesty's Justices for the County of Suffolk; a person of singular worth and usefulness." * When a young man he came near being swallowed up by an earthquake;† "he saw the Point at Jamaica sink down in a moment into the Sea, and was himself drawn out of the boiling waters by a gracious Providence for a blessing and honor to his Country."

Mr. Dummer reässumed the administration of affairs, but was superseded by Mr. Belcher‡ in August of the following year. The latter applied himself with "all his powers" for the office, and succeeded in August. obtaining a commission for it, with which he arrived in Boston in the small man-of-war Blandford, of twenty guns, Capt. George Protheroe, who had distinguished himself in the Mediterranean under Admiral Bing. Mr. Shute might have returned and taken upon him the office of Governor, but his experience of governing people here admonished him to decline it, which he very prudently did.



GOV. BELCHER.

* He was the father of the Rev. William Welsteed of the New Brick Church (see page 311), who was ordained 27 Mar. 1728, died 29 April, 1725. "Mrs. Mary Welsteed, the mother-in-law of the Rev. Mr. Welsteed, who attended his remains to the grave, was taken ill a few days after, and died on Thursday last [26 April], and was buried yesterday." — *Boston Gazette*, 1 May, 1753.

Dr. Samuel Mather preached "A Funeral Discourse after the decease of the Rev. Mr. Welsteed, who died April 29th, and Mr. Ellis Gray, who died on Jan. 7th preceding it;" but it contains no facts relative to the former, but of the latter he says he was in his 37th year. The wife of Rev. Mr. Welsteed was Mary, sister of Governor Hutchinson. See p. 227.

† See *ante*, pages 490, 493 and 521.

‡ Col. William Tailer had, however, a brief authority; his commission of Lieut. Governor having been received and published before Mr. Belcher's arrival.

The residence of Gov. Dummer was in Orange-street, near Hollis. — *Shaw*.

"At the beginning of Orange-street, next to Mr. Henshaw's, northerly, before you come to Bennet-street." — *Ibid.*, 291.

Gov. Belcher resided in Orange-street in 1732. Shaw says he resided in King-street, and that the State Bank occupied the site of his residence. I locate him by the Selectmen's books, in which they record, Jan. 12th, that "His Excellency Gov. Belcher had liberty granted him to dig up the pavement to carry a drain from his house in Orange-street," etc.

Dr. Colman preached the Lecture-sermon, Aug. 13th, following Mr. Belcher's arrival, at which the Governor was present. The day before, viz., Aug. 12th, the "Associated Pas-

The case was different with Mr. Belcher; for, though he came as the King's Governor, he was a native of Boston, and he thought perhaps, that if the emoluments of the office did not make up for the 500 pounds which he had advanced to secure the appointment of Mr. Shute, thirteen years before, which he was still out of, perhaps it might be made up in honors.

The Small-pox again visited Boston, and its ravages were extensive. It was brought here by a vessel from Ireland the preceding autumn, but was kept within the bounds of a few families until the beginning of March of this year, when, "the watches being removed, it had free course, and Inoculation was allowed." It continued till October. In consequence of which the General Court was convened at Cambridge. About 4,000 had the disease, of which about 500 died; or about one fell a victim of every eight who were seized with it. At this time, again, Inoculation was shown to be of great advantage; for those who opposed the practice hitherto, allowed that but one in thirty-three of those inoculated died.* The measles were also severe in the preceding year, and in this also, which was fatal to many, especially to the young.

Jan. 1. The very beginning of the year 1730 is marked by the death of an extraordinary man. This was the Hon. Samuel Sewall, Chief Justice of the Province. He was a scholar, possessed remarkable industry, and sterling integrity. Few men of that age, few indeed, have left to posterity a memory so fondly to be cherished, as that of Chief Justice Sewall. He was in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and had lived in New England about seventy years. Seven days after his decease, Mr. Prince of the Old South, whose parishioner the deceased was, preached his funeral sermon.† And it must be allowed that it

tors of the Town waited on His Excellency" with an Address, which, being full of loyalty, was replied to by him in a corresponding strain. The Sermon and Addresses were printed.

*Dr. Douglass, who says there was never any exact account taken of the number who had the Small-pox, or those who died of it.

†A copy of this excellent Sermon is now before me, to which is appended "An Account of the Deceased from the *Weekly News-Letter*, No. 158. CORRECTED. Boston, *January* 8, 1729–30." This account, although extracted from the *News-Letter*, was no doubt by Mr. Prince, who had had the substance of it, probably, from time to time, from the Chief Justice himself. The length of the "Account" excludes it from this note, excepting in a brief abridgment. "On the first of this instant, at half an hour past five in the morning, after about a month's languishment, died at his house here, the Honorable SAMUEL SEWALL, Esq., in the 78th year of his age; who has for above forty years appeared a great ornament of this Town and Country."

Henry Sewall, Mayor of Coventry, in the County of Warwick, England, was his grandfather. The oldest son of the Mayor, also named Henry, was the father of the Judge, and came to Newbury in 1634. Mr. Henry Sewall married (25 March, 1646) Jane, the oldest child of Mr. Stephen and Mrs. Alice Dummer, of Newbury. Mr. and Mrs. Dummer returned to England in the winter of 1646–7, and Mr. and Mrs. Sewall with them. There, at Bishop Stoke, in Hampshire, March 28th, 1652, SAMUEL SEWALL was born. His father returned to New England in 1659, and, having sent for his family, they accordingly came over, and landed in Boston on the 6th of July, 1661.

Samuel Sewall grad. H. C. 1671. On 28 Feb. 1675–6, he married Hannah, the only dau. of Hon. John Hull, by whom he inherited a large estate for that day, upon which event he settled in Boston. In 1684 he was made a magistrate. In the time of the Revolution of 1688 he was in England, but returned the next year. In 1692 he received the appointment of Counsellor, to which he was annually chosen till 1725, when he resigned; "having outlived all the others nominated" under the new Charter. He was Judge in 1692, Chief Justice in 1718, in which he con-

could have fallen to the lot of no one to perform that duty better qualified for it. He not only possessed a congenial mind with the deceased, but he had enjoyed a long acquaintance with him, and his special friendship. Judge Sewall had known Boston since 1661; he had known personally many of its Fathers, and had inquired of them concerning their first coming to settle here. Much of the information thus obtained he had noted down, and much of it he communicated to Mr. Prince.

May 27. At the May session of the General Court the same able Minister preached the Election Sermon. Whether his appointment was made in expectation that he would review the Century now about to close since Boston was settled, does not appear. Certain it is, however, the discourse then delivered is replete with historical information, and a better Century Sermon would hardly be expected, had this at the Election been so denominated. "How extremely proper it is," he said, "upon the close of the First Century of our settlement in this chief part of the Land, which will now within a few weeks expire, to look back to the beginning of this remarkable transaction."* It has been generally said, that, owing to the Small-pox, the expiration of the century was not observed in Boston. It does not appear that the Government of the Town did take any action for its celebration or observance. But, besides this Discourse by Mr. Prince, there was one by Mr. Foxcroft to the First Church, expressly for the occasion.†

The Thursday Lecture of Mr. Webb, in 1730–1, is much of the nature of a Century Sermon. It was preached "in the Time of the Sessions of the Great and General Court," and has for its introductory title, "The Great Concern of New England."‡

tinued till 1728, when he resigned. He was also Judge of Probate 1715 to 1728. His wife died 19 Oct., 1717. He m. secondly, Mrs. Abigail Tilly, and thirdly, Mrs. Mary Gibbs, who survived him. He had children only by the first, viz., seven sons and seven daughters; of whom but two of the former and one of the latter survived their father. — *Ibid.* He kept a Diary, soon to be published, it is hoped.

* To this passage the Author makes the following note: — "On Saturday, June 12, 1630, arrived in Salem river the Arrabella, with Gov. Winthrop and some of his Assistants, bringing the Charter of the Massachusetts Colony and therewith the Government transferred hither. The other ten ships of the fleet, with Deputy Gov. Dudley and the other Assistants, arrived in Salem and Charles rivers before July 11th. In the same month the Governor, Deputy Governor and Assistants, came with their goods to Charlestown. And the first Court of Assistants was held there on Aug. 23, the same year." See *ante*, p. 93.

† It is thus entitled: "Observations Historical and Practical on the Rise and Primitive State of New England. With special reference to the Old or first gathered Church in Boston. A Sermon preached to the said Congregation, Aug. 23, 1730. Being the last Sabbath of the first Century since its settlement." His text was Psalm 80. By a reference to a former page (548) it will be seen that Mr. Foxcroft had preached to the First Church about 14 years. In a note to his Preface he says, "Feb. 1716–17. By Vote of the Church I entered on stated Preaching."

‡ In this Lecture Mr. Webb lays down the following propositions: "I. We *are the Posterity of God's Covenant People;* and may with humility call the Lord God of our Fathers, *our God.* II. This God was in *a very peculiar manner present with our Fathers.* And therefore, III. It *highly concerns us*, at this day, earnestly to desire and endeavor, that *the Lord our God may be with us, as He was with our Fathers; and that He would not leave us, nor forsake us.*" Notwithstanding he afterwards says: "There are many *awful signs* of God's *gradual withdrawing from us.*" — Among the "signs" he mentions "a flood of irreligion and prophaneness come in upon us. So much terrible cursing and swearing, pernicious lying, slandering and backbiting, cruel injustice and oppression, rioting and drunkenness," etc.

The town was divided into eight Wards, in 1715. This year the matter of wards was again considered by the Selectmen, but no alteration was made in their number or boundaries; while both were enumerated and confirmed, and reëntered upon their records, "according to the assessment then agreed upon." At that time gentlemen in each ward were appointed "to visit the families in the several wards, to prevent and suppress disorders, to inspect disorderly persons, the circumstances of the poor, and the education of their children." The manner of visiting remained the same, and was performed by "the Justices, Selectmen, Overseers of the Poor, Assessors and Constables," probably without regard to their being residents of the wards assigned them.*

There had been a claim of an interesting nature hanging over the Colony many years, which was now revived. It was first urged, perhaps, in 1718, by "one Sarah Watts," of London, as heir-at-law to Deputy Governor Thomas Goffe, one of the twenty-six original Patentees of Massachusetts, in virtue of his advances to the Massachusetts Company. She claimed a twenty-sixth part of the Province; but, being baffled and foiled by the Massachusetts Agent in London, expenses were incurred, until "the poor woman was at last arrested and thrown into Newgate for debt, where she perished."† The claim, however, did not end with the life of the "poor woman," though it appears to have lain dormant until the present year. In the mean time a son of Sarah Watts had emigrated to New England and settled in Boston. He bore the name of Robert Rand, and was in the humble occupation of sail-making. He petitioned the General Court for "a grant of a quantity of the waste lands" on account of the claim; setting forth that "he was the eldest son of Sarah Watts, and next of kin, by the mother's side, to his uncle, Thomas Goffe, Esq." No notice appears to have been taken of the petition at this time. He petitioned again in 1734, at which time he says "that his great-uncle, Thomas Goffe, Esq., after large adventures and great expense in bringing forward and planting this Colony, took a voyage hither, but died in the passage.

* These early Wards were thus named and numbered: *North Ward* was No. 1; *Fleet*, No. 2; *Bridge*, No. 3; *Creek*, No. 4; *King's*, No. 5; *Change*, No. 6; *Pond*, No. 7; and *South*, No. 8.

The *North* Ward comprised all north of Fleet and Bennet streets. *Fleet* Ward, all between Fleet and Bennet streets, and Wood and Beer lanes. *Bridge* Ward, northerly by Wood and Beer lanes, and southerly by the Mill Creek. *Creek* Ward, from the Mill Creek, and southerly by the north side of Wing's lane, and from the upper end thereof, the north side of Hanover-street to the Orange Tree and the north-east side of Cambridge-street, southerly by the north side of King and Queen streets to the southward of the Writing-School house, Mr. Cotton's house the southernmost house. *Change* Ward, northerly by the south side of King and Queen streets, by the north side of Milk-street, thence the west side of Marlborough-street as far as Rawson's lane, the north side thereof and the north side of the Common. *Pond* Ward, northerly by the south side of Milk-street, thence the east side of Marlborough as far as Rawson's lane, the south side thereof, southerly by the north side of West and Pond streets, Blind lane, and thence to the north side of Summer-street. *South* Ward, northerly by the south side of Summer, down to Church Green, the south side of Blind lane, of West and Pond streets, and southerly by the Town's southern bounds.

† Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, ii. 225, who appears to have known nothing further about the matter; or he takes no further notice of it.

That the Petitioner's grandmother was sister to Mr. Goffe ; and that he is eldest son to her daughter, and is now in low and necessitous circumstances." Thus the case stood in the beginning of March, 1734 ; and in the next month his petition was granted, by allowing him 1000 acres of the unappropriated lands of the Province ; — by which grant the justness of the claim may be considered as established.

May 26. On the opening of the General Court, Mr. Samuel Fisk, of the First Church of Salem, preached the Election Sermon.*

Sept. 27. Another newspaper, called "The Weekly Rehearsal," was commenced in September of this year. It was established by the afterwards well-known Jeremy Gridley, who, however, continued it but about a year. The Printer was "J. Draper," who "took in" advertisements. In 1733, Thomas Fleet became its proprietor, who kept at the "Heart and Crown" in Cornhill. The Rehearsal was discontinued in August, 1735. It was of the usual size of papers of that time, already described.†

Notwithstanding public schools had been established from time to time, thought sufficient for the accommodation of the children of the Town, private individuals often undertook to add to those advantages by setting up others. At the beginning of this year Mr. Richard Champion was allowed to open a School, in which he proposed to teach "writing, arithmetic, navigation, and other parts of mathematics." What success he met with does not appear. ‡

As the southerly part of the Town increased in families, the want of another Church began to be felt. Governor Belcher was one of the foremost for a new Church, and proposed to give a piece of ground in Hollis-street on which to erect one. Accordingly, a meeting was

Jan. 21. held at the house of Mr. Hopestill Foster, where a Society was formed. This was the origin of Hollis-street Church. § The

*That of the previous year, at Salem, was by Mr. Jeremiah Wise, of Berwick. It was a very elaborate performance, — 54 close 8vo pages. He strongly recommended a compliance with the requests and requirements of the Rulers ; spoke with enthusiasm of the late reigning Monarchs of England, whom he prayed might "live forever." Mr. Fisk's was much in the same strain. "What Province," he asks, "subject to the British Crown, more values the Royal Family and Succession, or more constantly and heartily prays for the King, than this?"

†Fleet began another paper the following week, namely, Monday, August 18th, which he called "The Boston Evening Post," said by Dr. Thomas to be the best Newspaper then published in Boston. "Fleet," he says, "was a wit and no bigot, was not a great friend to itinerant preachers, etc. He continued it till his death in 1758, and his two sons, Thomas and John carried it on till the war stopped it, in 1775."

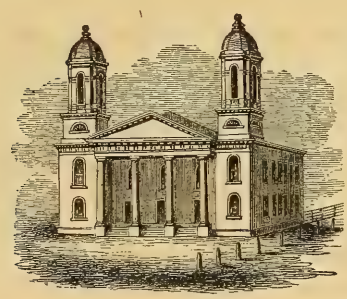
‡About fifty years after this, "Richard Champion, Esq., late Dep. Paymaster General of his Majestie's Forces," published "Considerations on the Present Situation of Great Britain and the United States of America," in which he pretty ably attacked Lord Sheffield's "Observations."

§The street was named in honor of Thomas Hollis, Esq., of London, a great benefactor to New England, and especially to Harvard College ; and it is remarkable that he died in the early part of this year (22 January, 1731), in honor of whose memory the Church now erected also bears his name. There were three sermons published, preached on the news of Mr. Hollis's death being received here, but neither of them contain the date of his death. Dr. Colman's was the first, being "preached at the Lecture," April 1st, "Before His Excellency the Governor, and the General Court, upon the News of the Death of the much Honored Thomas Hollis, Esq., the most generous and noble Patron of Learning and Religion in the Churches of New England." Mr. Hollis's age was 72.

first meeting was composed of William Payn, Samuel Wells, John Clough, Caleb Eddy, John Bennett, Silence Allen, Thomas Walker, John Walker, Israel How, John Blake, Henry Gibbon, Joseph Payson, James Day, Hopestill Foster, Ebenezer Clough, Thomas Trott, Thomas Melvin, Thomas Clough, Sutton Byles, Alden Bass, Benjamin Russell, Joseph Hambleton, Nathaniel Fairfield, John Goldsmith, Isaac Loring, and William Cunningham.

April 21. In April following, a petition was presented to the Selectmen, signed by Samuel Wells, William Payn, Caleb Eddy, John Clough, and Henry Gibbon, asking for liberty to build a Meeting-house and house for the Ministry, near the Main street leading to Roxbury, of timber, which was granted. A house was commenced, forty by thirty feet, with a steeple, and was finished and dedicated on the eighteenth of June, 1732. On the fourteenth of November following, the Church was formed, and their Covenant was drawn up by the Rev. Dr. Joseph Sewall, of the Old South.

Three years after the House was finished, a bell was given by Mr. Thomas Hollis, of London, a nephew of the great benefactor of the same name. Its weight was 800 pounds. The ship in which it came was commanded by Capt. John Homans, who arrived on Sunday, April 14th, 1734, and the bell was soon after placed in the belfry. This donation is said to have been made at the suggestion of Governor Belcher.



HOLLIS-STREET CHURCH.

The first Meeting-house in Hollis-street was burnt in the extensive fire of the fourteenth of April, 1787.* The following year another was completed, on the same spot, and like the former was constructed of wood, but it had two steeples instead of one. It is this Church a view of which is given in the margin. It stood until 1810, when it was taken down and removed to Braintree. The House now standing is of brick, and was consecrated on the 31st of January, 1811. It is about seventy-nine by seventy-six feet, exclusive of the tower, and contained 130 pews on the floor, and thirty-eight in the gallery. The Steeple is 196 feet in height. †

The first Minister was the Rev. Mather Byles, who was ordained December 20th, 1732. He continued its pastor till 1777, when he was dismissed; being one of the very few Tory Ministers of the country. He was succeeded by the Rev. Ebenezer Wight, who was ordained February 25th, 1778, and was dismissed, at his request, in September,

* Miss J. Fenno, in her volume of Poems, p. 65, has one "On the Dreadful Conflagration in Boston in 1787," and thus alludes to the burning of the Church:

"Wide and more wide, the glowing flames did spread,
As if in fire we must have made our bed;
The House of God, wherein our friend did preach,
A solemn lesson unto us may teach," etc.

† It was struck by lightning on the 8th of April, 1837, when fire was communicated to the wood-work supporting the iron spire, which was not quenched until the vane had fallen.

1788. The third Minister was the Rev. Samuel West, who was installed March 12th, 1789, and died April 10th, 1808, at the age of seventy. To him succeeded the Rev. Horace Holly, installed in March, 1809, who was dismissed 24 August, 1818. He died on the 31st of July, 1827, at the age of forty years and five months. The Rev. John Pierpont was ordained April 14th, 1819, dismissed May 10th, 1845. Rev. David Fosdick, Jr., ordained in 1846, dismissed in 1847. In 1848 Thomas Starr King was settled there, and is the present Minister.

May 31. The Act providing for the safe keeping of powder "being found not sufficient to prevent the breaches of that Act," an explanatory Act was passed, "for erecting a Powder-house in Boston." It was now provided that if any persons were found to have powder in their possession, without license, above a stipulated quantity, the whole should be forfeited, and the former penalties were doubled.

An additional law was also made for the suppression of lotteries; "the good and wholesome design and true intent of the aforesaid Act being very much eluded and evaded, to the great discouragement of trade and industry, and grievous hurt and damage of many unwary people."

July 23. The Town met with a severe loss this year in the death of the Hon. Daniel Oliver, one of his Majesty's Council, "and one of the most considerable merchants of this place." He was in his sixty-ninth year. Of the Third Church he was one of the principal founders. He was distinguished for eminent piety, humility and charity.* He was a great promoter of Schools, and of means for benefiting the poor. †

Aug. 11. Mr. Jonathan Bowman was ordered to take care of the Water-engine that stands near the Old North Meeting-house. He lived in Lynn-street.

Dec. 28. Mr. Bartholomew Green died in his sixty-fifth year. He was the Publisher of the Weekly News-Letter, and Printer to the House of Representatives. Mr. Green was held in much esteem; was one of the Deacons of the Old South Church, "and one who had much of that primitive piety in him which has always been the distinguishing glory of New England." ‡

Dec. 30. On the 30th of December occurred the death of John Jekyll, Esq. He was about forty-nine years of age, and had been Collector of this Port twenty-five years; having been appointed in 1707.

* *Funeral Sermon* by Rev. Thomas Prince. See also *ante*, p. 203, for an account of his family.

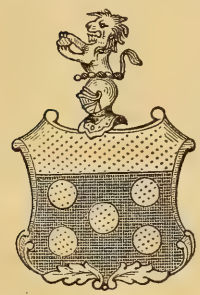
† "In his will, among other legacies, he bestowed a pretty large house, called the *Spinning School*, for which use he first designed it, and which cost him £600. This house, with the profits (about £40 a year), he gave forever to support a school, to learn poor children to read the Scriptures, etc." — *Prince*. See *ante*, p. 560–1.

‡ *News-Letter* of 1 Jan. 1733. — Mr. Green had been the Editor of this paper for about ten years, "and the principal printer of this Town and Country near forty years." Samuel Green was his father, also a printer, who came to New England in 1630, in the same ship with Gov. Dudley. He lived in Cambridge, and died there, Jan. 1, 1701–2, aged 87. John Draper, who continued the News-Letter on the death of Bartholomew Green, was his son-in-law. Samuel Green, Jr., brother of Bartholomew, whose wife is so much praised by John Dunton, has been no-

The well-known Thomas Jekyll, D. D., was his father, and he was nephew to Sir Joseph Jekyll. His disease was consumption.*

CHAPTER LX.

Death of Joseph Maylem. — Order respecting Trees on the Common. — Respecting a Fence. — Seven Fire Engines. — Valley Acre. — Death of Judge Byfield. — First Prayer at a Funeral. — Granary at the North End. — Death of John Dunton — of Thomas Fayerweather. — First Appearance of Free Masons. — Gen. Oglethorpe expected. — Numbers Taxed. — Death of Samuel Granger — of the Gunner of the Castle. — Light-house repaired. — Market-houses established. — Paper-Money Troubles. — Overseers of the Poor. — Work-house. — Death of Edward Bromfield. — Another Newspaper. — Town Library. — A Dancing School. — New Instrument for Surveying invented. — Town Divided into Twelve Wards. — Watchmen to cry the Time of Night. — Porters Regulated. — A Fast. — West Church founded. — A Work-house. — Death of Benjamin Wadsworth — of Elisha Cooke. — Quakers relieved. — Death of Nathaniel Williams. — Hospital at Rainsford's Island. — Chelsea set off. — Duty laid on Negroes. — Death of Elisha Callender. — Bridge to Cambridge proposed.



BYFIELD.‡

Jan. 29. ON the 29th of January, Mr. Joseph Maylem died, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. "He kept a noted (private) house in School-street for the entertainment of strangers. By his will he left five pounds to each of the Rev. Ministers, and twenty to the poor of the South Church." † His sons, Mark and John, were executors.

March. At the Town-meeting in March it was voted that "the row of trees already planted on the Common should be taken care of by the Select-men," who were at the same time instructed to plant another row at a suitable distance from the former, and to set up a row of posts with a rail on the top of them; which posts and rails were to extend "through the Common from the Burying-Place § to Colonel Fitche's fence, leaving open-

ticed. That probably justly-admired lady was Elizabeth, daughter of Capt. Joseph Sill, an officer in Philip's war. — Thomas, *Hist. Print.*, i. 281, and MS. notes of MELVIN LORD, Esq.

On the 30th of Jan. 1734, the "Printing-House belonging to the widow and children of the late Deacon Green, at the South End," was burned. In it two printing-presses were destroyed, also a great quantity of type; very little saved. The fire took about 12 o'clock at night. No other buildings burned.

*Mr. Jekyll was a gentleman much respected. He was born in England, and was for a time in the retinue of Lord Paget, in which capacity he resided at the Court of Vienna. He married first a dau. of Mr. Thomas Clark, of New York; second, the widow of Archibald Cumming, Esq., Surveyor and Searcher of the Port of Boston. Mr. Jekyll left five sons and two daughters. — *Weekly Journal*, 1 Jan. 1733, and *News-Letter*, Jan. 4th. The island near Savannah, called Jekyll's Island, was so named by Gen. Oglethorp, in honor of Sir Thomas Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, mentioned in the text. Sir Joseph died about 1739. — *Leycester Corres. in Camden Soc. Introd.*, p. iii. John Jekyll, second son of the late Collector, succeeded his father in the Collectorship. He was married in Philadelphia, 20 Oct. 1734, to "Mrs. Margaret Shippe, a beautiful young lady."

† *Weekly Rehearsal*, 5 Feb., 1733. (No. 71.) — His widow, "a very discreet, industrious woman," died on the 6th of March following. The John *Mylam*, heretofore mentioned, may have been the father of Joseph Maylem whose decease is noticed in the text.

‡ The Arms of Byfield are copied from the tomb-stone of the family in the Granary Burying-ground; not as it *now* appears, but as it *was*. The tomb having passed into the Lyde family, as hereafter may be seen, the name of Lyde was engraven on the shield, in chief.

§ The *Granary* is here meant.

ings at the several streets and lanes." * It was five years before a similar fence separated the Granary Burying-ground from the Common; then (in 1739) one was ordered to be "set up" from Common-street to Beacon.

July 27. At this period there were seven engines for extinguishing fires in the Town. One was kept under the Town-house; one at the North Watch-house; one in Summer-street; one at the Prison; one at the Dock; one near the New North Meeting-house; one, "the Copper Engine," by the North Meeting-house. †

Oct. 19. A Committee of the Selectmen, consisting of David Colson,‡ Joshua Winslow, and William Downe, was appointed "to see that Capt. Cyprian Southack secure his hill near Valley Acre, by rails or otherwise, that people may not be in danger." §

June 6. On the sixth of June occurred the death of Judge Nathaniel Byfield, in the eightieth year of his age; a gentleman of great worth, with whose name the readers of this History have already become familiar. He was a grandson of Mr. Richard Byfield, who, in Shakspeare's time, preached at Stratford-upon-Avon, and son of Mr. Richard Byfield, Pastor of Long Ditton, in Surrey, ‖ who, being ejected upon the restoration, spent the remainder of his days at Mortlake, rendered somewhat famous as the residence of the celebrated astrologer and physician, Dr. John Dee.

* A similar fence was kept up until 1836, when the present iron one was substituted, at an expense of 82,159.85 dollars; 16,292 dollars of which were raised by private subscription. Its length is 5,932 feet, or a mile and one eighth, nearly, and encloses 48¾ acres. The Common is usually said to contain 50 acres.

† The names of those who had charge, or were Captains, of the engines, are as follow (in the order of the text): — James Reed, with 12 men; Mr. Jona. Bowman, with 16; Wm. Wheeler, with 13; Wm. Young, with 15; Thomas Pain, with 13; John Earl, with 11; Joshua Baker, with 9 men.

To form a correct idea of what sort of machines, "Water Engines," as they were then called, were, the following notice is extracted: "There is newly erected in the Town of Boston, by Messieurs John and Thomas Hill, a Water Engine at their Still-house, by the advice and direction of Mr. Rowland Houghton, drawn by a horse, which delivers a large quantity of water twelve feet above the ground. This being the first of the sort in these parts, we thought taking notice of it might be of publick service, inasmuch as a great deal of labor is saved thereby." — *News-Letter*, 25 Jan., 1733.

‡ Mr. Colson was many years an active Selectman. His business was leather-dressing. "Collson's Stone House," before mentioned (p. 542), was probably his place of business before this time. In the beginning of the next year he had liberty to build a house of wood on his land, on the corner of Newbury-street and Frog-lane. In March, 1733, he was "to have the old buildings upon the Dock for £28, taking them down as soon as may be, and leveling the rubbish." Dr. Adam Collson was of Boston, 1746.

§ Valley Acre, as appears from an early map of the Town, was adjacent to a spur of Beacon Hill, which extended north-easterly from the main hill, terminating abruptly not far from the present northern termination of the iron fence in Pemberton square.

‖ Mr. Nicholas Byfield, Vicar of Isleworth, in Middlesex, was his half-brother, and hence, uncle to our Judge Byfield. Adoniram Byfield, the distinguished Puritan Divine and Author, was cousin to the Judge, being a son of the Vicar of Isleworth by a previous marriage. For his zeal in promoting Puritan principles, he was transfixed for all coming time by the pen of the author of Hudibras. But to be posted there by the side of Nye, Owen, and Calamy, was certainly no dishonor:

> "Where had they all their gifted phrases,
> But from our Calamies and Cases?
> Without whose sprinkling and sewing,
> Whoe'er had heard of Nye or Owen?
> Their dispensations had been stifled,
> But for our Adoniram Byfield."

There is in some editions of this author a most ludicrous portrait of "our Adoniram," which, if it does him no credit, can do him no harm, while it displays no little ingenuity on the part of the artist.

The mother of Judge Byfield was a sister of William Juxon, Bishop of London, and the Judge was the youngest of twenty-one children. He emigrated to this country in 1674, and settled in Boston, where, in the following year, he married Miss Deborah Clarke, daughter of Capt. Thomas Clarke, who dying in 1717, he married for his second wife Miss Sarah Leverett, in 1718, the youngest daughter of Governor Leverett. She died on the 21st of December, 1730. At her funeral a prayer was made, which was the first introduction of the practice in the Town.*

Mr. Byfield had held the important office of Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty "for this and the neighboring Provinces, and first Justice of the Court of General Sessions, and was for many years one of His Majesty's Council of this Province." † He had five children, three of whom died in infancy. The youngest married Lieut. Gov. Tailor, "who quickly departed without issue;" the other, Catharine, who was the oldest, married Edward Lyde, Esq., of Boston. They had children, Byfield, Mary, and Deborah. Byfield Lyde graduated at Harvard College in 1723, and in the Revolution adhered to the cause of the King, left Boston with the royal troops, and died in Halifax in 1776. His wife was Sarah, only daughter of Governor Belcher. She died in Boston October tenth, 1768, aged sixty-one. To this son-in-law Mr. Byfield "left the bulk of his estate." ‡

Judge Byfield was one of the founders of Bristol, in Rhode Island in 1680, § and settled there, but returned to Boston in 1724, where he died, as has been mentioned, and was interred in the Granary Burying-ground. ‖ He left no male descendants.

There is in the *Magna Britannia* an interesting anecdote of the father of Judge Byfield, in which Cromwell and Sir John Evelyn figure. — See that work, v. 404.

* "Before carrying out the corpse [Dec. 28th], a Funeral-prayer was made by one of the Parsons of the Old Church, to whose communion she belonged; which, though a custom in the Country-towns, is a singular instance in this place. The Pall was held up by the Honorable the late Lieut. Gov. Dummer, with other gentlemen of His Majesty's Council. Among the mourning relatives went His Excellency, Gov. Belcher, and His Honor, Lieut. Gov. Tailer, followed by a long train of persons of public distinction." — Chauncy's *Funeral Sermon, Appendix.*

† "He had the honor of five Commissions for Judge of the Vice Admiralty, from three crowned heads: William, in 1697; Anne, in 1702, 1703, and 1709; and from George II. in 1728; was first Judge under our present Charter, and never once had a decree reversed upon an appeal home" to England. — *Appendix to* Chauncy's *Funeral Sermon.* The autograph of Judge Byfield has been given on page 481.

‡ Byfield Lyde's sister Mary married George Cradock, Esq., of Boston, who had been a merchant in London, and subsequently Vice-Judge of Admiralty here, Collector of the Port, etc. He died in Boston 29 June, 1771, aged 87. He had five daughters; Mary m. 1. Hon. Joseph Gerrish, of Halifax; 2. Rev. Dr. John Breynton, Rector of St. Paul's Church in that city. They died in London. Deborah m. Judge Robt. Auchmuty, the younger, of Roxbury. Elizabeth m. her cousin, Thomas Brinley, Esq., of Boston. Catharine m. her cousin, Nathaniel Brinley, Esq., of Boston. Sarah d. in Boston, unmarried. Deborah Lyde, the other sister, m. Col. Francis Brinley, of Roxbury.

§ "In the memorable Indian war of 1675, the territory of King Philip, the great Sachem of Mount-Haup, who was slain in 1676, was vested by right of conquest, in the Colony of New Plymouth; whereupon the Governor and Company of New Plymouth, in the year 1680, granted and sold unto four proprietors, viz.. Messieurs John Walley, Nathaniel Oliver, Nathaniel Byfield, and Stephen Burton, all the part of the conquered lands called Mount Hope Neck, since called by the name of Bristol." — Stiles' *Account of the Origin and Settlement of Bristol*, p. 3. Of this Town Judge Byfield was said to be "the head and glory." — *News-Letter*, 14 June, 1733.

‖ The stone, which bore the following inscription to his memory, has long since disap-

At a Town-meeting, on the 16th of October, a vote passed for erecting a Granary at the North End; the charge not to exceed £100.*

Oct. 20. A very serious accident occurred on the 20th. Mr. Commissary Price's horse, a very unruly one, attached to a chaise or chair, being left standing in the alley leading from Milk-street to Justice Clark's corner in Summer street, † from some affright, started and ran through the alley. One Mrs. Stevens, "a very ancient woman," being then in the alley, was run over, and so injured that she survived but a few hours. A child was much hurt at the same time.

Mr. John Dunton is said to have died in obscurity in London this year. He was full of schemes and projects, which seem uniformly to have failed to realize his anticipations.‡

Nov. 20. On the 20th of November, Thomas Fayerweather, Esq., died at the early age of forty-four. He was a merchant highly respected. His wife was Hannah, daughter of Jonathan Waldo, Esq., "a pattern of every female virtue." She died on the 27th of January, 1755, aged fifty-two, leaving a son and two daughters surviving.

Free-masonry was first introduced into the Colonies, this year; the first lodge met in Boston on the 30th of July. The first Grand Master received his power from Lord Montague, Grand Master of England.

May 30. On the opening of the General Court this year, Mr. Samuel Wigglesworth, of Ipswich, preached the Election Sermon. The following gentlemen were appointed to the "command of the regiment of militia in Boston:" Edward Winslow, Esq., Colonel; Jacob Wendell, Esq., Lieutenant Colonel; and Samuel Sewall, Esq., Major.

June 19. Information having been received that Gen. James Oglethorpe would visit Boston this summer, the General Court, "on a motion made and seconded by many members," ordered that "Mr. [Elisha] Cooke, Mr. [Thomas] Cushing, Mr. [Samuel] Wells, Major [William] Brattle and Mr. Thacher, be a Committee to prepare a vote for his reception, that so the Government may express their grateful sense of his good services to the public interest of the Province."

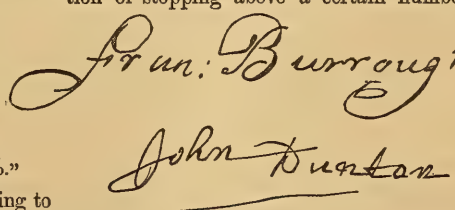
peared, and is supposed to be destroyed. This copy is from the *Boston Gazette* of 30 July, 1733. It is doubtless the production of the Rev. Mather Byles, as nearly the same thing is found in his Poems, page 95:

"BYFIELD beneath in peaceful slumber lies,
BYFIELD the GOOD, the ACTIVE and the WISE.
His MANLY FRAME contained an EQUAL MIND,
FAITHFUL to GOD, and GENEROUS to MANKIND.
High in his Country's HONOURS long he stood,
SUCCOUR'D DISTRESS, and GAVE the HUNGRY FOOD.
In JUSTICE steady, in DEVOTION warm,
A loyal SUBJECT and PATRIOT firm.
Through every AGE his DAUNTLESS soul was try'd
GREAT while he lived, but GREATER when he DY'D."

* In the Selectmen's Records the building to be erected is called a Meal House. It was to be built "on a piece of land belonging to the Town near the North Mill." John Jeffries, Esq., and Mr. David Colson, two of the Selectmen, were to contract for the work.

† Then usually called Bishop's-alley, since, Hawley-street.

‡ For many years before Mr. Dunton's arrival in Boston, as well as for many years afterwards, it was a standing order of the Town, that every person who came in, with the intention of stopping above a certain number of



days, must give security that they might not come upon the Town for support. Hence this record is found: "February 16th, 1685 [1685–6], Fran. Burroughs became security for John Dunton, Bookseller, in £40." Signed by both Dunton and Burroughs. — See *ante*, chap. xlix., p. 459, etc.

But the people of Boston did not have an opportunity to pay their respects to the founder of Georgia, "one driven by strong benevolence of soul;" for, though he intended to come here, he was diverted from his purpose by the arduous duties in which he was engaged.*

The number of tax-payers was now about 3500. This was the number on the "Alarm-list," which pretty nearly corresponded with that of taxables. The "Church of England people" were at the same time said to pay "not exceeding one-tenth of the taxes of the Town."

1734. June 11. Mr. Samuel Granger, a worthy School-master, died suddenly of apoplexy. He was about 48 years of age, some fifteen of which he had been a teacher in Boston. His funeral was attended by "the principal persons of the Town, and about 150 children, who were under his tuition, walking before the corpse." †

Feb. 9. Mr. William Barnsdell died suddenly at Castle William, at the age of 80. He had been Chief Gunner there for about thirty years. The corpse was brought up to the town for interment.

Jan. 30. The Light-house, which was built in 1715, being out of repair, the keeper, Robert Ball, petitioned the General Court for an appropriation to put it in order, and likewise the dwelling-house belonging to it, which had gone to decay. Ball succeeded Captain Hayes this year, who had requested to be discharged, as he had become old and infirm. ‡

Mar. 11. The establishment of Markets in the Town had hitherto been successfully opposed, but at the present Town-meeting, although a majority appeared in favor of the measure, yet the opposition was

April 24. pretty strong against it. § At the next meeting three places were assigned on which Market-houses were to be erected, and 700 pounds was appropriated for the object. This sum was placed at the disposal of Thomas Fitch, Edward Hutchinson, Thomas Palmer, and Jacob Wendell, Esquires; Mr. Nathaniel Cunningham, Mr. James

* A Spanish and Indian war was probably the chief cause. He was compelled to take the field in person against them. See *New England Weekly Jour.*, 27 Aug., 1733 (No. cccxxxvi.), *idem*, 13 May, 1734 (No. ccclxxi.), and Harris' *Life of Oglethorpe*.

† *Weekly News-Letter*, 17 Jan., 1734 (No. 1564). In the notice in this paper, he is styled "the ingenious and learned Mr. Granger." He began an evening school "for writing, accompts, and the mathematics," in Sept., 1724. Five days after he died, the Selectmen directed that "his son and Usher, Mr. Thomas Grainger, be allowed to go on with the school, under the oversight of Mr. Andrew Le Mercier." Mr. Granger lived in Marlborough-street, "near to the Governor's." At the time of his death the house in which he lived was advertised for sale by Mr. Jahleel Brenton, of Newport, R. I. Only the June previous to his decease, the Society for Prop. the Gospel in Foreign Parts had appointed "Mr. Grainger School-master to succeed Mr. Edward Mills, Sen., lately deceased, to instruct the children of such indigent members of the Church of England gratis, as are not able to pay for the same." — *Ibid*, 28 June, 1733, and other sources.

‡ The appearance of a Polar Bear in Boston, in 1734, attracted great attention, and called forth the following notice in the *News-Letter* of 28 Feb. "Yesterday, in the afternoon, the great White Bear, which was about a year ago brought hither by Capt. Atkins from Greenland, was carried in his cage on trucks from the White Horse at the South End, to the Long-wharffe, followed by a multitude of spectators, where he was shipped on board Captain Walker, bound for London." The "White Horse" tavern was established before 1724. In 1768, Mein and Fleming's Printing-Office was "almost opposite."

§ The votes stood, 517 for and 399 against. Hence the number of voters is pretty nearly approximated, viz., 916. At the meeting (May 24), the vote stood 364 yeas and 339 nays. "On which important occasion the Assembly was so very numerous, it was adjourned over to the Old Brick Meeting-house.'

Watson, Mr. Francis Willoughby, and Mr. John Steel. The three places designated for the buildings were, one in "Orange-street, over against the house and land of Mr. Thomas Downe, there measuring seventy feet;" one "on the Town's ground, or open space on the Town dock or wharf, commonly called Dock Square." The other was to be upon "the open space before and about the Old North Meeting-house." *

An Order was passed authorizing the Markets to be kept open every day in the week, except Sundays and such other days as the Government might appoint, in which religious services were to be observed. Market hours were from sunrise to one o'clock, afternoon, and a bell was to be rung at the time of opening. The fourth day of June was set for the first Market-day, which took place accordingly.† But so strong was the prejudice against regular Markets, that, in less than four years from their establishment, the houses were abandoned by the market-men, and they fell quite into disuse. That at the North End was eventually taken down, and the timber used in the construction of a Work-house; that at the South End was converted into stores, and that at Dock Square was demolished by the populace. ‡

Mar. 21. From a Fast sermon, preached by Dr. Colman, there appears to have been much distress in the Town, partly arising from the depreciation of the paper currency. "I fear," he observed, "we of this Town and Land are coming apace into too much the like circumstances, both the Rich and the Poor. The poorer Brethren have, too many of them, run themselves into bonds for moneys taken up of the rich. The *rich* are alike to suffer much in that part of their estates that lies in bonds. We are going, I fear, into excessive usury, which may not seem so, considering the yearly fall of our paper-currency."

May 19. In the preamble to "An Act for employing and providing for the Poor of the Town of Boston," it is said that the "Town is grown considerably populous, and the Idle and Poor much increased;" therefore the Town was empowered "to choose twelve Overseers of the

* Proposals about a market were published as early as 1st Feb., 1733. On the 28th of the preceding July, in Town-meeting, "Messieurs Joseph Marion, Edward Durant, Theophilus Lillie, William Stoddard and Jeffry Bedgood," were appointed a Committee to receive proposals "touching the demolishing, repairing or leasing out the old buildings belonging to the Town in Dock Square." The Committee to give their attendance at Mr. William Coffin's, the Bunch of Grapes tavern, on Thursdays, weekly, from six to eight o'clock in the evening.

† There was something of ceremony on the occasion, as appears from the *News-Letter*, published on the 6th of June, from which the following is taken: "On Tuesday morning last, being the 4th of June, at sun-rising, the Bell rang for the first time, for opening the public Markets the first time, in this Town, at the three several places assigned. The concourse of people (sellers, buyers and spectators) was very considerable; abundance of provisions were brought for sale. Those that exceeded in goodness and cheapness went off quick, but those that were poor or dear, more slowly."

‡ Dr. Douglass considered the tendency of the people to mobs in his time quite alarming; and that severer acts against them ought to be made. A few days before the Market was torn down, the doctor says, a mob demolished a notorious house of ill fame, under the countenance "of some well-meaning Magistrates," and that "the consequence was, a few days afterwards, they demolished the public Market-house, and carried off the materials for their own private use." To this he adds, "For some years past, upon the 5th of November, being the anniversary Gunpowder Treason day, several mobs have carried about pageants of the Pope, the Devil and pretender. These gunpowder-treason mobs yearly increase." —*Summary*, i. 238.

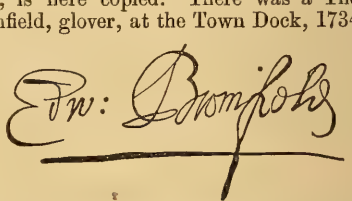
Poor, from twelve several Wards, into which the Town is or shall be divided." The Town was at the same time authorized to build a Work-house, to be under the direction of the Overseers of the Poor, and to receive donations for its endowment, "to the value of 3000 pounds per annum."

June 2. The loss of the Town in the death of the Hon. Edward Bromfield, on the second of June, 1734, was as severely felt as almost any which had occurred since its settlement. Though he was far advanced, being in his 86th year, yet his loss was not the less, but the more regretted. He was born at Haywood House, near New Forest, in Hampshire, the seat of his ancestors, on the 10th of January, 1648–9, and was the third son of Henry, and grandson of Arthur Bromfield, Esq. Being bred a merchant in London, he went to Jamaica, and, afterwards, came to Boston, where he arrived in the year 1675, and being a pious Puritan, decided to spend his days here.* He belonged to the Old South Church, and was forward in all charities for the advancement of religious purposes as well as others. His residence was in Rawson's-lane, since called Bromfield-street after him, and his mansion stood where the Bromfield House now stands. Here afterwards was the noted Indian Queen tavern.

Oct. Another Newspaper, called "The Boston Weekly Post Boy," was started in October of this year, by Mr. Ellis Huske,† the Postmaster, who continued it about twenty years. The name of the printer of it is not given, but John Bushel is supposed to have printed it at some part of the period of its existence. As hitherto "Advertisements were taken in at the Post Office."

About the commencement of the year the Selectmen voted that "Speedy care be taken to fit up a proper Office for the Town Clerk, for reposing and securing his books, and that it be in part of the Green Chamber; that the ninety pounds in the hands of Nathaniel Green,

* In the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, v. p. 100, is some account of the family of Mr. Bromfield, extracted from the newspapers of that day, but chiefly from the *New England Week. Journal*, of 10 June, 1734 (No. 374), probably written by the Rev. Thomas Prince. In the Journal it is said, that, for a retired recess from worldly noise and business, "he turned the pasture behind his house into a very shady grove, where, in the midst, he built an Oratory, into which he used to retire several times a day, in his most flourishing circumstances and heights of business," to enjoy pious meditations, &c. In a copy of "The Morning Exercises at Cripple Gate," 4to, 1671, in the Author's Library, is the autograph of "Edward Bromfield, Jr.," to which is added, "his book ex Dono Francisci Burroughs, 1712;" and on a fly-leaf is written a brief Family Record in this order: "Edward Bromfield, Senr., Marye B., Senr. [parents], Elizabeth, Sarah, Frances, Edward, Junr., Mary, Junr., Henrye. In una Familia." The autograph of the Hon. Edward Bromfield, as found to a receipt in 1718, is here copied. There was a Thomas Bromfield, glover, at the Town Dock, 1734.



† "Afterwards Deputy Post-master General for the Colonies. He was a brother to General Huske, who distinguished himself at the battles of Dittengen and Culloden. He had a son bred a merchant, in Boston, who was afterward a member of Parliament. Huske was superseded in the Post Office by Franklin and Hunter."—Thomas, ii. 231. He is the same, I presume, who published a work entitled, "The Present State of North America." 4to, London, 1755, which was re-printed in Boston the same year.

Esq., given by Col. Fitch and others, in order to procure books for the Town Library, "be secured by bond to Mr. Joseph Wadsworth, the Town Treasurer." Bakers were ordered to stamp their loaves "with the first and last letters of their names." *

1735. May 28. A Dancing School was allowed. It was kept by Mr. George Brownell.† But an application for an exhibition of Rope Dancing was refused. ‡

Mr. Rowland Houghton, of Boston, a merchant, invented an instrument for surveying land, which he called "The New Theodolite," the making and vending of which was secured to him by a special Act of the General Court. In the Preamble to the Act, it is said that by it "land could be surveyed with greater ease and dispatch than by any surveying instrument heretofore projected or made within this Province, which, upon careful view and examination, appears to be a projection tending to public benefit and service." His privilege was limited to seven years.

Much attention had for some time been given to the cultivation of Flax and Hemp in New England. To extend a knowledge of their culture, Col. Daniel Henchman, bookseller in Cornhill, re-published Lionel Slator's work upon the subject, which had been issued in Dublin in 1724.§

April 30. Watchmen were required "in a moderate tone to cry the time of night, and give account of the weather, as they walk their rounds, after twelve o'clock." ‖ The practice was continued about one hundred years.

The Selectmen were not unmindful of the importance of recording the births and deaths which occurred in the Town, and gave notice that there was a great neglect on the part of the inhabitants to comply with a law made for that purpose.¶

Aug. 5. "Mr. John Bowles, Mr. Thomas Tileston and others," having petitioned to have Boston made a County by itself, a Committee

* The weight of bread was prescribed as follows: "The penny white loaf, 3 oz. 5 dw.; wheaten, 4 oz. 15 dw.; household, 6 oz. 10 dw.; sixpenny wheaten loaf, 1 lb. 13 oz. 13 dw."

† There was considerable opposition to such a school, and his application was previously refused by the Selectmen. The school was not merely for dancing; as, doubtless, for that alone liberty could not have been obtained. "A school for reading, writing, cyphering, dancing and the use of the needle," are set forth in the application.

‡ To the Petition of Mr. John Bradley (with others in his behalf) for liberty to entertain the Town with the diversion of Rope Dancing, the Selectmen say, "Fearing lest the said divertisement may tend to promote idleness in the Town and great mispense of time, the same is disallowed."

§ The title of the work is "Instructions for the Cultivating and Raising of Flax and Hemp, in a better manner than generally practised in Ireland. By Lionel Slator, of Cabraugh, in the County of Cavan, Flax and Hemp Dresser to the Honourable Thomas Coote, of Coote Hill, in the said County." There is an Introduction, signed by Mr. Coote, addressed "To the Honourable the Trustees of the Flaxen and Hempen Manufacturers of Ireland." He was probably of the same family of Coote noticed in page 516 of this history.

‖ The watch was at this time maintained at an expense of about £12,000 per annum.

¶ Mr. Samuel Gerrish, the Town Clerk, made a record of the negligence complained of, from which it appears that, for the fourteen months preceding, "more than 950 births and deaths" had occurred in the Town, of which no record had been handed in; "which neglect of theirs," he very sensibly added, "may prove to be of ill consequence to their posterity."

is appointed by the town to draw up a remonstrance, and the proposition was laid aside.* Mr. Joseph Marion recommended that certain papers on file should be entered in the records of the Town, "that so the Town may have recourse to them." †

1736. Mar. 8. A proposition to divide the Town into twelve Wards, having been previously made at the Town-meeting in March, 1736, it was voted to submit the subject to the Overseers of the Poor; who, at an adjourned meeting on the ninth of the same month, reported a division, which was accepted. The names given to the former Wards were disused, and the new ones were designated by numbers only. The Committee who made this division consisted of Jacob Wendell, William Tyler, Jeffery Bedgood, John Hill and Thomas Hubbard.

May 21. At a Town-meeting in May, Nathaniel Cuningham, Hugh Vans, Samuel Waldo, Cornelius Waldo and James Peirpoint, were appointed a Committee to instruct the Representatives.

May 26. Province bills were ordered to be received in payment of taxes at the rate of twenty shillings for one ounce of silver.

Porters' fees were regulated by law. The Selectmen were authorized by the General Court to fix "the number of Porters, and the rate or price they should ask, according to the distance of place or other circumstances; all which persons shall, at all times, when in the service, or doing the business of Porters, wear a badge or ticket, with the figure of a Pine-tree marked thereon, on some part of his upper garment or girdle; which badge or ticket shall be numbered, and a fair entry of each Porter's ticket made in the Selectmen's books." Any one undertaking the business without license, to be fined twenty shillings; and any Porter charging more than authorized by the Selectmen, to be fined ten shillings.

Dec. 3. The Council of the Province, "taking into consideration the many and pressing difficulties the public affairs now labor under, and likely to increase, unless the Government be speedily led into some happy methods for the remedy thereof," voted that the Governor be desired to appoint a day of Fasting and Prayer, and that the reverend Ministers of Boston be desired to assist in the solemnity. The Governor

Dec. 10. accordingly appointed the tenth of December to be kept as a Fast. On that day Dr. Colman preached a Sermon in the Council Chamber before his Excellency and the Members of the General Court.

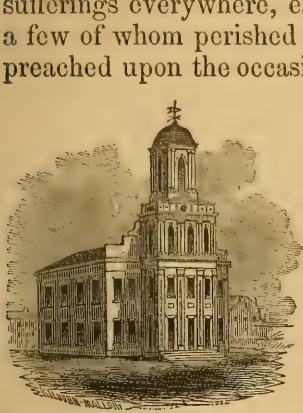
* The Committee consisted of Mr. Joseph Marion, William Stoddard, Esq., John Fayerweather, Esq., and Robert Auchmuty, Esq. Mr. Fayerweather and Mr. Marion were active men in Town affairs. The former subscribed £50 towards the Work-house.

† Mr. Marion's recommendation is entered upon the records, and consists of several able articles. Among them "The Release of Mr. Blackston, the first Proprietor of the Town of Boston," is mentioned as "now on file in the Town Clerk's Office, and also the Indian Deeds to the Selectmen." I have never met with the originals here referred to, nor does it appear that Shaw or Snow ever saw them.

John Fayerweather

The cause of sufferings at this period appears mainly to have been occasioned by the bad state of the currency of the country, by which its business relations were deranged in a manner not easily conceivable at this day.*

The winter of 1736–7 was one of intense cold, occasioning great sufferings everywhere, especially among the poor and improvident; not a few of whom perished from the effects of its severity. Sermons were preached upon the occasion, some of which were published.



THE WEST CHURCH.

Jan. 3. The West Church was organized this year, at the instigation, it was said, of the Rev. William Hooper, who, on the 18th of May following, was ordained over it. He preached his ordination Sermon, Mr. Foxcroft and Mr. Sewall made prayers, Mr. Prince gave the Charge, and Dr. Colman the Right Hand of Fellowship.†

Mr. Hooper continued in his office about nine years, when, having embraced Episcopacy, he abruptly left the Church, and went to England to receive ordination in the established Church.‡ He was afterwards Pastor of Trinity Church, which station he held till his death in 1767, at the age of about sixty-five. He was native of Edenham, in Scotland, possessed more than ordinary powers of mind, of a noble aspect, an eloquent and popular preacher. He married the daughter of Mr. John Dennie, an eminent merchant. His son William, the oldest of five children, read law with James Otis, set-

* Something may be gathered from Hutchinson's History relative to the currency difficulties, but he jumps entirely over the period from 1733 to 1737, the years of the greatest trouble. From Dr. Colman's Fast Sermon some valuable hints may be obtained upon this particular period. I have room but for the following brief extracts: "And now, my honoured Fathers, having said enough to raise your just detestation of the sin of injustice, and to excite your compassions to your sinful, suffering people, may the righteous God direct you what should or can be done by you in the present unhappy juncture of our affairs." — "It ought to be very pleasing to us, and we should be very thankful to God for it, that we have a Governour who can heartily joyn with us, and go before us in seeking to God for help in this open manner." — "I will presume to propose to the honourable Court, that if there should sooner or later come any great loss, thro' the miserable pass that our tatter'd Bills of Credit are come to, will it not be highly just that the Public should bear it in an equal tax? as I saw the damage easily borne and repair'd by the justice and wisdom of the Parliament of England, when their coin was reduc'd to a like scandalous state, that our currency now is, Anno, 1695." The historian of Massachusetts should read this Discourse.

† The Church was formed by seventeen individuals, whose names follow: "Hugh Hall, William Stoddard, from the South Church; James Gooch, Jr., John Darroll, John Daniels, from the First Church; Joseph Ricks, John Pierce, Samuel Sprague, Joseph Badger, from Brattle-street Church; William Williams, from the First Church in Cambridge; Ephraim Copeland, Abijah Adams, John Scot, from the New North; William More, from the North Church; James Watson, Robert Watt, John Moffatt, noncommunicants."

‡ Dr. Lowell's Cent. Discourse, p. 11. My author says, "Mr. Hooper resigned, or rather abdicated." But eighteen members appear to have been added to the Church during Mr. Hooper's ministry. Their names are "Thomas Chapman, Ebenezer Messinger, Harrison Gray, Alexander Gregory, John Smibert, John Little, James Scholie, Henry Berry, Ebenezer Berry, Jeremiah Gridley, Stephen Greenleaf, Mr. Franklin, Stephen Whiting, William Winslow, Mr. Colburn, Story Dawes, Robert Glen, Mr. Keys."

tled in North Carolina, was a member of the Congress of 1776, and signed the Declaration of Independence.

To Mr. Hooper succeeded Jonathan Mayhew, "a name," it is justly said, "which cannot be pronounced without emotion by any friend of civil liberty, or the right of private judgment in matters of religion; second to none in his profession, whom our country has ever produced."* Mr. Mayhew was ordained June 17, 1747, on which occasion the Rev. Ebenezer Gay, of Hingham, preached the Sermon. The Rev. Experience Mayhew, father of the candidate, gave the Charge, and the Rev. Benjamin Prescott, of Salem, the Right Hand of Fellowship. His ministry continued about nineteen years, when it was terminated by his sudden death, on the ninth of July, 1766. On the following Sunday, Dr. Chauncy preached a funeral Discourse in the West Church, and six weeks after, the Rev. Mr. John Browne, of Hingham, preached another, both of which were printed.

The next Minister of the West Society was the Rev. Simeon Howard, who was ordained on the sixth of May, 1761. He died August 14th, 1804, aged seventy-one. He was a native of Bridgewater.†

The Rev. Charles Lowell, a native of Boston, succeeded Mr. Howard, and was ordained January first, 1806; Eliphalet Porter, of Roxbury, preached the ordination sermon. Dr. Lowell is one of the present Pastors. On the first of March, 1837, the Rev. Cyrus Augustus Bartol was ordained as junior pastor of the same Church.

The formation of a Society at what was then called West or New Boston, had been more than a year in agitation, when the Church was formed, and the frame of a Meeting-house had been set up about the first week in September, 1736; but it was not finished until the following April. It was of wood, and had a steeple. In 1775, the British used it for a barrack, and took down the steeple, because it had been used, as was said, by the Rebels, to make signals in to their friends in Cambridge. The old or first house was taken down in March, 1806, and on the fourth of April following the corner-stone of the present edifice was laid, which was ready for dedication on the day of the annual Thanksgiving of the same year. It was furnished with an Organ in 1817. It stands in Lynde-street, fronting on Cambridge, with a beautiful open square before it. In this square, which has

* Dr. Mayhew died at the early age of forty-six. He was born on Martha's Vineyard in 1720, was grandson of Mr. John Mayhew, of that place, who died in 1698, aged 37; great-grandson of Thomas Mayhew, who was the only son of Thomas, the original emigrant. This (emigrant) ancestor of the Mayhews lived to be ninety-two, dying in 1681. His only son died at sea in 1657, aged thirty-seven. Dr. Mayhew's father was the author of the "Indian Converts," 8vo, London, 1727; who, in a petition to the General Court in 1739, said, "he had labored in the work of the Gospel ministry among the Aboriginal Natives for 45 years successively, and had spent of his own estate about £1500, by which he was brought into great straits and difficulties." Dr. Mayhew's wife was a daughter of Mr. John Clark.

† During Mr. Howard's ministry, "A Collection of Hymns" was published, "more particularly designed for the use of the West Society in Boston." It was a duodecimo of 162 pages, and was printed in 1783. No author's name is given in the work, nor is there anything by way of preface or introduction to show whether they are original or selected.

recently been surrounded by an iron fence, there is a fountain, and it is susceptible of being further beautified.

The subject of a Work-house had for several years been agitated, but its expense had been the main obstacle to its erection. Two years before, a subscription in aid of the object was circulated among the inhabitants, to which some one hundred and twenty-three persons subscribed about 4368 pounds, chiefly in small sums. Thus encouraged, the Town committed the matter to several gentlemen, with instructions to fix upon a location, and to recommend such building as they judged necessary. Accordingly those gentlemen made a Report at the Town-meeting in March, 1737, which was accepted without debate. The location recommended was on Common-street, on or near where the Granary stood, and the Granary was to be removed down to the corner of Tremont and Common-streets.

Mar. 29.

Harvard College suffered a great loss in the death of its President, the Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth, who died on the sixteenth of March, aged about sixty-eight. He was the seventh son of Capt. Samuel Wadsworth, of Milton, who was killed in a battle with the Indians; or who, in the language of a Sermon preached at his funeral, "was slain with others, on the high places of the field, bravely fighting, at the head of his company, against the Indian enemy." His connection with the First Church has been mentioned.

Mar. 16.

A distinguished and leading man, the Hon. Elisha Cooke, died in August, at the age of fifty-nine. He was the son of a former agent of the Province, the Hon. Elisha Cooke, who died in 1715, and, like him, was true to that policy which led to the Independence of the Country.* His son Middlecott Cooke, Esq., was many years Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas for Suffolk. Mr. Cooke was a Member of the General Court at the time of his death, and in September following John Wheelwright, Esq., was chosen in his place.

Aug.

* An interesting notice of the political character of the Cookes, father and son, is given by Hutchinson. In 1734, a story was got up to prejudice the election of Mr. Cooke, who was a candidate for the office of Councillor. From the following extracts of a handbill issued by Mr. Cooke's friends, the nature of the case may be learned, and the manœuvres of political parties of those days: "Whereas it is industriously reported (as I imagine with design, at this juncture, to prejudice the Hon. Elisha Cooke, Esq., in the good opinion of the Freeholders and Voters of this Town) that on Tuesday evening last, being the 30th of April, he proposed or drank the health of Col. [David] Dunbar as Governor of this Province," &c. "Now these are to certify that Mr. Cooke and several other gentlemen, being at my house, I proposed to drink the health of Col. Dunbar, and Mr. Cooke drank his health as a private gentleman, and not as Governor of this Province, and to this I am ready to make solemn oath.

"Samuel Waldo.*

"Tuesday, 7th of May, 1734."

Ebenezer Holmes and Benj. Pollard, "being present at Mr. Waldo's," made a similar statement, to which the three made oath before "Nathanael Green, J. Pac."

Accompanying the above, Gov. Shirley made a statement over his own signature, the purport of which is, that he did not arrive at Mr. Waldo's till the healths were drunk, but had heard Mr. Waldo decline drinking Col. Dunbar's health, on other occasions, as Governor; that he made this statement, because it had been reported that he heard the health so drunk on this occasion. — *Original Handbill in possession of* Mr. J. W. Parker, *of Roxbury.*

* Samuel and Cornelius Waldo were eminent merchants of Boston. Their place of business was for a considerable period in King-street, near the Crown Coffee House. About the close of 1733, they removed to Merchant's Row, near the Swing Bridge. Lucy, wife of Mr. Saml. Waldo, died 7 Aug., 1741, in the 38th year of her age. Cornelius Waldo lived in Leverett's-lane, now Congress-street. Judge Samuel Waldo died at Falmouth, Casco Bay, Me., April, 1770.

This year is remarkable for some advancement of free principles in the public mind. Quakers were to be exempted from taxes to support the Clergy, provided they attended their own meetings. Large buckles began to be worn on shoes, a practice which continued in use among some aged people till within a few years.

In answer to a petition from Boston, dated in 1735, for a grant of unappropriated lands, the General Court ordered two Townships to be set off the following year. This year, being in straitened circumstances, "owing to the decline of trade," those tracts of land were ordered to be sold at auction. In the mean time, a third tract having been acquired, all were disposed of; the first to John Reed, Esq., for 1020 pounds; the second to Col. Joseph Heath, for 1320 pounds; and the third to Col. Jacob Wendell, for 1320 pounds. Towns in the Commonwealth bear the names of Heath and Wendell, but they were comparatively recently so named.

1738. Jan. 10. Mr. Nathaniel Williams died on the tenth of January, in his sixty-third year.* He had been a Minister, Physician, and School-master. He was Master in the Free Grammar School from 1703 to 1734; having succeeded Master Cheever, and was himself succeeded by the celebrated Master John Lovell.†

"A good and convenient house had lately been built, at the charge of the Province, on the Island called Rainsford's Island, for the reception of such persons as might be visited with any contagious sickness." Such were the steps which laid the foundation of a Hospital, justly renowned to this day.‡ It is under the joint control of the City and State. The City appoints the resident Physician.

May. At the May term of the General Court, "all the lands within the Town of Boston, heretofore called Winnisimet, Rumney Marsh, and Pullen Point," were "erected into a township of the name of Chelsea." This separation had been many years meditated, and the point was finally gained with difficulty. The territory now set off was before called Number Thirteen. Noddle's and Hog islands were not included.§

* Mr. Prince, who preached his Funeral Sermon, says, page 26, that "he was very diligent and faithful in the school, and greatly beloved by the scholars for an agreeable mixture of majesty and sweetness, both in his voice and countenance." In January, 1733–4, he requested to be provided with an Usher, in room of Mr. Jer. Gridley, and Nathaniel Oliver, Jun., was appointed, at £80 a year. Mr. Samuel Gibson succeeded Mr. Oliver as Usher, 14 Aug. of the same year. Mr. Williams was son of Nathaniel and Mary (Oliver) Williams, and was born Aug. 16th, 1675. See page 293, and *Boston Records*.

† Mr. Lovell had been one of the Ushers in the school "for some time past."

‡ The General Court enacted, "That the Commanding Officer at Castle William, and the Keeper of the Light-house, shall notify and direct the Masters of all vessels coming near them, wherein any infectious sickness is or hath lately been, at their coming in, to come to anchor as near the before mentioned House as may be, that the sick persons, and everything else on board said ship that might give infection, may be removed into it with the greater ease and safety."— *Laws*, 661. The island contains about 11 acres of land, and is distant from the city, by the channel, about 7¼ miles.

§ In the Preamble of the Act of Incorporation, the reasons for the separation are thus briefly, and at the same time comprehensively, stated: "Whereas the inhabitants of the Town of Boston, that dwell in the district called Winnisimet, Rumney Marsh and Pullin Point, lying on the northerly and north-easterly side of the Harbor, have represented to this

There had been for some time a duty of four pounds a head on all Negroes imported into the Province, but means were found to evade the law requiring its payment, which led to one this year more stringent. Masters of vessels bringing in any Negroes were obliged to give, under oath, a list of them to the proper Authorities ; which list, if not found to be a true one, subjected the Master to a penalty of 100 pounds. Similar obligations and penalties were also provided respecting Negroes which might be brought in by land.

Mar. 31. This Spring occurred the death of the Rev. Mr. Elisha Callender, Minister of the Baptist Church, after a ministry of about twenty years.* "He was a gentleman universally beloved by people of all persuasions ;" was a son of Mr. Ellis Callender, of Boston, and the Rev. Mr. John Callender, of Newport, in Rhode Island, was his nephew. The latter was a son of Mr. John Callender, and was born in Boston in 1706, and died at the early age of forty-two, sincerely lamented. †

The subject of Church music was again agitated this year. It appears that the singing of hymns, "of mere human composure," had begun to be practised, and that the practice was opposed by the Churches generally. ‡

For about nineteen years there does not appear to have been much said about a bridge over Charles river. The subject was agitated in 1720, but was doubtless abandoned on account of the large amount of funds its construction would require. This year Mr. John Staniford petitioned to be authorized to build one "from the west part of the town to Colonel Phipps' farm." The design was again laid aside, probably from the same cause as before. §

Mar. 12. At the request of several persons, liberty was granted them "to erect a brick wall with tombs on the front of the old Burying-place." This is now the Johnson or Chapel Burying-place. The next year, "John Chambers and other grave-diggers" represented to the Selectmen that this Burying-place, and also the South, or Granary, "were so filled with dead bodies, that they were obliged, oft-

Court that they labor under great difficulties by reason of their remoteness from the body of the said Town, and separated by the River that renders their attendance on Town-meetings very difficult ; and whereas they have a long time since erected a Meeting-house in that District," etc.

* See *New Eng. Weekly Journal*, 4 April, 1738.

† He left a monument to his own memory, which will endure when marble has crumbled to dust, and as valuable as it is durable. The mind of the intelligent reader will readily recur to "An Historical Discourse on the Affairs of Rhode Island," which he delivered this year (1738), it being the close of the First Century of the settlement of that Colony. My early pages have been indebted to it, as will have been seen ; and no one can write satisfactorily of Rhode Island without consulting it. A copy is in the library of the writer, with corrections by the Author's own hand.

‡ As late as 1744, Dr. Colman said, "I heartily wish that no Hymns of mere human composure may be brought into the *public* worship among us in any congregation ; no, not the very best in the world, even those of Dr. Watts himself, saving such as are a paraphrase or version of some part of Holy Scripture ; and so it was judged by the Fathers of New England, as our Psalm Book is an abundant testimony." — *Letter to Mr. Solomon Williams, of Lebanon.*

§ Mr. Staniford asked to be allowed by the Town to obtain aid by a subscription. On the 12th of October of this year (1739), a Committee to whom this request was referred, coldly reported, "that a Bridge as proposed will be a public benefit, and that it will be proper for the Town to make no objection."

times, to bury them four deep," and desired to know what they should do.* The Selectmen were desired to look into the matter.

John Ruck, Esq., having been elected one of the Overseers of the Poor, requested to be excused, he "having for twenty years past served in that capacity, and being now advanced in years." The Town excused him, and gave him a vote of thanks for his long and faithful services.

Gentlemen appointed to visit the Public Schools reported that they were generally satisfactorily conducted, and that the children appeared to be advancing; but that in the South Writing-school, though the scholars and their teacher had improved, they thought they would improve more; that there were in the five schools about 600 pupils; namely: in the South Grammar School about 120; in the North about 60; in the North Writing School about 280; in the Writing School in Queen-street about 73; and in the South Writing School about 62.

The widow of the late Mr. John Frizzell† (Dorothy Saltonstall) had left to the poor of the Town 200 pounds, and twenty pounds to be laid out in Bibles and Testaments to be distributed among poor children. The subject being brought up in Town-meeting, the Overseers of the Poor were directed to call upon the Executors for the legacy. Mrs. Saltonstall was the Executrix of Mr. Frizzell's will, and Thomas Hutchinson, John Ruck and Nathaniel Saltonstall, Esquires, were Executors of her will.

Christopher Kilby, one of the Representatives of the Town in the General Court, having been appointed by that Court to go to England as an agent for the Province, Capt. Nathaniel Cunningham was unanimously chosen to take his place.‡ The Committee chosen by the Town to instruct the Representatives, consisted of Captain Cunningham, Mr. Hugh Vans, Samuel Adams, Esq., Capt. Benjamin Pollard, and Mr. Middlecott Cooke.

* Notwithstanding another Yard was afterwards established on the south part of the Common, these continued to be used; and, if their condition was truly reported 115 years ago, and no doubt it was, what must be their present condition? And who, knowing these facts, could advocate intermural burials?

† Mr. Frizzell died 10 April, 1723. Dr. Cotton Mather preached a Sermon on the occasion, but nothing is to be learned from it except that he was an honorable merchant, and that the time of his death is as here given. Mrs. Frizzell (Saltonstall) died 4 April, 1733.

‡ Mr. Kilby embarked for London soon after, where he resided for several years. He was called the "Standing Agent" of the Province, and was likewise the Special Agent of the Town. Five years after this we find his re-election recorded, at which election he had 102 votes out of 109. When the General Court passed an act granting the King an excise on spirituous liquors, wines, limes, lemons and oranges, the Town "voted unanimously to employ him to appear on behalf of the Town, and to use his utmost endeavor to prevent said Act's obtaining the Royal Assent," and likewise to be its Agent in other matters. This action of the Town was Jan. 3d, 1755.

The name of Kilby is not found in Farmer's Register, though John Kilby was a resident of Boston before 1700. Kilby-street was named in honor of the family. Thomas Kilby, Esq., was Commissary of the King's stores at Louisbourg, and died there on the 23d of August, 1746. At the time of the great fire of March 17th, 1760, Mr. Christopher Kilby was residing in New York, in the service of the home Government. On hearing of the distressing fire in Boston, he sent the Town £200 sterling as a present.

CHAPTER LXI.

Oldmixon's Account of Boston. — George Whitefield. — Visits Boston. — Preaches on the Common. — Accident at Mr. Checkley's Church. — A New Market-house — Faneuil's Gift. — Hall named for him. — Death of Peter Faneuil. — Cradle of Liberty. — Land Bank Scheme. — Shirley, Governor. — His Family. — Number of Inhabitants. — Samuel Mather's Church. — Second Baptist. — Boston Marine Society. — Magazines begun. — Christian History. — American Magazine. — Death of William Cooper. — War with France. — Proclaimed in Boston. — Great Arrival of Cannon.



BELCHER.*

May 7. THE Representatives chosen this year were Thomas Cushing, Jun., Edward Bromfield, James Allen, and Thomas Hutchinson, Esquires. Mr. Hutchinson sailed not long after for England, and Mr. Timothy Prout was chosen in his stead.

"Sundry of the inhabitants" petitioned the Town that they might have the privilege of enclosing a small part of the top of Fort Hill for a Bowling-green; but they were refused. However, the next year Joseph Clewly was allowed to remove his Wind-mill from Roxbury, and to set it on Fort Hill; and the year following a vote was obtained for a Bowling-green there.

Mr. John Oldmixon corrected his work, called "The British Empire in America," this year, and published the second edition of it in 1741, and died in 1742. In it "The History of New England" occupies a very large space, and Boston a due proportion of that space. The

* For the copy from which the above Arms are taken, I am indebted to the kindness of Mrs. Harriet A. T. Lewis, as also for a fine mezzotinto engraving of Governor Belcher, from which Mr. S. S. Kilburn, Jr., our Artist, has given a good copy, though necessarily much reduced in size. For good biographies of



Gov. Belcher, see Eliot's and Allen's Dictionaries, often referred to in my notes. He was appointed to the Government of New Jersey, after he was superseded by Shirley, and died at Elizabeth Town, Aug. 31, 1757, aged 76. His first wife was Mary, dau. of Lieut. Governor Partridge, of New Hampshire, who died 6 Oct., 1736. He m. secondly, Mrs. Mary Louisa Emily Teal, 9 Sept., 1748. Mr. Belcher had all the advantages of education and travel, which the opulence of a fond father could give; "and added to these excellent endowments of mind, were a peculiar beauty and gracefulness of person, in which he was equalled by no man in his day; and there was a dignity in his mien and deportment which commanded respect." Mrs. Teal, his second wife, is said to have been "a lady of great merit and a handsome fortune." After the Governor's death, she resided in this vicinity. Gov. Belcher had given directions for his remains to be brought to Cambridge and interred there. Accordingly they were brought to Boston, in the end of November following his death, and deposited in a tomb in that Town. — Harris, *Cambridge Epitaphs*, 173. There were, probably, other families of Belcher than that to which the Governor belonged, in and about Boston. I find mention of Joseph, of Milton, "a great grandson of John Gill, 1733." This Joseph Belcher's father's name was also Joseph. See pages 181, 196, 236, 293, 319, 384, 403, 514. Belchertown in this Commonwealth was named in honor of the family of Gov. Belcher.

Town contained then, he says, ten Churches, the names of which he gives. Upon the "conversation and way of living" of the inhabitants, he remarks: "The conversation in this Town is as polite as in most of the Cities and Towns of England; many of their merchants having traded into Europe, and those that stayed at home having the advantage of Society with travellers; so that a gentleman from London would almost think himself at home at Boston, when he observes the number of people, their houses, their furniture, their tables, their dress and conversation, which perhaps is as splendid and showy as that of the most considerable tradesman in London. Upon the whole, Boston is the most flourishing Town for trade and commerce in the English America. Near 600 sail of ships have been laden here in a year for Europe and the British Plantations. The goodness of the pavement may compare with most in London; to gallop a horse on it is three shillings and fourpence forfeit."

A remarkable man had made his appearance in England some time before this, who, by his singular zeal and eloquence, had made much impression on the religious world. This was the Rev. George Whitefield. A visit from him to Boston was fondly anticipated by some, and by others such a visit, it was thought, would be productive of no permanent good. There was in Boston no lack of able and devoted ministers, and it was argued that a man like Mr. Whitefield, might divert their followers from their regular worship, which diversion in the end would lead to a distrust of their ability to teach, and cause a general dissatisfaction with them. On the other hand, it was said that there was, from some cause, a general apathy with regard to religion, and that something was wanting to awaken people to a sense of their condition. Hence there were, as in all similar cases, two parties; and eventually the leaders of those parties attacked each other, the consequence of which was a pamphlet war, carried on with much acrimony, and to a length that can hardly be imagined at this day, unless by those who have met with their instruments of warfare.* Mr. Whitefield himself, being the cause of the controversy, had to bear the brunt of it. † And notwithstanding the matter was then thought to be one of immense moment, few probably in this age care to inquire which party had the advantage.

Sept. 18. Mr. Whitefield paid a second visit to Gen. Oglethorpe's Colony of Georgia in 1739; thence he travelled by land to Boston, where he arrived in September of this year. As he approached the Town he was met by a deputation of gentlemen, who conducted him to lodgings.‡ He was now only in his twenty-sixth year, and it is

*I know not the number of those pamphlets, but I have found about thirty in my own collection. The Rev. Mr. Foxcroft, and several of the Country Ministers, wrote in "vindication" of Mr. Whitefield, among whom the Rev. William Balch, of Bradford, was conspicuous; while Dr. Chauncy and Dr. Wigglesworth with many others wrote against him.

† Writing tracts defending himself must have absorbed much of his time, as they are very numerous, and some of them not inconsiderable in bulk. They were usually in quarto, as were those of his adversaries.

‡ "Next day, in the afternoon, Dr. Sewall and I made him a visit; found several Ministers and other gentlemen of the Town with him, and that Dr. Colman and Mr. Cooper

doubtless true that few men have since lived, who, at so early an age, have acquired so wide a reputation as a preacher.*

Sept. 19. The next day he preached in Brattle-street Meeting-house, "to a vast concourse of people;" the next morning in the Old South, but as the number which could not gain admittance there was far greater than that within, he preached in the afternoon on the Common to a great number.

Sept. 21. The Sunday following, in the morning, he went to hear Dr. Colman preach, and in the afternoon he preached at the Old Brick; but there was such dissatisfaction among the multitude without, that the Preacher led them to the Common, where he was heard by from 8,000 to 10,000 persons, as was supposed.

Sept. 22. On the morning of Monday he preached at Mr. Webb's Church, and proposed to preach at Mr. Checkley's in the afternoon, but an accident prevented the services. The house being densely filled, a noise was heard in the gallery, which some supposed to be the breaking of timbers, and the utmost confusion ensued; some jumped from the gallery upon the people below, some out of the windows, while others rushed for the doors, regardless of all consequences. In this wild confusion "several were trod to death, three died almost presently, and others were grievously wounded," some of whom died within a few days after.† Mr. Whitefield was on the spot, and immediately led the vast assemblage to the Common, and there held forth again. He continued preaching in Boston and its vicinity with increased reputation

Oct. 12. until the second week in October, when he delivered his farewell sermon on the Common, "to a vast assembly, supposed to be 20,000 or more." The next day he left for New York, where, and in that vicinity, he preached some time. He reached Charleston, in South Carolina, on the third of January following, and on the 18th of the same month he sailed for England.‡

After the departure of Mr. Whitefield from this vicinity, the people began to reflect, and the excitement induced by his presence was gradually allayed; and some who had welcomed him, and believed his visit was calculated to do much good, changed their opinions. For a time he seems to have carried all before him, and the Ministers, in order that they should not be left alone, were obliged to join with their parishioners in showing their devotion to him. But on his return to

had engaged him to preach this afternoon in their house of Public Worship. And in about an hour we went to the place, which was quickly crowded with two or three thousand people." — Prince *in Christ. Hist.*, ii. 379. "He addressed himself to the Audience in such a tender, earnest and moving manner, as melted the Assembly into tears." — *Ibid.*, 380.

* He was born in Gloucester, Gloucestershire, 16 Dec. 1714, at the sign of the Bell, an Inn kept by his mother, and was educated at Pembroke College, Oxford, where he found those kindred spirits, John and Charles Wesley. So remarkable did these young men become for their correct deportment and exact method in all their affairs, that they received the name of *Methodists*. This was the origin of the name of the since well-known sect bearing it. John, the elder Wesley, had preceded Whitefield in America.

† Rev. Joseph Sewall's *Journal*, in Wisner's *Hist. Old South*, p. 103.

‡ Whitefield's *Journal* (original edition), Boston, 1741. He went by way of Northampton. From Philadelphia he went by water to Charleston.

this country, in 1744, his reception, though warm in many places, was different from that he had received on his first coming. It was not until this second visit that the "war of pamphlets," before adverted to, commenced.*

To be as brief as possible, it must suffice here to say, that, after crossing the Atlantic Ocean seven times upon his pious and benevolent labors, he landed for the last time in this country on the 30th of November, 1769, and on the 30th of September of the following year he died at Newburyport, and was there entombed.

On the whole, it must be confessed that Mr. Whitefield had the good of his fellow-men at heart, and that if his labors did not have a lasting benefit, it was not because he did not prosecute them in all sincerity.† "The Great Revival" which commenced this year, and which spread over the country, was occasioned by his preaching.‡

Notwithstanding the fate of the late Market-houses, the utility of such structures was allowed by a large class of the people of the Town. But when they were called upon to build a Market, it was hard to get a majority in favor of it. Thus the case stood for several years. To relieve the Town from this difficulty, there came forward, about this time, a liberal and wealthy merchant, who proposed to build a House at his own charge, and to make a present of it to the Town. The name of this gentleman was Peter Faneuil, already brought to the reader's notice.

July 14. Thomas Palmer, Edward Hutchinson, and John Osborn, Esquires, took an active part in this business. They circulated a Petition, to which was procured 340 subscribers, which was presented in Town-meeting, in which the proposal of Mr. Faneuil was introduced. § And, strange as it may now seem, that gentleman's liberal offer was accepted by a majority of only seven votes; 367 voting its acceptance, and 360 against it. Such was the slender majority that gave a Market-house to Boston, and a Faneuil Hall to the United States.‖

* He arrived at Pascataqua, in New Hampshire, in the ship Wilmington, Capt. Darling. While on his passage he wrote a pamphlet in answer to one by Dr. Smallbroke, Bishop of Litchfield, and soon after he arrived he wrote another in answer to Dr. Chauncy. This is dated Portsmouth, 19 Nov., 1744, while its Preface is dated Boston, Jan. 18th, 1744–5.

† Dr. Douglass, who was writing his work on the Colonies at the time Mr. Whitefield was here, speaks of him as a "vagrant enthusiast, with an ill-pointed zeal, by whom poor deluded tradesmen and laborers (whose time is their only estate) are called off to his exhortations, to the private detriment of their families, and great damage to the Public; thus, perhaps, every exhortation of his was about £1000 damage to Boston." — *Summary*, i. 249–50. Had the Doctor lived in our time, and witnessed the flocking after Maffit, Miller, and others which might be mentioned, his thousand pounds a day would sink into insignificance.

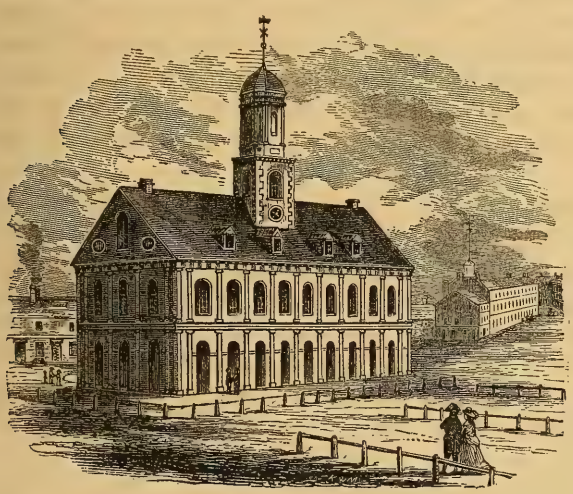
‡ The following remarks of Dr. Colman have reference to that Revival: "Whoever of *us* went early and *too suddenly* into a good opinion of the *transports* of weak people and *children*, in the beginning of the *work of God* which we still judge has been among us in many places; let us look back with *humility*, even in the conscience of our *integrity* therein, and not be ashamed to confess our *inadvertence* and imprudence in not being more aware of the *tendency* of those *extraordinaries* and irregularities, unto these *errors* and extravagancies of others." — *Letter to Mr. Williams, of Lebanon.*

§ The meeting was so large that it was found necessary to adjourn to Brattle-street Meeting-house.

‖ It is quite doubtful if Mr. Faneuil's gift had not been refused, had not the following

1742. Sept. 13. About two years elapsed before it was finished ;* and then in a Town-meeting held in it, it was reported, that in pursuance of the vote of 1740, Mr. Faneuil had, "at a very great expense, erected a noble structure, far exceeding his first proposal, inasmuch as it contains not only a large and sufficient accommodation for a Market-place, but has also superadded a spacious and most beautiful Town-hall over it, and several other convenient rooms, which may prove very beneficial to the Town, for offices, or otherwise ; and, the said building being now finished, has delivered possession thereof to the Selectmen for the use of the Town."

It was, on motion of the Hon. John Jeffries, then voted, that "the Town do, with the utmost gratitude, receive and accept this most generous and noble benefaction." The Moderator of the Meeting, "the Hon. Thomas Cushing, the Hon. Adam Winthrop, Edward Hutchinson, Ezekiel Lewis, and Samuel Waldo, Esquires, Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., the Selectmen, and the Representatives of the Town of Boston, the Hon. Jacob Wendell, Esq., James Bowdoin, Esq., Andrew Oliver, Esq., Captain Nathaniel Cunningham, Peter Chardon, Esq., and Mr. Charles Apthorp," were appointed a Committee to wait upon Mr. Faneuil, "and in the name of the Town to render him their most hearty thanks for so beautiful a gift." On motion of Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., it was also voted, "that in testimony of the Town's gratitude to Peter Faneuil, Esq., and, to perpetuate his memory, that the Hall over the Market-place be named Faneuil Hall, and at all times hereafter be called and known by that name." Then



FANEUIL HALL.

clause accompanied and concluded the proposal of it : "And we the said Subscribers would humbly propose that, notwithstanding the said building should be encouraged and come to effect, yet that the Market-people should be at liberty to carry their Marketing wheresoever they pleased about the Town, to dispose of it." Such was the prejudice against Market-houses at that day, and there are those now (1855) who doubt their public utility.

When the Committee waited on Mr. Faneuil to thank him for his donation, he made the following remarkable observation ; — that "he hoped what he had done would be for the service of the whole country." Had this benefactor lived but a few years longer, he would have had the mortification to see his commodious Market entirely abandoned. So few people resorted to it, that it was shut up by a vote of the Town, in Sept., 1747. In the March following a vote was obtained for its being open three days in the week, and some time after it was opened every day ; but in 1752 it was closed indefinitely, after a sharp contest. However, in 1753, with a view to deriving some income from it, it was opened and the stalls leased.

*The work was begun on the 8th of Sept., 1740, and finished on the 10th of Sept., 1742. On the day last named, Mr. Samuel Ruggles, who had been employed upon the building, delivered the key to the Selectmen.

Mr. William Price moved that "his picture be drawn at full length, at the expense of the Town, and placed in the Hall."*

The building was of brick, 100 by 40 feet, and was finished in a style of elegance which rendered it an ornament to the Town. The present Faneuil Hall occupies the same site as the original building, which was destroyed by fire in 1761. It was rebuilt by the Town in 1763, and it is this building which is above represented. In 1775 the British made a theatre of it, and had performances in it until they were compelled to evacuate the Town the following year.

In about six months after he had provided Boston with a Market-
1743. Mar. 3. house, Mr. Faneuil died.† His age was but forty-two years and about nine months. The maiden name of his mother was Anne Bureau, and he was the oldest of eleven children, and was born, as were the others, at New Rochelle, in the then Province of New York. Upon the death of their benefactor, the Selectmen appointed Mr. John Lovell, Principal of the South Grammar School, to deliver a funeral oration, which he did, in the Hall bearing the name of Faneuil, eleven days after his death.‡

The Hall and other apartments in this building now became the principal place for transacting the business of the Town, and it very well served the purpose until it had fully recovered from the disasters of the Revolution; except in cases of extraordinary meetings, when it was sometimes found necessary to adjourn to the Old South. At length, public convenience required a more spacious building, and in 1805 the enlargement of Faneuil Hall was undertaken, and carried through in about twelve months. By this enlargement a Hall was provided seventy-six feet square, and twenty-eight in height, with galleries on three sides, resting upon Doric columns, as it now appears.

The magnificent paintings which adorn its western wall, with the

* Among the regulations adopted was one requiring the annual appointment of a Clerk, and Mr. Faneuil was desired to name one, to serve till the next Annual Meeting, and he recommended Mr. Thomas Jackson. At the Annual Meeting the next year (14 March, 1743), John Staniford was chosen; probably the same who had been strenuously exerting himself about the erection of a bridge over Charles River.

† His residence was on the westerly side of Tremont-street, opposite the old, or Johnson Burying-ground, in an elegant mansion built by his uncle, Andrew Faneuil; the same in which lived afterwards Lieut. Gov. Phillips. Upon a summer-house belonging to it there was a grasshopper for its vane, similar to that upon Faneuil Hall; from the fact, no doubt, of its representing the crest of the Arms of Faneuil.

‡ Though there is nothing remarkable in Mr. Lovell's oration, the occasion was sufficient to give it importance, and it was ordered to be entered upon the records of the Town. It has been copied into several works, and will be found in Loring's *Boston Orators*, in the *Massachusetts Magazine* for March, 1789, p. 133, and in Snow's *Hist. Boston*, 235. March 14th, 1744, the Town "voted to purchase the Faneuil arms, elegantly carved and gilt by Moses Deshon, to be fixed in the Hall."

The first meeting in the Hall, after the death of Mr. Faneuil, was held to perform funeral solemnities over his remains. This was on March 14th, 1743. The Rev. Charles Chauncy, D. D., opened the meeting with prayer. "The Select-men having determined that some proper respect should be paid to his memory, had appointed Mr. John Lovell, Master of the South Grammar School, to do the same. And then the said Master Lovell having taken the Moderator's seat, which was hung in mourning cloth, made an handsome Oration on the death of the said Peter Faneuil, Esq., to the great acceptance of the Town."— *Town Records.*

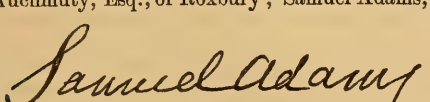
exception of that of the founder,* have been added from time to time; among which none appear more appropriate than that of SAMUEL ADAMS, who, of all others, was the chief cause of its being immortalized as the CRADLE OF LIBERTY. A few days after the funeral oration on Mr. Faneuil, Governor Shirley informed the Town, through the Selectmen, that "he had received his Majesty's picture from the Lord Chamberlain [the Duke of Grafton], and that he intended to present it to the Town to be hung up in Faneuil Hall." A vote of thanks was conveyed to him by a Committee raised for that purpose, and not long after the portrait of George the Second was placed in the Hall.

Sept. 9. A "Manufactory Company" was formed in Boston this year; its object being "for the ease of trade and commerce," as its projectors alleged; to accomplish which they were to issue 150,000 pounds in bills of credit, to be called "Manufactory Bills." This was a revival of a scheme for private banking, strongly urged in 1713, but which was then prevented from being carried into effect by the governmental issue of paper money. This was called the "Land Bank Scheme," because land was pledged for the redemption of the bills. Mr. Hutchinson, the historian, the inveterate opposer of all paper-money projects, opposed this with all his ability; but it went into operation, and although it terminated quite as well, if not better, than any other paper-money affair hitherto, yet Mr. Hutchinson's hostility to it prevented his taking a candid view of the subject, or treating its projectors with respectful consideration in his history.†

1741. Governor Belcher was superseded by William Shirley, Esq., and Henry Frankland, Esq.,‡ was made Collector of the Port. Mr. Shirley was a lawyer, and came originally from Sussex, but he had lived in Boston about seven years, and was esteemed for his gentlemanly deportment. When the news of his appointment arrived, he was in

* That now in the Hall representing Mr. Faneuil was copied from one of smaller size, by Col. Henry Sargent. That of Washington is by Stuart, and was presented, as was this of Faneuil, by the late Samuel Parkman, Esq.

† As I have not met with the names of the Undertakers of the Land Bank in any publication, they are here introduced: — Robert Auchmuty, Esq., of Roxbury; Samuel Adams,



Esq. [father of the Patriot], William Stoddard, Esq., and Peter Chardon, merchant, of Boston; Samuel Watts, Esq., of Chelsea; George Leonard, Esq., of Norton; Robert Hale, Esq., of Beverly; John Choate, Esq., of Ipswich, and Thomas Cheever, of Lynn, gentleman. — *Original MS. Indenture* between John Clap, of Scituate, and the Directors or Undertakers. Several of these were men of note afterwards. Leonard was the author of the famous Letters signed Massachusettensis, mis-attributed by the first President Adams to Jonathan Sewall, Esq. Auchmuty was Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty, in 1728.

‡ Afterwards Sir Henry Frankland. He had an elegant residence in North Square, and another in the town of Hopkinton, where he passed his summers in a style of elegance not common at that day. His history is a very romantic one, and has been collected by the REV. MR. NASON, of Natick, a native of Foxborough, who is capable of giving it to the public in a history of that Town, in a manner which would be creditable to our local historical literature. Sir Henry Frankland died at Bath, in England, the seat of the family, Jan. 11th, 1768, and his title descended to Thomas Frankland, Esq., his nephew, a Vice Admiral in the Navy. When a captain in the service, he commanded the Rose frigate, and was in Boston in 1743. Some poetry addressed to him at that time may be seen in the Evening Post of 22 Aug., No. 420.

July. Rhode Island, acting as Counsel for Massachusetts before a Court of Commissioners assembled at Providence to settle the boundary line between the two Colonies.* He had the address to secure in his favor those who had opposed Governor Belcher, and also to uphold the prerogative of the Crown, which was always obnoxious to the party which may very properly be denominated the Republican party. The interests of the Province were much advanced during Mr. Shirley's administration. He gave the people something to do, and in that employment which fitted them to oppose the measures of the home government. His operations against the French were of this character, and some of them were peculiarly fortunate. He had a large family. Two of his sons, William and Thomas, were officers in the army. The former was killed with General Braddock, in 1755. In 1746 his wife, Mrs. Frances Shirley, died, and was buried in King's Chapel burying-ground.† In 1756, Governor Shirley was superseded by Thomas Pownall, Esq. He was afterwards Governor of one of the Bahama Islands, but, returning to America, died at his seat in Roxbury, March 24th, 1771, aged about seventy-seven. His remains were deposited in a vault under King's Chapel, the corner-stone of which church he had laid in 1749.

There were this year, "at one and the same time," upon the stocks in Boston, forty topsail vessels, amounting to about 7,000 tons.‡

The winter of 1740–1 was excessively severe, and, to mitigate the sufferings of the poor, those in better circumstances contributed large amounts. On a single Sunday, in the month of February, a collection in the Churches amounted to 1251 pounds.§

* As was then the custom, "the Associated Pastors of the Churches" waited on the new Governor, on the 17th of August, and presented him with their congratulatory Address, in which they assured him they should pray "that the spirit of wisdom might rest upon him, to enable him to discharge his great duties acceptably; and that the Churches and the College would meet with his favor and protection; and that he would cause a strict observance of the Lord's day." He, in return, assured them that they might depend upon his endeavors in those respects. They then proceeded to Ex-Governor Belcher's, and thanked him for "all his goodness and favor to the Churches, and the Pastors of them." The Associated Pastors were Benj. Colman, Joseph Sewall, Thomas Prince, John Webb, William Cooper, Thomas Foxcroft, Samuel Checkley, William Welsteed, Joshua Gee, Mather Byles, Ellis Gray, and Andrew Eliot.

† She died at Dorchester on the 4th of September, and was buried with much ceremony on the 11th. Great numbers attended the funeral from the neighboring towns; and, during the procession, which was formed about three o'clock in the afternoon, the guns at the Castle and at the Batteries in the Town were fired every half minute, as were those of four of the King's ships then in the harbor, and several others. The corpse being carried into King's Chapel, the Rev. Mr. Commissary Price preached a sermon from Rev. xiv. 13; and on the morning of the same day Dr. Colman preached at the Lecture, "in audience of the General Court," on the same occasion. His Discourse was printed. Mrs. Shirley was said to have been a Catholic, and that circumstance was prejudicial to his popularity.

‡ Douglass, *Summary*, ii. 18. — Ship-building rapidly decreased from about this period, and this author attributes the decline "to Mr. Shirley's faulty government," which is a very prejudiced view of the case.

§ To show the relative ability of the Societies at this time, the amount contributed by each is here given: — Dr. Cutler's, £72 14s. 2d; Mr. Price's, £134 10s.; Mr. Davenport's, £133 3s. 3d. These were Episcopal. Mr. Welsteed's, £58; Mr. Hooper's, £143; Mr. Foxcroft's, £95; Dr. Colman's, £164 10s.; Dr. Sewall's, £105; Mr. Webb's, £105; Mr. Gee's, £71 10s. 5d.; the French Church, £14 11s. 3d.; Anabaptist, £14 2; Mr. Moorehead's [known as the Irish meeting], £27 5s.; Mr. Checkley's, £72 12s.; Mr. Byles', £40 2s.

The subject of the Fortifications of the Town had been constantly brought up in Town-meetings, but no effectual action had been taken, owing chiefly to the "poverty and distress" of the inhabitants, arising from a loss of trade and the state of the currency. The North and South Batteries were so much decayed that they were entirely unserviceable. At the general Town-meeting in March, a subscription was proposed among the inhabitants, "in order to raise about 20,000 pounds," and a Committee was appointed to solicit donations; but to no purpose, as it appears from the Report of the Committee, who said that "the inhabitants in general declared they would not subscribe until they knew where the Fortifications were to be placed, and the Committee who were to lay out the money." The consequence was the General Court took the case in hand, and the old Forts were eventually repaired.

Mar. 9.

Mar. 23. For the last nineteen months, "taking one time with another," there were forty persons in the Work-house. At this time there were fifty-five, of whom but ten were men.

1742. The burials in Boston in 1742 were 515, from which it was reckoned that there were about 18,000 inhabitants.* This computation was based upon the notion that but one in thirty-five dies per annum, which was not then very near the truth, probably. Sir William Petty had about this time concluded that one in thirty, in cities, was a fair estimate. There were, however, now in the Town 1200 widows, all but 200 of whom were in indigent circumstances; in the Alms-house were 111 inmates, in the Work-house, thirty-six; Negroes, 1514. The dwelling-houses numbered 1719; warehouses, 116; horses, 418; cows, 141.

The Church known as Mr. Samuel Mather's Church was formed this year. Mr. Mather had been Minister in the Old North about nine years, when, in February, 1741, he asked a dismission from it. The Church at first refused to grant it; but in October of that year, the matter having been submitted to a Council, a dismission was granted. With Mr. Mather about thirty men and twice as many women separated from the Old North, and in the early part of 1742 they had a house ready for their worship. It was of wood, and stood at the corner of North Bennet and Hanover streets. After the death of Mr. Mather, in 1785, his Meeting-house was purchased by Universalists, and became the First Universalist Church in Boston.

Another Church was formed this year under similar circumstances. This was the Second Baptist. Some persons belonging to the First Baptist complained that the Pastor, the Rev. Jeremiah Condy, † was an

*This is Dr. Douglass' statement; but in another page he says, "By a new valuation, in 1742, there were reported 16,382 souls in Boston."

†Mr. Condy died 28 Aug., 1768, and was buried in the Common Burying-ground. His wife was Sarah, dau. of Mr. Shem Drowne. She mar. secondly, Dr. William Lee Perkins, and died 7 July, 1773. Her father was a claimant of Eastern lands under Elbridge and Aldsworth, which he derived through his wife, daughter of Richard Russell. Mr. Drowne resided for many years in Boston, and was often employed in Town affairs, especially in the management of the Fortifications. The name does not occur among Farmer's early settlers.

Arminian, and that he had departed from the original Covenant of their Church. The case or accusation being propounded to him in writing, he would not make any reply to it. Accordingly, James Bound, John Proctor, and Ephraim Bosworth, called themselves the First Baptist Church, because they adhered to the original Covenant, "and on the same day John Dabney and Thomas Boucher, then Ephraim Bound, and then Thomas Lewis, acknowledged the aforenamed persons to be the First Baptist Church, and were admitted members." The evening following they made choice of Mr. Ephraim Bound to take the pastoral Charge of them. As no Ministers here or in this vicinity would assist in ordaining Mr. Bound, he was obliged to go to Warwick, in Rhode Island, and was there ordained on the seventh of September, 1743.

This Society held its first Sunday-meetings in the dwelling-house of Mr. James Bound, in Sheaf-street, which were begun on the third of October, 1742. The first sermon preached in their Meeting-house was on March 15th, 1746. Their first house was small, built of wood, and stood upon the site occupied by the Church in Baldwin Place. It was forty-five by thirty-three feet. Dr. John Gill, the well-known Commentator on the Bible, presented the Church with plate, books, and baptismal garments. Mr. Ephraim Bosworth and his wife, who were of Hull, became members of this Church. At his death Mr. Bosworth bequeathed it a valuable house in the north part of Boston, and the principal part of the island called the Great Brewster, in the harbor. A few years after the settlement of Dr. Baldwin, the Society had so much increased, that it was found necessary to enlarge their House. This was completed and opened for service, Thanksgiving-day, November 30th, 1798. A clock was given, by Mr. John Hoffman, for the front gallery. In 1810 the increase of the Society again rendered their House too small, and a new one was erected, which is the present edifice. It was dedicated on the first of January, 1810.*

The "Boston Marine Society" was established this year, but it was not incorporated until the second of February, 1754. Its objects are set forth in the Charter, most of which having been assumed by the General Government, renders it of less importance now than at the time of its formation.†

*The Ministers of this Church are thus given: — Ephraim Bound, or Bond, 7 Sept., 1743, to 18 June, 1765; John Davis, 9 Sept., 1770, July, 1772; Isaac Skillman, 3 Oct., 1773, 7 Oct., 1787; Thomas Gair, 23 April, 1788, 27 April, 1790; Thomas Baldwin, 11 Nov., 1790, 29 Aug., 1825; James D. Knowles, 28 Dec., 1825, 7 Oct., 1832; Baron Stow, 15 Nov., 1832, 1 July, 1848; Levi Tucker, 31 Dec., 1848.

In Dr. Baldwin's Sermon at the Opening of the Church, Jan. 1st, 1811, and his New-Year's Discourse, Jan., 1824, may be found interesting facts concerning the Ministers of that Church, his predecessors. Also a more particular history of the Church than can be here included. Dr. Baldwin died suddenly, 29 Aug., 1825, aged 71, at Waterville, Me.

†It consisted of "a considerable number of persons who were or had been masters of ships or other vessels." They associated "to improve the knowledge of this Coast, by communicating their observations, inward and outward, of the variation of the needle, the soundings, courses, and distances, and all other remarkable things about it, in writing, to be lodged with the Society, for the making of the navigation more safe; and also to relieve one another and their families in poverty or other adverse accidents in life; and for this end had raised a considerable common Stock, out of which they had, from time to

The Schools had all along received the special attention of the Town. Learned and efficient men made visits to them, and their reports were anxiously listened to. Masters and Ushers were constantly petitioning for an increase of salary, and these petitions received careful attention.*

1743. Mar. 2. A periodical was commenced on the third of March, 1743, called "The Boston Weekly Magazine;" but the age of Magazines had hardly arrived in Boston, while in Philadelphia one was started two years before this. The Boston Weekly Magazine, issued in octavo form, continued only four weeks.†

Mar. 5. It cannot be stated with certainty whether it was suspended for want of patronage, or whether another work, partaking something of the Magazine character, took its place. This was "The Christian History," undertaken, no doubt, at the instance of the Rev. Thomas Prince, one of the principal contributors to its pages. Thomas Prince, Junior, son of the former, was its publisher. It was an octavo, eight pages in each number, and issued weekly, on Saturdays. At the end of two years it ceased.‡

May 25. On the 25th of May, at their annual Convention, the Pastors of the Churches published a "Testimony against several Errors in Doctrine, and Disorders in Practice," which had "of late obtained, in various parts of the Land." It bears the signature only of the Moderator, the Rev. Nathaniel Eells. And on the seventh of July, "there met in Boston one of the largest Assembly of Ministers that ever convened here, to bear their Testimony to this remarkable Revival in the Land; when ten Ministers in this Town" joined in the Testimony.§

July 7.

Sept. 12. On the 12th of September there appeared a work in opposition to these "Testimonies." It was entitled "The Testi-

time, contributed largely to the aforesaid purposes." On admission to a membership in the Society, a fee of twenty dollars and twenty-five cents was required.

*Mr. Zacheriah Hicks had the last year petitioned for an increase of salary. He was Usher in Mr. John Proctor's North Writing-School. A Committee having been appointed to inquire into the merits of the case, reported that in said School they found about 280 scholars; the Master had £280 per annum; and the Usher, £150; that the children of the Town, who could read in the Psalter, had not been refused admittance, and no entrance-money demanded; but of the children of strangers a fee was taken, and there were about ten such in the School; that for firing, poor children paid nothing, others, as they think fit; so that "one with another" paid about 5s., which the Master insisted on as his perquisite, and could not subsist without it, he having for some time paid an Assistant £100 per annum out of his salary. Therefore the Committee were of opinion that nothing could be taken from the Master's [Mr. John Procter's] salary for the Usher, and recommended that £30 be added to the salary of the latter, which was adopted.

The substance of the Report has been extracted here, as giving the best insight into a Boston School of 1741, that can be gathered from the Records.

†Thomas, *Hist. Printing*, ii. 253.

‡The great object of "The Christian History" appears to have been, to collect into a permanent form an account of the great Revival which had spread over the Country immediately after the first sojourn of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, before noticed. The work is now very highly prized by Antiquaries, not for its rarity merely, but for its numerous obituaries, biographical notices, and other facts connected with the period. It was, during its progress, rudely attacked, both in newspapers and pamphlets, but those attacks with their authors have gone to oblivion, while the Christian History remains a valuable repository for future Historians of New England.

§ *Christian History*, ii. 412. — The names of the "ten Ministers" I presume to be the same as given in note *, p. 614, *ante*, though there are more than *ten* there enumerated.

mony and Advice of a number of Laymen, respecting Religion and the Teachers of it. Addressed to the Pastors of New England." In this, those who had composed the Convention, and those of the Assembly, were accused of inconsistencies, of holding to different principles, calculated to mislead and bewilder the ignorant, and to set the Laity in a very disadvantageous light.* The opposition to the Revival Ministers probably subsided, as that excitement died away, and but little more is heard about it.†

Oct. 20. Notwithstanding the feeble support extended to periodicals, another was undertaken in the Autumn of 1743. Its title was "The American Magazine, and Historical Chronicle." The numbers were issued monthly, contained about forty-five pages, in octavo, and appeared as well, in all respects, as similar works of the time in England, excepting it had no plates. Some of the early numbers had a cut in the first page, intended to represent Boston; which it did quite as well as that in the London Magazine represented London, probably. But the American Magazine had a brief existence, extending only three years and four months.‡

Dec. 13. On the 13th of December the Church in Brattle-street was deprived of one of its Pastors, the Rev. William Cooper, who died at the age of fifty. He was a very eminent Preacher, and "his death was greatly lamented by all the Town and Land."§ He had been a Colleague of Dr. Colman about twenty-seven years, and was his first assistant, with the exception of the Rev. Eliphalet Adams for about two years, 1701 and 1702, afterwards of New London.

1744. The affairs of Boston were much changed during the Summer of 1744. Its regular business met with serious obstructions, growing out of a war between England and France. It had been declared in London on the last day of March, and it was proclaimed in Boston in two

June 2. months after. All was now stir and bustle. Soldiers were collected here as their place of departure upon proposed expeditions; and privateers were made ready at its wharves for the cruising service.

* Read in this connection page 198, vol. i., of the *Christian History*.

† During the Whitefield excitement, one Mr. James Davenport, "a wonderful man to search hypocrites," of Long Island, came to Boston, and, by his "fiery zeal," attracted many people to hear him preach. He expressed more earnestness than Mr. Whitefield, with far less prudence. On the 27th of July, 1742, he preached on the Common to an immense assemblage. From some circumstances it is presumed he introduced the singing of hymns in the streets. His conduct gave great offence, and several pamphlets were written about it. At length he came out with "A Confession and Retractions;" but it was not very satisfactory. His principal offence seems to have been a refusal to unite with other ministers here and elsewhere, under the belief that they had never been converted. — See *Christ. Hist.*, ii. 407. See, also, *ibid.*, 237 and 241. — Shepherd, in Backus, *Discourse on Internal Call*, 106.

‡ It was published by Samuel Eliot, in Cornhill, and Joshua Blanchard, in Dock Square, and printed by Rogers and Fowle, in Prison Lane. Dr. Thomas notes, that "it has been said that Jeremy Gridley, Esq., who had edited the Rehearsal, was the Editor of this Magazine." In the imprint the following publishers are named: — "B. Franklin, in *Philadelphia;* J. Parker, in *New York;* J. Pomroy, in *New Haven;* C. Campbell, Post Master in *Newport*." The price was 3*s*. New Tenor a quarter, about equal to two dollars a year.

§ *Christian History*, i. 337; *American Magazine*, i. 176. He died suddenly of apoplexy. Fine portraits of him are extant.

This war had been expected for many months, and the Home Government had not been unmindful of the wants of the Metropolis of New England; for on the last day of the last year a ship came in from England, which brought twenty forty-two pound cannon for Castle William; also two large mortars, with their carriages and beds, shell and shot, with other utensils.

CHAPTER LXII.

Expedition against Louisbourg. — News of its Capture received. — Great Rejoicing. — Thanksgiving. — Reception of Victors. — Great Arrival of Specie. — The Town threatened by the French. — Sunday Observance. — Deaths and Baptisms. — David Brainerd. — Impressment Tumult. — Commodore Knowles. — Fire. — Town-house burnt.



WENDELL.‡

THE Expedition against Louisbourg has given to the year 1745 a remarkable prominence in the History of New England. It was planned in Boston by Governor Shirley,* and when he communicated his intention to the General Court, an injunction of secrecy was enjoined.† It was a hazardous undertaking, and nothing but a bold and sudden stroke could ensure its success. The originator had learned, by much perseverance and skill during the previous winter, that the place was in no very perfect condition for resistance, which put

* Much credit is probably due to several Boston gentlemen for the ready support they gave the Governor. Among them may be mentioned Col. James Gibson, who contributed upwards of £500, and went a volunteer in the Expedition. He was a wealthy merchant, whose place of business was in King-street, and his residence was at Beacon Hill, and one of the finest in the Town. The "Beacon Hill Seminary" is near its site. — Johnson's edition of *Gibson's Journal*. In this work it is said that Col. Gibson came to Boston from London (of which city he was a native), about 1700; that he was a kindred of Bishop Gibson the Antiquary. It is also claimed for Col. Gibson, that, but for his encouragement, Gov. Shirley would never have gone forward in the attempt on Louisbourg; while an English writer of respectability says, that to Robert Auchmuty, Esq., "belonged the sole merit of setting the glorious enterprise on foot." — Beatson, i. 265. Auchmuty was one of the principal Land Bank founders. The same is also claimed for Col. William Vaughan, who died in London the next year.

† When the vote was taken which was to decide upon the undertaking, there was but one majority in favor of it. And yet it is matter of astonishment with what alacrity the people came forward to enter into it. One of the most judicious writers of that day says: "As soon as ever the design was known among us, it was a marvellous thing, that when *this* Province had lately lost so *many hundred* men, *volunteers* in the sad expedition to Carthagena, not *one* in *ten* being alive to return, their wives left widows and their children orphans: yet to see so many *likely men*, and I conclude the most of them owners of lands and houses, and many religious, in all our towns, readily listing even as private soldiers; with the small wages of 25 shillings [new tenor] a month, to leave their gainful farms and trades, as well as parents, wives and children; all as free volunteers in this hazardous enterprise; yea, more than the Court desired; and that so many men of distinguished figure should cheerfully offer themselves — even four of his Majesty's Council for this Province, among them the Hon. William Pepperrell, Esq., the first of the Council; as also the Hon. Dep. Governor of Connecticut Colony, and divers others of public esteem and character." — *Thanksgiving Ser.* by Rev. Thomas Prince, 18 July, 1745, p. 23.

‡ The progenitor of the family of Wendell came from Germany. Evert Jansen Wendell is found at Albany, N. Y., about 1645. He came from East Friesland, in Hanover, and died at the age of 88, in the year 1709. His son, John Wendell, was the father of Abra-

him upon the action. Fortunately the country was ready for the enterprise, and it succeeded beyond the expectations of the most sanguine. The Governor had applied to the Court of England for direction and assistance, but no answer had been received when the expedition was resolved upon; so that it was, in fact, a Boston undertaking. And there are not many parallels to be found, perhaps, where an expedition of such magnitude had been made ready in the incredibly short period of two months. Within this time there had assembled at and in the vicinity of Boston about 2070 men, who sailed on the intended enterprise on
Mar. 24. the 24th of March. The details of the expedition belong to the History of New England, and must be deferred here. The
June 16. famous fortress, sometimes called the Gibraltar of America, surrendered on the 16th of June.

Few events have caused such rejoicing in Boston as did the reception of the news of the capture of Louisbourg. An express packet arrived
July 2. in the night of the second of July, bringing despatches from Lieut. General Pepperrell, containing the account that that stronghold of the power of France in America had surrendered.* As soon as it was day the astounding intelligence was communicated to the Town by the officers of the military, with three discharges of small arms; "at which summons the people, of all ranks, arose from their beds to joy and thanksgiving, and each one severally contributed their

ham, who came to Boston, and died here 28 Sept., 1734. His ninth child was the Hon. Jacob Wendell, a wealthy merchant, a Colonel of the Boston regiment, a Counsellor, and, in 1733, a Director in the first Banking institution in the Province. His residence was in School-street, opposite King's Chapel, which was recently standing, where he died 7 Sept., 1761, aged 70. His wife was Sarah Oliver. — (See pedigree of Oliver, p. 293). Among the children of the Hon. Jacob Wendell were Jacob, who m. Elizabeth Hunt, and d. 27 Nov., 1753; Elizabeth, b. 1719, m. Richd. Wibird, of Portsmouth; Mary, b. 14 Jan., 1724, m. Saml. Sewall, d. 21 Jan., 1746; Katherine, m. Wm. Cooper, Town Clerk of Boston; John Mico, m. Catherine Brattle; Ann, m. John Penhallow, of Portsmouth; Oliver, b. 5 March, 1733, d. 15 Jan., 1818. He m., in 1762, Mary, dau. of Edward Jackson, whose wife was Dorothy Quincy. This Oliver Wendell was the recently well-known Judge Wendell. His dau. Sarah m. the Rev. Abiel Holmes, D.D., the author of "*American Annals*," &c., the father of Mary Jackson, who m. Usher Parsons, M. D., of Providence, R. I.; Ann Susan, who m. the Rev. Charles W. Upham, of Salem, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, M. D., the Poet. John Wendell, Esq., who lived at the corner of Queen and Tremont streets, was the oldest brother of the Hon. Jacob W., before named. He was a merchant, m. a dau. of Judge Edmund Quincy, and d. 15 Dec., 1762, a. 60. Their son John, b. 11 Sept., 1732, settled in Portsmouth, N. H., and d. there 26 April, 1808. The present Jacob Wendell, Esq., of that town, is a representative of this family.

Margaret, the twelfth child of the Hon. Jacob Wendell, b. 20 Aug., 1739, m. William Phillips, Esq., of Boston, and was mother of the Hon. John Phillips, first Mayor of the City; and grandmother of Thomas W. and Wendell Phillips, Esquires, of Boston. — W. P., *in Memorials of the Dead in Boston*, &c.

The Arms of Wendell, as above given, "were stained on nine panes of glass in the window of the old Dutch Church, at Albany, of which Evert Jansen Wendell (the grandfather of Abraham who came to Boston) was, in 1656, *Regerendo Dijaken*. That Church stood till 1805, and was then demolished. Judge Oliver Wendell, of Boston, in expectation of the event, had written to Killian Van Rensselaer to preserve his family arms, but Mr. Van Rensselaer was at Washington when the work of destruction was done, and to his sorrow learned that they had not been saved; and in writing of the affair he said he would have given 100 dollars if he could have saved them. — Munsell's *Annals of Albany*, 120. In the same work is preserved a view of the Church, and also a view of a house built by one of the Wendell family, which the writer remembers to have seen, and which was demolished in 1841.

*So fatally secure were the French, that they had not the slightest intimation of this design upon them, until they were completely invested by the forces sent for the purpose.

part to wear away the day in rejoicing. In the evening there was a very handsome bonfire on the glad occasion, and the Town universally illuminated, with all other public testimonies of joy, with a surprising decency and good order."*

July 18. The 18th of July was celebrated as a Thanksgiving for the occasion. And on the return of the officers and others to Boston,
Nov. 8. the event was again celebrated more extravagantly than before. The Governor and his lady had been at the scene of action. They arrived after eleven days' passage, in the Massachusetts frigate, Capt. Edward Tyng. His Excellency debarked from the frigate, which saluted him with seventeen guns; and, on landing at the Castle, which was about four in the afternoon, that fortress gave him twenty-one guns. Here he passed the night of the eighth. The next morning he proceeded in the Castle-barge to the Town, accompanied by the Lieut. Governor, Spencer Phips, Esq., and other officers who came with him from Louisbourg, being saluted all the way by the ships in the Harbor and the Town-batteries. About twelve o'clock they landed at the end of Long Wharf, amidst a crowd of people, who gave repeated shouts of acclamations. Here they were received by his Majesty's Council, the Speaker of the House, Magistrates, Gentlemen and Merchants of the Town. The regiment of militia under Col. Jacob Wendell, with a foot company belonging to Chelsea, were drawn up in King-street, as were also "the Troop of Guards, with another Troop of the regiment of Horse, under Col. Estes Hatch, and the Company of Cadets under Col. Benjamin Pollard, who paid the proper salutes. The new set of bells, with all the other bells in the Town, continued ringing the greater part of the day." An illumination and fireworks in the evening closed the "joyous occasion."†

The Expedition against Louisbourg has been called‡ an "uncommonly rash adventure," wherein, "if any one circumstance had taken

* *American Magazine*, ii. 323.

† On the 3d of January following, an Address was presented to the Governor, "signed by 70 of the principal Gentlemen, Merchants and Traders," congratulating him upon the reduction of Louisbourg. In this Address he is fully recognized as "the projector of the late happy Expedition;" and his "zeal and vigilance" in its accomplishment are likewise duly acknowledged. The Governor's reply is of the most modest character, in which he claims nothing but "a desire for the welfare and prosperity of the Province in general, and the Town of Boston in particular." Nor have I discovered any confirmation of the often-repeated story, that while the Expedition was in progress and the result uncertain, he spoke of it to the General Court as "our Expedition or your Expedition," and after the result was known, as "his Expedition."

‡ By Dr. Douglass, to whose prejudiced apprehension Governor Shirley and his party could do nothing right except by fortunate blunders. And it must be confessed that, if a due allowance for contingencies had been made by the projectors, it is doubtful whether it would have been undertaken. When the proposal was sent from Boston to Pennsylvania, and the facts became known to Benjamin Franklin, he wrote a private letter to a friend here, in which he asked several of his shrewd questions respecting what was proposed to be accomplished by the Expedition, and the means at command to ensure its success; what were the means of annoyance on this hand, and of resistance on that; if the vast superiority necessary to storm a fortified place like Louisbourg had been well considered, and so forth. Had the present allied Sovereigns of Europe seen this letter of Franklin before attempting Sebastopol, they would not have had much excuse for the ill-success which has attended them. But, in the case of the Louisbourg undertaking, the accidents were all on one side, and thus the scale turned in favor of New England. Yet there should be no detraction from the sagacity of Gov. Shirley. Jealousy and detraction should die with their propagators.

a wrong turn on the English side, and if any one circumstance had not taken a wrong turn on the French side, it must have miscarried, and the forces would have returned in shame."

To accomplish the work an immense outlay had been made by New England, and an important appendage had been added to the British Empire. Consequently, the Country looked to the English Parliament to be reïmbursed for its expenses; and after about four years the claim was allowed, and the money paid. It arrived in Boston on the 18th of September, 1749.*

The loss of Louisbourg was a severely mortifying blow to France, and stupendous preparations were made to recover it; but the ill-fortune of the French still continued. Constant alarms, however, were received, occasioned by the presence of French men-of-war along the coast. On one occasion an attack on Boston was daily expected, and within three days there flocked into the Town from eight to ten thousand men in arms to defend it. On this occasion unlimited authority was given to the Governor to strengthen Castle William, and to do anything he judged necessary to defend the Harbor.† This alarm, however, soon died away; the mighty French armament was chiefly destroyed by tempests, and its experienced and valiant commander, the Duke D'Anville, perished, it is said, by his own sword.

June 24. Meanwhile, Boston was honored with a visit from the Naval Hero of Louisbourg, Admiral Warren, accompanied by General Pepperrell. They arrived in a fifty gun-ship, the Chester, Capt. Richard Spry, with a blue flag at her mizzen topmast.‡ Their reception was similar to that before given on the arrival of Governor Shirley from the scene of the late action.§ The Admiral probably remained in Boston till the end of the following August; as on the 20th of that month he advertised that he was "shortly to leave the place," and requested that if any had demands against him, to present them.

The late large assemblages of soldiers in the Town, holiday celebrations, and receptions of persons of rank, of course tended to loosen the reins both of government and morals; hence more stringent regulations were attempted to be put in force. A disregard of Sunday was particularly noticed.‖

* Douglass, ii. 15. — It was brought by a frigate. The amount was £183,649 2*s.* 7½*d.*, contained in 215 chests, 3000 pieces of eight [dollars] in a chest, and 100 casks of coined copper. There were 17 cart and truck loads of the silver, and about 10 of the copper, as it was conveyed from the wharf to the Treasurer's Office. The payments to the other Colonies show the amount of their services as compared with this: — N. Hampshire received £16,355 13*s.* 4*d.*; Connecticut, £28,863 19*s.* 1*d.*; R. Island, £6,332 12*s.* 10*d.*

† *Memoirs of the War*, p. 65. — This alarm, says Douglass, who was an eye-witness, was "in the end of September, and was occasioned from [the Duke] D'Anville's Brest Squadron." He says: "6,400 men from the Country, well armed, appeared in Boston Common, some of them (*v. g.*) from Brookfield, travelled 70 miles in two days, each with a pack (in which was provision for 14 days) of about a bushel corn weight."

‡ The color of the flag denoted that the Admiral of the Blue Squadron, Peter Warren, Esq., was on board.

§ In the *News-Letter* of June 26th will be found the particulars referred to.

‖ "The Justices in the Town of Boston have agreed to walk, and observe the behavior of the people of said Town on the Lord's-day, and to give public notice thereof, that persons profaning said day by walking, standing on the streets, or any other way breaking the Law made for its observance, may expect the execu-

June 4. At a Town-meeting on the fourth of June, Samuel Adams, Esq., was elected a Representative, to serve in the place of the Hon. Andrew Oliver, who was chosen a Councillor.

A Packet Schooner began to run between Boston and Lynn. It was commanded by Capt. Hugh Alley, and continued to run for many years.*

An Act was passed to prevent "the firing of guns in the Town." The number of deaths for the year ending January, 1746, was 706 whites, and seventy-four blacks; there were baptized in the Churches, 573.†

Aug. 14. There was a Thanksgiving for the victory of Culloden.

1747. Taxes in the Town were heavy, and caused many to complain. Among them, Dr. Douglass protested that he was greatly overtaxed, while many others were rated far below their income.‡

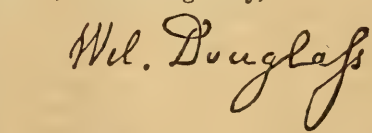
June 12. The famous missionary to the Indians, David Brainerd, visited Boston for the last time, being in the final stages of consumption. Aware that he could live but a very short time, he was anxious to return to Northampton, that he might not die here, where much parade and ceremony would be likely to take place, to which he had a strong aversion. Accordingly, he returned to that Town on the 25th

tion of the law upon them." — *News-Letter*, 12 June. The law referred to is that of 1692, by which "all and every person shall carefully apply themselves to the duties of religion and piety, publicly and privately;" and if any person presumed to work, he was to be fined 5*s.*; "travelling, unless by some adversity persons were belated and forced to lodge in the woods, wilderness or highways, the night before," to pay 20*s.*

* Lewis, *Hist. Lynn*, 203.

† Nathaniel Wardell's term for using "the Engine erected for weighing hay at the South part of the Town," expired in May; any persons wishing to take a lease of it were requested to apply to the Selectmen.

‡ In a note to the Assessors, accompanying the "Schedule of his income," the Doctor says: "I am sorry for the necessity of giving you trouble, from time to time, of my complaints as being aggrieved in my Rate-bills. Last year you abated me £66, Old Tenor, which though not a sufficient abatement, that I might ease you of the trouble of further application, I acquiesced with the same." This he handed in on the 23d of April, and as late as August 22d it had not received attention, although his accompanying note must have been, as it now seems, very satisfactory. In it he said he was, or soon must be, in the decline of life, [he was now about 55 years of age] did not endeavor to increase his fortune, having no family to provide for; but should yearly lessen it by doing charities, by donations and bounties; had this year sold his garden in Atkinson-street to Mr. Thos. Goldthwait; had settled £500, O. T., on a Free School in Douglass, and £50 per annum for 7 years on their Minister, besides other bounties; had contracted the business of his profession, etc. That, if the Assessors did not relieve him, he should apply to the "Quarter Sessions." He stated further, that "Dr. Bulfinch, who had the best practice in Boston, was assessed but £45; Drs. Kennedy, J. Perkins, and [John] Sprague, whose practice was better than his, were assessed only £25 to £30." Among the merchants and tradesmen he mentioned "Mr. Clark, the hatter, deceased, worth £30,000 to £40,000, taxed £38; Deacon Parker, the Top mason in Town, £11." The amount of the Doctor's Schedule is £2,615 2*s.* Among the items are "the Green Dragon; Jarvis in Roxbury, and appurtenances; Fowle, late Walker's, near the Orange Tree; house in Mill-creek lane; Burnet, late Capt. Heel's; Maj. Sewall, a warehouse late Capt. Hall's; money at interest, £300; income by faculty £500; a refuse Negro boy," etc. All O. T.



His tax last year, on which he obtained £66 abatement, was £112 8*s.* 8*d.* Dr. Douglass' autograph, as attached to the Schedule above mentioned, is here copied. The Town of Douglass, in this State, was named for him, of which he was a principal proprietor. He died intestate, 21 Oct., 1752, aged about 61.

of July, and died there, October the ninth, in the thirtieth year of his age.*

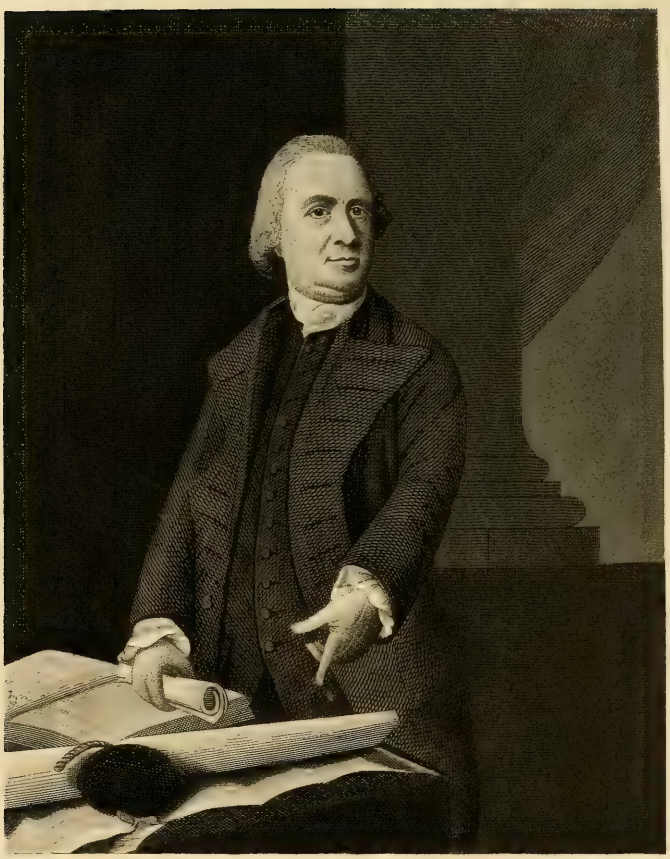
Nov. 17. A dangerous tumult commenced on the 17th of November, occasioned by the imprudent conduct of Commodore Charles Knowles.† He was then lying in the harbor with a number of ships-of-war. Some of the Commodore's men had deserted while the squadron lay here, and although the deserters had probably fled further off than Boston, yet Knowles sent a press-gang ashore in the night, or early in the morning, and surprised, not only all the seamen that could be found on board vessels outward bound as well as others, but swept the wharves also, taking some ship-carpenters' apprentices, and other laboring land-men.‡ To such outrages the people of Boston were not accustomed, and that they would submit to them could not for a moment be expected. For friends and kindred to be kidnapped in this manner, no arbitrary or lawless proceeding could have been more justly a cause of tumult and outrage. The lower class were the especially aggrieved, because it was upon them the depredation was made. Hence a mob of this order was speedily collected on the morning of the 17th, armed with a few "rusty swords, cat-sticks, pitchmops and clubs," and proceeded to make reprisal. Meeting with a Lieutenant belonging to one of the ships, who happened to be on shore, but who had had no hand in the outrage, they seized him; and, while in doubt what to do with him, Thomas Hutchinson, Esq.,§ came along, who, knowing the Lieutenant to be innocent, endeavored to persuade the mob to let him go. They however led him off to a place of safety, and proceeded to the Governor's house, where they had learned that several of the officers of the ships were. Meantime, several "persons of discretion" got into the house, and prevented the populace from entering, which soon filled the court leading to it, and quite surrounded it. Seeing that the prospect of something really serious was at hand, the officers of the navy within armed themselves with carbines, and, placing themselves at the head of the stair-cases, seemed resolved to

* While in Boston he was entertained at the house of Mr. Edward Bromfield. On Sunday, the 19th July, he went to meeting at the Old South, heard Dr. Sewall in the forenoon, and Mr. Prince in the afternoon; sat in Mr. Bromfield's pew, which was the second wall pew on the left from the Milk-street entrance. — Edwards' *Life Brainerd*, 225, 248, 253, and Wisner, 103.

† He was appointed Governor of Cape Breton after the capture of Louisbourg. — *Beatson*. He was afterwards knighted for services in the West Indies. His career was a long and fortunate one in the Navy. In 1770 he went into the service of the Empress of Russia, in which he continued four years. Returning then to England, he lived in retirement till his death, Dec. 9th, 1777. — *Charnock*.

‡ Dr. Douglass handles the conduct of Knowles in no very moderate manner, which in part may be accounted for from the fact that that officer said, or was believed to have said, that "all Scotchmen were rebels." Some of the vessels out of which men were pressed, belonged to Glasgow, in Scotland, which caused Knowles to think that the Scotch masters of those vessels had instigated the mob. This caused him to make the rash expression above cited, and Dr. Douglass to speak of his conduct as being of the most outrageous character; thus feeling the insult in common with his countrymen. The conduct of the press-gang he thus characterizes: They "in the night-time, with armed boats, did kidnap or steal ship-builders' apprentices, and did rob ships (cleared out) of their crews," etc. — *Summary*, i. 254.

§ The Author of the History of the Province of Mass. Bay.



Samuel Adams

Engraved by Charles Turner, Boston

proceed to the last extremity. At this stage of affairs, a circumstance happened which diverted the besiegers from forcing the house. A sheriff attempted to enforce his authority; whereupon the mob took him, and in a triumphant manner bore him to the front of the Town-house, and there fixed him in the stocks. This they looked upon as a kind of victory; and it seemed to cool their rage, and "disposed them to separate, and go to dinner."

Thus passed the forenoon, and there does not appear to have been any gathering in the afternoon. But soon after dusk several thousand people came together in King-street, whose chief attention was directed to the Town-house, in which the General Court was sitting, and brick-bats and other missiles were thrown through its windows into the Council-chamber. The majority of the mob did not approve of this action, which was done by boys, and some who were intoxicated. The Governor, and several of the Council and House, undauntedly appeared on the balcony, and the former addressed them in a well-timed speech; in which he assured them that Commodore Knowles' proceeding had no justification, and that his utmost endeavors would be used to have all the impressed persons restored. But they had become too much exasperated to hear to anything reasonable, and nothing short of the confinement of the before mentioned officers in town would be listened to. In the mean while a report came that a barge from one of the men-of-war had landed at one of the wharves. This the mob immediately went in quest of; and, coming to a boat belonging to a Scotch ship, they mistook it for the barge, seized it, dragged it up in front of the Governor's House, "with as much seeming ease as if it had been in the water," and here proposed to burn it; but, as burning it there might set the town on fire, which they did not wish to do, they dragged it away and burnt it elsewhere.

Nov. 18. The next day the Governor gave orders for the military companies of the town to turn out, and that a Military Watch should be kept the succeeding night; but his orders were very imperfectly obeyed; the drummers were interrupted, and a general non-appearance satisfied his Excellency that he had not only lost his control, but that his personal safety was somewhat uncertain. He therefore retired to Castle William. When the Governor's design was made known to certain gentlemen, they sent a message to him by Col. Edward Hutchinson, assuring him that they would stand by and support him in maintaining the laws and restoring order; but he kept his resolution and proceeded to the fort. Thence he wrote to Commodore Knowles, setting forth the troubles which had been caused by the conduct of his press-gang.

Instead of releasing the pressed men, or proposing any accommodation, Knowles expressed himself passionately, and threatened to bring up his ships and bombard the town, unless his officers now on parole on shore were at once allowed to come on board; and, as though to carry out his threat, sail was begun to be made on some of the ships, and the eyes of the town were turned in the direction of those floating batteries with

no little solicitation. Two of the paroled officers were Captain Robert Askew and Captain Robert Erskine of the Canterbury. The latter was seized at the house of Col. Francis Brinley* in Roxbury.

Nov. 19. The General Court still continued in session, "not willing to interpose, lest they should encourage other Commanders of the Navy" to do as Knowles had done. But on the 19th, to relieve the Governor, whose conduct had been unexceptionable, and if possible to restore quiet to the Town, the House resolved that it would stand by his Excellency the Governor, and support him with their lives and estates; that it would by all ways and means possible exert itself to redress the grievance the people were under, which had caused the present tumults. At the same time the Council ordered that Capt. Erskine, and all other officers under restraint on account of the impressment affair, should be set at liberty.

When the doings of the General Court became known to the inhabitants, the disorderly spirit began to abate. A Town-meeting was called, and held the afternoon of the same day, to consider what was proper for the Town to do on the occasion; in which there was a strong revenge party, who urged that if this offence was slightly passed over, it would encourage a repetition of such outrages. But the orderly party prevailed, and those who had insulted the Governor and the Court were pointedly denounced and reprobated.

The Governor, not expecting the tumult would be allayed thus soon, had given orders for the officers of the regiments in the neighboring towns to be in readiness to march to any point he should indicate at an hour's notice. "But the next day there was an uncommon appearance of the militia of the Town; many persons taking their muskets who never carried one upon any other occasion, and the Governor was conducted to his house" with as great parade as when he returned from the conquest of Louisbourg.† Then, or soon after, the Commodore dismissed the impressed men, and sailed out of the harbor, to the great joy of the Town.

It is not likely that this attempt to impress men at Boston, by Commodore Knowles, was the first which had occurred; for, six years before this, the Town had sent a Committee to request the Governor to take measures to protect Coasters being pressed to serve on board the King's ships. Such a measure would hardly have been taken without some act of impressment had preceded it. The subject is alluded to

* Col. Brinley was born in London in 1690, and educated at Eaton, was son of Thomas, the only surviving son of Francis Brinley, Esq., of Newport, R. I. He was one of the founders of King's Chapel, but returned to London, and died there 27 Nov. 1765. The house in which he resided in Roxbury was built after the plan of those at Dutchet, in England, and bore the same name. It is now owned and occupied by John Bumstead, Esq. Col. B. married Deborah, daughter of Edward and Catharine Lyde, April 18, 1718, granddaughter of Hon. Nathaniel Byfield. The present Hon. Francis Brinley, of Boston, is a great-grandson. The first Francis B. was at Newport in 1651–2, died in 1719–20, aged 87, was buried in King's Chapel, Boston.

† Hutchinson says the parade was as great as at the time of the Governor's arrival to enter upon his office as Governor, but I have followed Douglass, in this, as I have in some other parts of the narrative.

several years later. The Town, in its congratulatory address to Governor Pownall, on his departure for England in 1760, observed that he had "with great prudence answered the demand for Seamen for his Majesty's Service, and yet preserved them from the burden of naval impressments; a burden which they had sometimes severely felt."

Dec. 9. On the ninth of December occurred a fire in the Town-house, which destroyed that building, together with many records and papers of great importance, as already detailed in a previous chapter. The General Court, then in session, being deprived of their place of meeting, were offered the use of Faneuil Hall, but they were accommodated in the Royal Exchange tavern, kept by Mr. Luke Vardy, for the

Dec. 12. few days which were left of the session. They adjourned on the twelfth. When they met again in February, there was a motion to have a house for their accommodation built in Cambridge, and another that it should be located in Roxbury. But it was finally determined that the old one should be repaired.

CHAPTER LXIII.

Independent Advertiser begun. — View of the Commerce. — State of Schools. — Return of Indian Captives. — News of the Death of Dr. Watts. — First Masonic Procession. — First Bibles printed. — Opposition to Parliament. — Theatrical Exhibitions forbidden. — Lotteries. — Small-pox. — Number of Inhabitants. — Linen Manufactures. — New Style. — Indian Treaty. — Boston Gazette begun. — Fire in Marlborough-st. — Singular Punishment of a Female. — Decline of Religion. — Intemperance. — Monster of Monsters. — Daniel Fowle. — Stone Jail. — Post Office in Cornhill. — Excise Law. — Opposed. — Great Storm. — Franklin. — His Discoveries.



SHIRLEY.*

1748. Jan. 4. A NEW Paper, called "The Independent Advertiser," made its appearance. It did not differ much in its mechanical execution from other papers of the time. "Rogers and Fowle" were its publishers, "next to the Prison in Queen-street." Its political tendency was Whig, and it was supplied with essays of this character by an Association of Gentlemen, of whom Samuel Adams, afterwards Governor, was one. The Advertiser continued but two years;

* Paly of six, Or and Azure, a Canton, Ermine. — *Crest* — A Saracen's head in profile, wreathed about the temples, Or and Azure. The Arms of the present representative of the family. From an engraved Portrait of Gov. William Shirley, in possession of a descendant, Edward Shirley Erving, Esq., of Boston, is taken the following Memorial:—

"The Honorable William Shirley, Esq., Appointed Captain General and Governor in Chief, &c., of the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England, in 1741. One of His Majesty's Commissioners at Paris for Settling the Limits of Nova Scotia and other controverted Rights in America, 1750. General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America, 1755, and Lieut. General in His Majesty's Army, 1759. — 1. Nova Scotia or Acadie preserved during the late war, commenced in 1744. 2. The Island of Cape Breton taken in the Expedition fitted out from the Massachusetts Bay in 1745." — On a scroll at his left hand is, "1. Conservation." Below it, "2. Expugnata." Under the Picture on one side, —"I Hudson Pinxt., 1750." On the other side, — "I. McArdell, fecit."

Under the Arms of Shirley in Blome's Britannia, edition fol. 1673, is as follows: —

owing probably to the dissolution of the copartnership of the proprietors.*

An idea of the commerce of Boston is obtained from the number of arrivals and clearances of a given period. Between Christmas 1747, and the same date 1748, there entered 430 vessels, and 540 cleared. This is according to the Custom-house books; while, from Michaelmas to Michaelmas of the same years, the Boston Naval Office gives 491 clearances on foreign voyages.†

Sept. 23. The sympathies of the people were not unfrequently excited by being obliged to witness the sufferings of persons who had been in captivity among the Indians. Several at this time arrived from Canada, among whom was the family of Mr. John Fitch, taken from Lunenburg on the third of July preceding. Mrs. Fitch had died while on her return from captivity, the story of whose sufferings is not less thrilling than that of Mrs. Rowlandson, or Mrs. Johnson.

1749. The votes for Representatives stood thus this year: — The Hon.
May 9. James Allen had 543; Thomas Hubbard, Esq., 678; Mr. John Tyng, 513; and the Hon. Samuel Waldo, 539. The Committee who examined the Schools, reported that they found in the South Grammar School 120 scholars; in the South Writing School "in the Common," 220; in the Writing School in Queen-street, 57; in the North Grammar School, 38; and in the North Writing School, 270. All were reported to be "in good order." The Selectmen were desired to recommend to the Masters of the schools, that they "instruct their scholars in reading and spelling." They were also desired to provide suitable books for that purpose, at the charge of the Town, to be given to

"Sir Robert Shirley of Staunton and Harold in Leicestershire, of Chartley in Staffordshire, of Ettington, Warwickshire, of Astwell in Northamptonshire, of Shirley Brialsford and Eddleston in Derbyshire, Bart."

There have been many persons of distinction among the race of Shirley, both in the field and in literature, descended from Sir Thomas Shirley, of Whiston, in Sussex. The descent of Governor Shirley from Thomas Shirley, Esq., of Preston, in Sussex, is briefly thus: — By Elizabeth, daughter of Drew Stapley of London, Thomas, of Preston, had William, a 3d son, who had William, an only son, merchant of London. This son married Elizabeth, daughter of John Goodman, and died in 1701. These were the parents of the Governor, whose first wife was Frances, dau. of Francis Baker, of London, by whom he had, William, killed with Gen. Braddock, 1755; John, a Captain in the army, died at Oswego; Thomas, only surviving son, born in Boston, Governor of the Leeward Islands, a Major General in the army, created a baronet in 1786. He died in March, 1800, leaving a son, the late Sir William Warden Shirley, of Oat Hall, Wivelsfield, Sussex, who dying *sine prole* Feb. 1815, the Baronetcy became extinct. Of the daughters of Governor Shirley, Elizabeth m. Eliakim Hutchinson, Frances m. William Bollan, "the King's Advocate in the Court of Vice-Admiralty in Massachusetts." Mrs. Bollan d. 21 Mar. 1744, in her 24th year, in giving birth to her first child. Harriet m. Robert Temple, Esq.; Maria m. John Erving, Esq., of Boston. A daughter of Mr. Erving m. Governor Scott, of the Island of Dominica, and died at that Island, 13 Feb. 1768. The Erving mansion-house was in Milk-street.



Governor Shirley built the then spacious mansion in Roxbury, since the well-known residence of the late Governor William Eustis, to which he gave the name of Shirley Place.

* Thomas, ii. 235. This paper had a cut at its head containing a curious device, which is described by this Author, and also by Mr. Buckingham in his *Reminiscences*, i. 156.

† Namely, 51 ships, 44 snows, 54 brigs, 249 sloops, and 93 schooners. — Douglass, i. 538.

such poor children, as they might think proper. Two years later the Masters were ordered not to exact "entrance money, so called," of any children, belonging to the Town, but the Selectmen were to give directions what money they might receive from the scholars, "to defray the expense of firing."

The news of the death of Doctor Isaac Watts was received about the first of April, 1749, and with almost as much sorrow as if he had been a native and resident of Boston. His Hymns and Sermons had been for many years held in the highest repute, and had been published and republished in Boston.* He died at Stoke Newington, Nov. 25th, 1748, aged about seventy-five years.

About the same time news was received of the death of the Prince of Wales, "the first who had died for one hundred and thirty-eight years." Sermons were preached on the occasion and printed.

A procession of the Masonic Fraternity was at this time a rare exhibition in Boston, if not the first which had taken place. Such a pro-
Dec. 27. cession made its appearance on the Feast of Saint John, and of course excited great curiosity, and from a learned wit called forth a short Poem, in which the circumstance is treated with much satirical humor and ridicule. In this many of the principal Masons figure by name.† A Lodge had now existed in Boston about nineteen years. It

* In the Independent Advertiser of April 3d, a notice of his death is given, in which he is spoken of as "beloved, admired and revered; most remarkable for his moderate and pacific sentiments; whose works in prose and verse, with which the world were obliged, would perpetuate his eulogy to ages yet unborn." He was buried in Bunhill Fields, where a monument to his memory, with a suitable inscription, was soon after erected. He preached in London, in the Church where the Rev. Joseph Caryll, Dr. John Owen, Mr. David Clarkson, and Dr. Isaac Chauncy, had preceded him. He was a native of Southampton, son of Isaac, and grandson of Capt. Thomas Watts, who, in 1656, was blown up in his ship, in the Dutch war. —*Lyric Poems*, 12mo., Boston, 1748; Robinson's *History of Stoke Newington*, 87.

Dr. Watts' Psalms and Hymns gradually superseded the work of Dr. N. Brady, and N. Tate, Esq. Mein and Fleeming published the 26th edition of Dr. Watts in 1768, with the music at the end. How many editions had preceded this, in Boston, I have not learned. John Mycall published a 40th edition in Newburyport, in 1781. I have seen but a single copy of the first edition in England, and that was procured in London, at a considerable cost, some three years since, for my friend Geo. Livermore, Esq. Its date is 1719.

† The Poem is thus ludicrously entitled: — "Entertainment for a Winter's Evening: being a Full and True Account of a very *Strange and Wonderful* SIGHT seen in Boston, on the 27th of December, 1749, at NOON-DAY. The Truth of which can be attested by a Great Number of People, who actually saw the same with their own Eyes. By ME, the Hon. B. B., Esq." Said to be Joseph Green, Esq.*

The procession marching is thus described:

"See *Buck* before the apron'd throng
Marches with sword and book along;
The stately ram, with courage bold,
So stalks before the fleecy fold,
And so the gander, on the brink
Of river, leads his geese to drink."

The noted keeper of the Royal Exchange Tavern is taken notice of in this wise:

"Where's honest *Luke*? that cook from London;
For without Luke the Lodge is undone.
'T was he who oft dispell'd their sadness,
And filled the *Brethren's* hearts with gladness.
Luke in return is made a Brother,
As good and true as any other,
And still, though broke with age and wine,
Preserves the *token* and the *sign*."

In another place *Luke* comes in with less credit:

"The high, the low, the great and small,
James Perkins † short, and *Aston* tall;
Johnson as bulky as a house,
And *Wethred* smaller than a louse.
We all agree, both wet and dry,
From drunken *Luke* to sober I."

* The same probably who appeared early in opposition to Royal Authority. He died 1st July, 1765, aged 62.

† Perhaps the same respectfully mentioned by Tudor in his *Life of Otis*, p. 16. If so he was living when that Author wrote, but died before he published in 1823.

was first organized under Henry Price, who was styled "The Right Worshipful Provincial Grand Master of New England." The other officers were "The Right Worshipful Andrew Belcher, Deputy Grand Master; Right Worshipful Thomas Kennelly, Senior Grand Warden; Right Worshipful John Quann, Junior Grand Warden." This Lodge had authority to establish others in any part of North America; and on application of Benjamin Franklin, one was immediately after founded at Philadelphia, of which Franklin was appointed its "Right Worshipful first Master."

Price, having resigned in 1736, was succeeded by Robert Tomlinson; and the latter was succeeded in 1774 by Thomas Oxnard.

The first Bibles printed in Boston were printed this year, or about this time. Owing to the restrictions upon the publication of the Scriptures in England, they could not be published in the Colonies without the breach of an enactment of the British Parliament. But an evasion of those enactments had not been very scrupulously regarded, especially when the good of the people here was affected by their observance. Hence the printing of Bibles in Boston was begun clandestinely, and their issue concealed by a false imprint; the undertakers arguing, no doubt, that "the end justified the means;"—an argument, difficult, at all times, to be met successfully.

This edition of the Bible was undertaken principally by Daniel Henchman, and "Kneeland and Green" were the printers. It was in quarto, and so exact a copy of that printed "cum privilegio" by Mark Basket, that it was not easy to distinguish a copy of the Boston edition from it. This is not strange, as the materials used, type, paper, and even ink, were all imported from England.*

The people always felt that the Mother Country had not morally any right to legislate for them, which the most casual reader cannot fail to have perceived in the perusal of these pages from the first. This spirit occasionally exhibited itself, and on various occasions. What gave it the more strength and efficiency, from time to time, was its declaration from the Pulpit. Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, though a young man, had great influence in giving direction and encouragement to those opposed to

The Poet designates Lewis Turner as "Pump *Turner*," probably from his occupation. Dr. Thomas Aston figures as "Aston tall." * Francis Johonnot is called "laughing Frank," and is thus nicely introduced:

"But still I see a numerous train:
Shall they, alas! unsung remain?
Sage *Hallowel* † of public soul,
And laughing *Frank* friend to the bowl,
Meek *Rea*,‡ half smother'd in the crowd,
And *Rowe*,§ who sings at Church so loud."

* Aston was an "Apothecary and Grocer, next door to the Governor's House," in 1733. The Governor's House was the Province House, now Ordway's, in Washington-street.

† No doubt Captain Benjamin Hallowell.

‡ Probably Mr. John Rea, who kept in Butler's Row in 1748. He was a ship-chandler.

§ John Rowe was a merchant, an importer, kept on Belcher's Wharf in 1744. He lived in Essex-street in 1760.

* Dr. Thomas says, *Hist. Printing*, i. 305, "When I was an apprentice, I often heard those who had assisted at the case and press, in printing this Bible, make mention of the fact," of its being published in the manner and under the circumstances stated in the text. "Governor Hancock was related to Henchman, knew the particulars of the transaction, and possessed a copy of this impression of the Bible. Not long after the Bible was issued, a Testament was got out in the same way. It was a duodecimo, and like the Bible well executed." There are doubtless many of these Bibles in existence, but as it is very difficult to identify them, they pass for the genuine English edition.

what was termed Parliamentary encroachments. A sermon, which he preached about the commencement of the year, is not without interest at this day, and is often sought after.*

Jan. 30.

It was long after this before anything like theatrical exhibitions was tolerated, though something of the kind was no doubt clandestinely practised at a much earlier period. One was brought to notice this year, owing to a disturbance it occasioned among the applicants for admission to witness it. This was undertaken by two young Englishmen, assisted by some volunteers from among the inhabitants. They were to "bring out" "The Orphan, or Unhappy Marriage," a Tragedy, by Thomas Otway; but some persons attempting to force an entrance, probably regardless of regulations, gave the affair publicity, and caused the General Court to enact a law to prohibit all such representations, which was continued for many years.† The place selected for this performance, being the most public, or as much so as any in the Town, was the more readily detected; it being at the Royal Exchange Tavern.

May 15. By a late law of the Province, a duty was laid on tea, coffee, coaches, chaises, and some other articles. The people viewed it a burden, operating very unequally upon the inhabitants, and, therefore, at the Town Meeting on the 15th of May, a committee was raised to memorialize the General Court for its repeal.‡ At the same meeting the subject of removing the Powder House from the Common came up; but it was voted that "the Town will do nothing concerning it." Among other transactions fifty pounds, lawful money, was voted "Mr. Robert Treat Paine for his salary as Usher of the South Grammar School; and fifty more to repair the North Battery, and that John Steele, Esq., the Captain of it, was to take care that the same be repaired." By another vote "the Marsh Lands at the bottom of the Common" were ordered to be leased.

With the last year ended the services of Joseph Wadsworth, Esq., as Town Treasurer,§ and Mr. David Jeffries was chosen to succeed him.

1751. Mar. 11. At the Town Meeting on the eleventh of March, Mr. Ezekiel Goldthwait, who for many years had been Town Clerk, was rechosen, having 377 votes out of 398. At this meeting a vote was passed, by which all persons were exempt from liability to serve as Constables, if they had served in that capacity within seven years. The subject "of the disorders that are frequently committed by Negroes in the night," was discussed; the proposition being, whether any more effectual method than that already prescribed by law, could be taken for that object, and it was referred to Thomas Hutchinson, Samuel

* Its title is very significant: — "A Discourse concerning Unlimited Submission," etc. "On the Anniversary of the Death of Charles I. In which the *mysterious* Doctrine of that Prince's *saintship* and *martyrdom* is unriddled." I have space only to refer my readers to page 40, etc., of that work.

† See Minot's *Hist. Mass.* i. 142–3. The Act 5 of William III. (1699), however, included theatrical performers.

‡ It consisted of Abiel Walley, Hon. Samuel Welles, Charles Apthorp, Thomas Hancock, Esquires, and Mr. John Smith.

§ He served long and with great reputation.

May 14. Welles, and Benjamin Pratt, Esquires. The meeting of the 14th of May, the Rev. Mr. Samuel Mather opened with prayer, as all the Town Meetings had been for many years; on which occasions the Ministers served in rotation. The Hon. James Allen, Mr. John Tyng, Mr. Harrison Gray, and the Hon. Thomas Hubbard were elected Representatives. The three gentlemen first named had 253, 263 and 300 votes respectively; but Mr. Hubbard had "a great majority."

By an Act of the Province, a lottery was authorized, "for supplying the Treasury with 26,700 milled dollars." The Hon. Samuel Watts was the chief manager of it, who had his office in Faneuil Hall, where the lottery was drawn. The price of tickets was three dollars.

May 16. On the sixteenth of May, "a young Negro servant was executed for poisoning an infant."

There are recorded 624 deaths in the Town this year. Of this number seventy-six were Blacks. The number of baptisms in the Churches was 488.

The Town was again thrown into consternation from fear of the small-pox. Captain Cousins, in a ship from London, was cast away, on the 24th of December last, in Nahant Bay. The crew were saved, and compassionately received by the people of Chelsea, and the disease was in that manner communicated on shore. In the following January it found its way into Boston, where it continued with its usual mortality about six months. Nearly 1,800 people fled from the Town, which then contained 15,734 souls, absentees and 1544 Negroes included. Inoculation was resorted to, but a small proportion of the inhabitants appear to have adopted that practice; 5,059 having taken the small-pox the natural way, while but 1,970 took it by inoculation. Of the latter twenty-four died, and of the former 452.*

1752. Feb. 9. Early in February the Selectmen endeavoured to obviate the effects of the alarm which the small-pox had occasioned, and issued circulars to that effect. They said they had made strict inquiry throughout the whole Town, and did not find it to exist, excepting in the families of "Mr. Benjamin Hallowell's, in Batterymarch-street, Dr. William Clarke's in Wing's lane, Mr. Benjamin Hodgdon's in Summer-street, and in the Pest House, and all contrary reports were absolutely false.† At all which places there was a flag hung out as the law directs." Inoculation had not then commenced, and the Physicians had promised the Selectmen that they would give them notice before they did so.

The efforts of the "Society for Encouraging Industry, and Employing the Poor," were not remitted, though some interruption was occasioned by the prevalence of the small-pox. But that had so far abated by the first of August, that affairs began to resume their wonted course. The manufacture of linen was an important object, and was the more thought

* Data in Douglass, ii. 397; but in the News-Letter of 1754, the number is stated at 569.

† The Selectmen added, that ill-minded persons had industriously circulated the report, to prevent the country people from bringing in provisions "that they might engross 'em, in order to make great gains."

of, as it was to be a means of employing the Poor of the Town. In a
Aug. 12. sermon before the society just mentioned, Dr. Chauncy spoke in the most encouraging terms of the advantages to be derived from such manufacture, and adverted to the discouragements it met with from some, who urged that it was quite too great an undertaking "for so poor and small a people." But he argued that notwithstanding all the obstacles and objections, linen could be made here cheaper than it could be imported; and that, "as poor and small as they were, they needed linen, and could n't do without it." *

Until the commencement of the present year all legal papers and instruments bore date corresponding with the 25th of March, as the beginning of the year. This year, in conformity to an Act of Parliament † of last year, was begun on January first; and by the same Act it was ordered that eleven days should be struck out of the following September; that is, that the third should be called the fourteenth, which made the equinoxes and solstices fall on the same days as they did at the Nicene Council, in the year 325. This change in the *style* of dating occasioned the use of the terms Old Style and New Style.

Lieutenant Governor Phips quieted the Eastern Indians by sending Commissioners to meet their Chiefs at Fort St. George (now Warren in Maine). Jacob Wendell, Samuel Watts, Thomas Hubbard, and Chambers Russell, Esquires, were the Commissioners. ‡ Another was held the following year, at the same place, at which "Sir William Pepperell, Baronet, Jacob Wendell, Thomas Hubbard, John Winslow, Esquires, and Mr. James Bowdoin," were Commissioners. These acted under the direction of Governor Shirley.

1753. With the new year commenced the publication of "The Boston
Jan. 3. Gazette, or Weekly Advertiser." It was issued by Samuel Kneeland, and was the successor of "The Boston Gazette and Weekly Journal." It continued but two years.

Feb. 7. On the night of the seventh of February occurred a destructive fire, "near Marlborough-street." It took in an out-house, burnt two stables, Mr. Sellon's blacksmith shop, and the dwellings of Dr. John Cutler, and Dr. Edward Ellis. The night was rainy, but it "raged with great vehemence for two or three hours." Several people were injured by the falling of a brick wall, and a horse was burnt to death.

May 10. On the tenth of May a spectacle was presented on King-street as revolting to every feeling of humanity as it was disgraceful to the community that tolerated it. An unfortunate female was exposed

* See also Rev. Samuel Phillips' Convention sermon, 3d June, 1733.

† "Peter Deval, of the Middle Temple, Secretary to the Royal Society, drew the Bill, and prepared most of the Tables, under direction of the Earl of Chesterfield, the first former of the design; and the whole was carefully examined and approved of by Martin Folkes, Esq., President of the Royal Society, and Dr. Bradley, His Majesty's Astronomer at Greenwich, who computed the Tables at the end of the Bill." — *Almanack of* 1752. In this Almanack eleven days are left out of the month of September, which gives it a curious appearance on the page. I have seen no other with the like omission.

‡ *Printed Treaty*, 4to, Boston, 1753. Jabez Bradbury, Esq., was Commander of the Fort.

near the Town-house, upon a scaffold above the heads of the people, who, for her crimes, had been sentenced to stand there for the space of an hour, and to face the four cardinal points of the compass a quarter of an hour each. In this situation she was obliged to suffer the most brutal treatment the mob could inflict; the description of which is altogether of too revolting a nature to be anywhere repeated.*

A Fast sermon, preached on the previous 19th of April, by the Rev. Andrew Eliot, contains intimations respecting the state of society in the Town, doubtless having reference to the case of the individual alluded to; its introductory title being "An evil and adulterous generation." †

July. Some time in July Lazarus Noble and Benjamin Mitchel returned to Boston from Canada, where they had been to redeem their families, which had been carried off captive by the Indians from Swan Island, in Maine. They met with no success, being ordered by the French to leave the country, or they would immediately imprison them.‡

Mr. Matthew Adams died this year. He deserves mention on several accounts, but especially as he was one of the earliest friends of Benjamin Franklin, who when a boy was invited into his house, and furnished with books; to which circumstance, it may be, the world is indebted for the productions of a mind scarcely inferior to any which has illuminated the annals of philosophy.§ Mr. Adams was one of the writers in the Courant, published by Franklin's brother.

Aug. 6. Governor Shirley arrived from England on the sixth of August. The state of religion was at this period thought to be very low, as appears from some of the Discourses then printed. In a Sermon "on the Public Fast" of the last year, the Rev. Andrew Eliot said, "The Table of the Lord is contemned; but few come to seal their engagements to be the Lord's there; an attendance on the Christian Eucharist begins to be thought a needless thing. In the way we have for some time been

* *MS. Diary* of Rev. Jacob Bailey, in possession of Rev. W. S. Bartlet, of Chelsea. Mr. Bailey was an eye-witness.

† Though there may be something of exaggeration in Mr. Eliot's sermon, it is an able and excellent performance. "Things did not use to be so in New England," varies a little from my convictions in wading up from the beginning thus far among the Records, with due allowance for the great increase of inhabitants. But what he says about intemperance is doubtless true, and could not well be exaggerated.

‡ Deposition of Noble and Mitchel before Hon. Jacob Wendell and Thomas Hubbard. Noble was the father of the afterwards famous Francis Noble, one of the captives, well known in history. Nine years after this he was petitioning the General Court at Boston for remuneration on account of his Canada mission.

§ Materials are very scanty for a biography of Matthew Adams. Eliot and Allen notice him, but appear to have known nothing of his ancestry. According to a MS. note in a volume of Poems by the Rev. John Adams, who died at Cambridge at the early age of 36, that author was his nephew; and the Preface to that volume was written by his uncle, Matthew Adams. The volume of Poems here referred to is, or was recently, in the Boston Athenæum. My friend Charles Frederick Adams, Esquire, of Boston, informs me that the Rev. Hugh Adams, of Durham, N. H., who died in 1750, was brother of Matthew; and that said Matthew married first Katherine Brigdon, 17th November, 1715; and, second, Meriel Cotton, 10th June, 1734; that he had children, William, Katherine, Matthew, John — born 19th June, 1725, minister of Durham, N. H., died 4th June, 1792 — and Nathaniel.

our Churches are like to come to nothing; there will be none to administer the Lord's Supper to."

The same preacher spoke of intemperance as prevalent beyond all former example. "'Tis surprising," he said, "what prodigious sums are expended for spirituous liquors in this one poor Province. If things are not greatly exaggerated, more than a million of our old currency in a year."

In July a pamphlet was issued, called the "Monster of Monsters." Daniel Fowle, the printer, was prosecuted "on suspicion of publishing" it, and committed to jail. He was arrested on the warrant of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, charged with issuing that work, which the House resolved was "a false, scandalous libel, reflecting upon their proceedings in general, and on many worthy Members in particular." At the same time ordering "that the said pamphlet be burnt by the hands of the common hangman below the Court House, in King-street."

The proceeding against Fowle was arbitrary in the extreme. It is true that in the "Monster" the Assembly had been satirized in an allegory, or "romance" as its writer called it, while, at the same time, had there been proof (which does not appear) that it was aimed at the Assembly, from anything that is now discoverable in it, it was as harmless as any tea-table conversations by old ladies, to which the members were compared. However, Fowle was sent to prison, among "murderers, thieves, &c.,"* denied the use of pen, ink and paper, and not allowed to speak with or to see any of his family or friends. His description of the accommodations of the "Stone Jail" of that day, shows that prisons in Boston had not greatly improved over those of a much earlier date. "If there is any such thing," he says, "as a hell upon earth, I think this place is the nearest resemblance of any I can conceive of." When ordered to be imprisoned, Mr. Fowle supposed he would be allowed an apartment in the house of Mr. Young, the jailer; but when he came there he was told he must go into the Common Jail. So, "after eleven at night," he continues, "I was, by the Prison Keeper and several others, conducted through several apartments, each of which was secured with locks and bolts; on each door of about 70 spickes, the heads of which about two inches diameter." As he walked through the passage-ways, he says he was forcibly reminded "of the dark valley of the shadow of death." The way to his cell was "an ugly stumbling one."† It was near the end of October; the night was stormy and cold, and the only bedding he found was a sort of pillow and one blanket. The aperture which served to let in the light and air, served equally well to let in the rain and snow, for there was nothing to keep them out but the iron bars which kept the prisoners in. The outer walls were of stone, and about three feet in thickness, but the cells were partitioned off with plank.‡

* Fowle's *Total Eclipse of Liberty*, p. 19.

† *Total Eclipse*, p. 20.

‡ This old Stone Jail stood on the south side of Court-street, on a part of the lot now occu-

In the next cell to this prisoner lay a man, under sentence of death for murder,* whose lamentations at the near approach of his end, added to the pelting of a violent storm without, may well be supposed to give an additional force to the before-mentioned reflections of Mr. Fowle. His imprisonment lasted but about two days; at the end of which time he was taken from his cell to the keeper's house, and told "he might go." But having been "imprisoned against *law*," he refused to be thus privately set at liberty, and therefore demanded that the same authority which had "at midnight confined him uncondemned," should perform the office; but after waiting three days without gaining that point, and hearing his wife was dangerously ill, he left the keeper's house and returned to his family.

Being disgusted with the government of Massachusetts, Mr. Fowle subsequently removed to Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, and was the first printer who settled in that province.†

The Post Office was opened in Cornhill, at Mr. John Franklin's; and Samuel Holbrook gave notice that all persons indebted for Post Boy papers or postage of letters must make payment "as soon as possible." ‡ Franklin was Deputy Postmaster.

The burials in the Town from January third, 1753, to January first, 1754, were 481; of which 63 were blacks. The baptisms in the several churches were 396. The following year, ending January seventh, 1754, the deaths were 439, of which 54 were blacks; baptisms, 439.

1755. Jan. 3. The General Court having passed a law laying an excise on distilled spirits, wine, limes, lemons and oranges, the inhabitants met in Town-meeting, to devise a plan to prevent its going into operation. It was voted "to make application home to prevent the royal assent to the measure." They accordingly chose Christopher Kilby, Esq., of London, as their Agent to carry the resolution into effect.

Feb. 4. The Postmaster gave notice that the western Postriders "would perform their stages in future, every week, in winter as well as summer;" and that "he" would be dispatched every Monday afternoon, precisely at two o'clock, during winter.

Feb. 5. On the fifth of February the Town suffered great damage from a most violent storm of wind and rain from the south-east.

pied by the Court House. Court-street was called Prison Lane as late as 1762.—See *Evening Post*, 9 Aug., 1762.

* The man was named William Wieer. He was executed on the 19th of Nov. following, leaving a wife, children, father and mother. The name of the murdered man was William Chism. — Chauncy's *Sermon on the day of Execution*, p. 19–20.

† Thomas, *Hist. Printing*, i. 336. — Daniel Fowle had been a partner with Gamaliel Rogers. I have many books printed by Rogers & Fowle, all of which are very well executed for that day. They commenced printing as early as 1741 (Dr. Thomas is mistaken in saying their copartnership begun in 1742), "over against the S. East Cor. of the Town House." In 1746 they were "in Queen-street, next to the Prison." In 1755 Fowle's office was in Ann-street. The next year he removed to Portsmouth. There he printed a Newspaper, the Province Laws, &c., became a Magistrate, and died there in June, 1782, aged 72. — *Thomas.*

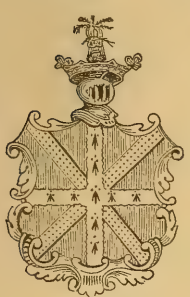
‡ A little later there were a great many letters advertised as remaining in the office uncalled for. The first published list in a Newspaper, which I have seen, is in the *News-Letter* of 30th Jan., 1755. It contained 351 names; a large proportion of which were of persons out of Boston.

The tide rose to an uncommon height, injuring the shipping and wharves exceedingly. "The great Crane at the lower end of the Long Wharf was broken down, as was the upper one on the south side, and the lower one on that side suffered much. To give a detail of all the damage done would be almost endless."

The extraordinary discoveries of Benjamin Franklin in electricity, though they had been before the public above three years, do not appear to be noticed in the Newspapers of Boston until this year; and yet his friend Peter Collinson, Esq., of London, had long before been giving the letters of that since renowned Philosopher to the British Public; and these letters detailed the steps by which Franklin arrived at those astonishing results, which, as the learned Collinson expresses it, "are at once the most awful, and, hitherto, accounted for with the least verisimilitude." *

CHAPTER LXIV.

Lectures on Electrical Fire. — Boston Gazette. — Colonial Stamp Act. — War News. — Arrival of warlike Stores. — Soldiers march for the Frontiers. — Young Ladies make Soldiers' Garments. — Writing School. — Arrival of French Prisoners. — The Great Earthquake. — Edward Tyng. — Concert Hall. — Trade depressed. — Taxes increased. — Law against Pageants. — Edward Bromfield. — Josiah Willard. — Visit of Lord Loudon. — Arrival of Gov. Pownall. — Lotteries granted. — Visitation of Schools. — School Statistics. — Private Schools. — Magazine. — General Amherst arrives. — Marches for Albany. — Death of Thomas Prince — of Charles Apthorp.



PRINCE.†

IT has long since become a proverb that Boston is slow to appreciate merit in humble life. It may have been so in the days of Franklin. However that may be, the proverb will scarcely be laid aside for want of use in later days.

The discoveries of Franklin had been some time known to the public, and there were doubtless at this period many persons endeavoring to experiment, as he had done, in that branch of natural philosophy in which he had surpassed all others. Joseph Miller ad-

Feb. 20.

* *Preface to New Experiments and Observations on Electricity.* By Benjamin Franklin, Esq. *Communicated in Several Letters to* P. Collinson, Esq., *of London*, F. R. S. 4to. London, 1760, 3d Edition.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Sept., 1754, is a notice of Mr. Collinson's publication, and this notice is *noticed* in the *Boston News-Letter* of 2d Jan., 1755. As the communications of Franklin to Collinson begun as early as July, 1747, it appears from an observation of the Rev. Thomas Prince, that the result of his experiments was unknown in Boston till late in 1755. In his Discourse upon the Earthquake of Nov. 18th, of this year, Mr. Prince says: "Since my composing of the foregoing Discourse, the sagacious Mr. Franklin, born and brought up in Boston, but now living in Philadelphia, has greatly surprised and obliged the world with his discoveries of the Electrical Substance, as one great and main instrument of lightning and thunder." — P. 20. Prof. Winthrop also refers to Franklin in his *Lecture on Earthquakes*, as "the very ingenious and sagacious Mr. Franklin, who with happy success had accounted for the phenomena of Thunder and Lightning." — P. 32.

† This engraving of the Arms of Prince is a copy of one formerly possessed by the Reverend Thomas Prince, Minister of the Old South. He procured it during his sojourn in England, it is believed, previous to his settlement in the

vertised "A Course of Experiments on the newly discovered Electrical Fire, at his house near the Blue Ball" in Hanover-street.* Price of tickets of admission was "one pistareen each lecture."

April 7. A Newspaper, called "The Boston Gazette, or Country Journal," was established. It was printed by Benjamin Edes and John Gill, in King-street, near the east end of the Town House. This paper ably advocated the cause of the Colonies against the Mother Country, and consequently it met with interruptions during the Revolution. In April, 1775, it was suspended, and Gill left it. But Edes removed his press to Watertown, and there issued the Gazette till November, 1776. He then returned to Boston, and published his paper, which was continued till 1798, when it ceased.†

A Stamp Act had been passed by the Legislature of the Colony, laying duties on Vellum, Parchment, and Paper, for two years. The

Ministry here. Its heraldic reading is — Gules, a Saltire Or, surmounted by a Cross engrailed Ermine. *Crest* — A dexter hand issuing from a Ducal Coronet, holding a pine branch proper, fructed Or.

The residence of Mr. Prince has already been noticed. It was on what is now Washington-street, on the easterly side, in the same house in which Gov. Winthrop had lived. The site is now covered by the South Row. It was nearly opposite School-street. See p. 315, *ante*. His will is dated Oct. 2d, 1758, and proved Nov. 3 following, before Thos. Hutchinson. He gave to his nephew, Samuel Prince, son of his brother, Moses Prince, deceased, his land in Shepscut, in the County of York, the land given him by his cousin Jonathan Loring, of Boston, deceased. To said Samuel and other children of his brother Moses, "lands beyond Hartford in Connecticut Colony," received also from his cousin Loring. To them also all his lands in the County of Hampshire. All his lands in Boston to his wife Deborah, and daughter Sarah Prince. To said dear wife all land in Church Neck, in Rochester, in Plymouth Colony, and land in Cromasett Neck in Wareham, and all lands in Leicester, in the County of Worcester, in the East and West Wing of Rutland* in said County. He had some other lands, which he also gave them. To his dear Colleague, the Rev. Doctor Joseph Sewall, as a token of his affection, Hooght's Hebrew Bible, 2 vols., printed in 1705, and Witsteniu's Greek Testament. To the Old South Church a piece of plate of the form and height of that last presented to said Church. "I would have it plain, and to hold a full pint." But the part of his will which will be most thought of by antiquaries is that disposing of his "New England Library," which is as follows:— "Whereas I have been, a number of years, collecting a number of books, pamphlets, maps, papers in print and manuscript, whether published in New England or pertaining to its history and public affairs, to which collection I have given the name of the New England Library, and have deposited it in the Steeple Chamber of the Old South Church; and as I made the collection from a public view, and desire that the memory of many important transactions might be preserved, which otherwise would be lost, I hereby bequeath the said collection to the Old South Church forever. But to the end that the same may be kept entire, I desire that this collection may always be kept in a different apartment from the other books, and that it may be so made that *no person shall borrow any book or paper therefrom*, but that any person whom the Pastor and Deacons, for the time being, shall approve of, may have access thereto and take copies therefrom." The question has been propounded, whether the will of the great Benefactor has been kept inviolate, in respect to the part of it which I have italicized.

* The East Wing of Rutland is included in Princeton, in the County of Worcester, about fifty miles from Boston. It contained about 11,600 acres. Princeton was not incorporated till 1771; though in 1759 it was "erected into a District by the name of Prince Town," one year after the death of Mr. Prince.

* A very appropriate location, being near the identical spot where Franklin was born. I would here remark that since I wrote the note on page 492, I have had additional confirmation that Franklin was born in Hanover-street. An aged, intelligent, and well-informed lady (Mrs. Harriet A. T. Lewis) well remembers hearing his birthplace spoken of by old persons, when she was young, as a matter familiarly known to them; namely, that Franklin *was* born at the sign of the Blue Ball, in Hanover-street, as has been stated.

† Mr. Edes had sons Benjamin and Peter. Benjamin was associated with his father in the publication of the Gazette for a considerable period. He was born in Charlestown, began business with Gill in 1755, died in Boston, in May, 1800, aged 40. — *Thomas.*



funds thus arising were to be applied "towards defraying the charges of this Government." The Act went into effect on the first of May, and on that day the News-Letter appeared with a stamp, which occupied a place near the right-hand corner near the foot of the first page. It is very exactly represented in the annexed engraving.*



WILLIAM SHIRLEY.

Governor Shirley was chiefly occupied in the military affairs of the Country. He visited
May 13. General Braddock at Alexandria, in Virginia, relative to the campaign now in progress against the French, and returned to Boston on the 13th of May. He had been here but one month and ten days when the news arrived of the defeat of Braddock, and the destruction of the army. And probably the additional news also reached the Governor, that in that defeat his son William, who was one of the General's Aids, had been killed.

War news had been for some time the most prominent topic of the Town, and it was kept alive by arrivals of various accounts from the frontiers, and the collecting
May 15. and marching of troops. Two days after the return of Gov. Shirley from Virginia, there came in Captain Kirkwood from England, bringing 2000 stand of arms and other munitions for the regiment of soldiers raised in Boston and its vicinity, who were waiting their arrival to march against the enemy. Two days after arrived Captain Trout, who had on board a large quantity of powder, destined for the same service. The Boston men being now ready for service, on the 28th of May the Rev. Mr. Checkley preached a sermon to the company under Captain Thomas Stoddard, about to proceed to join the main army, from a text most appropriately chosen.†

When these soldiers had been in the field about three months, news of their sufferings from want of suitable clothing reached their friends. Immediately a number of young ladies volunteered their services to the Town Authorities, offering gratuitously to make garments for those engaged in the country's service.

July 17. A Writing School was proposed to be opened in Long Lane, now Federal-street, by Mr. William Elphinstone.‡

* Under date 1759, Dr. Holmes says: "The Legislature of Massachusetts passed a Stamp Act, in which Newspapers were included; but, on application from the Printers, the Duty was taken off, in consideration that they were vehicles of knowledge, and necessary for information." This, it will readily be conceded, was a very sensible reason why Newspapers should not be taxed. I wish our *retograde* Congress could be influenced by such reasoning to take off that wicked duty which they have imposed on *old books;* they probably desire to keep them out of the country, lest they should shed some light on their — practices.

† Second Chron. xxxii. 7, 8. The reader will find himself well repaid for his time by turning to and reading it; it, being too long for this note, is omitted.

‡ He was to teach "persons of both sexes, from 12 to 50 years of age, who never wrote

The Government of Nova Scotia having judged it necessary to remove the French inhabitants from that Province,* about 200 families of them were allotted to Massachusetts. Of these expatriated families, thirty had arrived in Boston previous to the eleventh of November, and others were daily expected. The General Court appointed a Committee to attend to their dispersion among the inhabitants of Boston and other towns, at the head of which was Samuel Watts, Esq.† These French families were neutral as to the war that was going on, and how this barbarous expulsion of them is to be justified by the Historian, it is not easy to discover.

Nov. 10.

But a few days after the arrival of the French neutrals in Boston, happened the most fearful Earthquake ever before or since known in New England. Boston was by it "more dreadfully shaken"‡ than any other place in all North America, through nearly the whole extent of which it was felt with great severity. It began in this town about four of the clock in the morning,§ and continued nearly four and a half minutes. Great damage was done to the buildings; "about 100 chimneys were, in a manner, levelled with the roofs of the houses, and about 1500 shattered and thrown down in part." Buildings erected upon made land suffered the most. Their tottering was extremely frightful, and the ways about them were covered with bricks and other fragments of building materials. The ends of about fifteen brick buildings were thrown down as far as the eaves. Many clocks stopped. The vane of the Market House fell to the ground. The new vane of one of the churches was bent several "points of the compass."‖ Some old springs ceased to flow, and new ones broke out, and some wells afforded water no longer. In his sermon upon the occasion, the Rev. Mather Byles says, "It was a terrible night, the most so, perhaps, that ever New England saw. When we remember it, we are afraid, and trembling taketh hold of our flesh."

Nov. 18.

The violence of the shock of this earthquake may be conceived of from the facts which follow. A brick was thrown thirty-two feet from a house, the chimney of which was but thirty-one feet high. Some of the chimneys were broken off several feet below the top, and by the

before, to write a good hand in five weeks, at one hour per day," &c. "At his house in Long Lane, where the Rev. Mr. Hooper lived, next door to Mr. Borland's." Elphinstone was probably a Scotchman. Whether a connection of William "Elphinston," the author of the Dictionary, &c., I do not know.

* Governor Lawrence acted in accordance with the advice of Admirals Boscawen and Moyston respecting the orders for their expulsion.

† An account of those French Neutrals is in progress, by Mr. Wm. H. Whitmore, a young gentleman wanting in nothing for its successful completion.

Hutchinson, vol. iii. 40, gives other facts respecting the Neutral French in Massachusetts. Families were divided; wives and children were in one vessel and husbands and fathers in another, in many instances. Of the former, some were landed in Boston, while of the latter some were landed in Philadelphia. — *Ibid.*

‡ *Discourse on the occasion by the* Rev. Thos. Prince, p. 23.

§ Accident gave Prof. Winthrop, of Cambridge, an opportunity to measure the time of its duration, and also the exact time it commenced. — See his *Lecture on Earthquakes*, p. 14. It was on Tuesday morning, at 4 h. 11′ 35″. — *Mems. Amer. Acad.*, i. 273. The article in this work upon the Earthquake is an excellent one; taken mainly, I perceive, from Dr. Mayhew's Discourse on the same occasion.

‖ *Sermon by* Dr. Charles Chauncy, p. 31.— See also Holmes' *Annals*, ii. 67.

suddenness and violence of the jerks canted horizontally an inch or two over, so as to stand very dangerously. Some others thus broken off were turned round several points of the compass, as with a circular motion. The wooden spindle which supported the vane of the Market House, though five inches in diameter, and had withstood the most violent tempests, was broken off; and a distiller's cistern, made of plank, nearly new and very strong, was burst asunder by the agitation of the liquid which it contained, which also broke down the whole side of the building in which it was, at the same time demolishing a fence in its way at some eight or ten feet distance.*

Sept. 8. Commodore Edward Tyng died in Boston, at the age of seventy-two. He commanded the provincial fleet in the memorable Louisbourg Expedition ten years before. He captured the French frigate Vigilant, of sixty-four guns, in that expedition, for which and other important services Sir Peter Warren offered him the command of the Vigilant, with the rank of Post Captain in the Royal Navy; but, on account of his age, being then sixty-two, he thought proper to decline the offer. In the war of 1744, he commanded the Snow Prince of Orange, and in her captured the first French privateer on the coast, on the 24th of June of that year. For that brilliant action the merchants of the town presented him with a piece of plate with a suitable inscription.†

Concert Hall was built prior to this, but may not have been so denominated until about this time. It was not so called in a deed of the 30th of September, 1754,‡ by which the building afterwards designated by that name was conveyed by Gilbert and Lewis Deblois, braziers, to Stephen Deblois, for 2,000 pounds, lawful money. In 1769, Stephen Deblois sold it to William Turner, gentleman, for 1,000 pounds sterling; Turner at the same time mortgaging it to Deblois to secure the payment of just half that sum, with the condition that the 500 pounds must be

* *Appendix to* Dr. Mayhew's *Discourse*, p. 4. — Winthrop's *Lect.*, p. 11.

† The omission of Tyng in all the American Biographical Dictionaries is to be seriously regretted. The family is duly noticed by Farmer in his Register. The ancestor of the Commodore was Edward Tyng, merchant of Boston. The mansion house of the family was on Milk-street. The Commodore left a large estate. Besides the house and land in Milk-street, he had two brick houses in Fleet-street, in which were living, in 1762, Dr. Yorke, and Mr. Samuel Goodwin; a house, warehouse and wharf near Windmill Point, adjoining the estate of Mr. Jabez Hatch. In 1736, Edward Tyng, Temple Nelson and Nathaniel Alden, all of Boston, petitioned the General Court, on their own and the behalf of others, heirs of Col. Edward Tyng, John Nelson, Esq., and Capt. John Alden, all deceased, for some consideration "for the deceased's extraordinary services and sufferings; they having suffered a long and tedious captivity in France, the said Col. Tyng dying in a dungeon there." The Court finally granted them 2100 acres of land "lying west of Salem Canada, and northerly of Ipswich New Township."

‡ It is described in the deed, — "A certain brick dwelling-house or messuage, with the land belonging, being in the westerly part of Boston, bounded westerly in the front on Queen-street, 48 ft. and 8 in. Northerly on Hanover-street, 66 ft. Easterly on the house and land of Wm. Hyslop, now occupied by Mrs. Steele, 49 ft. And southerly on the house and land of Thomas Procter, 69 ft.," who was dead in 1769. At this last date it is called Concert Hall, in the deed of Deblois to Turner.

Shaw, in his "*Description of Boston*," following Pemberton, says Concert Hall was built in 1756, which is clearly wrong. As early as the 2d of Jan., 1755, "a Concert of Music" was advertised to take place at Concert Hall in Queen-street; Tickets to be had at the place of performance at four shillings each. — *News-Letter*.

paid within eight years. It afterwards passed to the Amory family, in which it has ever since remained.*

In the early times of the Revolution, Concert Hall was one of the principal head-quarters of the Friends of Liberty, and the Society of Cincinnati held their meetings in it for nearly fifty years.† About half a century ago it was described as having been enlarged and improved by the proprietor, at a great expense; making the front hall in the second story about sixty by thirty feet. This was the most elegant Hall in the Town, and was much admired for its symmetry and elegant architectural finish. Its style was Corinthian, and there was an orchestra, and superb mirrors adorned its walls. It was used as a tavern, probably from its commencement, till and during the time of the late Mr. William Forster. It was for a long period the most noted Hall in Boston; nor has its notoriety departed even to this day. The many-colored lantern sign‡ of its present enterprising proprietor§ is well calculated to make it a mark of distinction.

1756. Owing to the continuance of the War there was a great stagnation in trade. This stagnation affected Boston more than any other place in New England; and with the depression of business there was a corresponding increase in taxes; some merchants being assessed to the amount of four hundred pounds.

An Act was passed by the General Court, regulating the Hospital at Rainsford's Island, by which the Selectmen of Boston were empowered to manage its chief concerns.

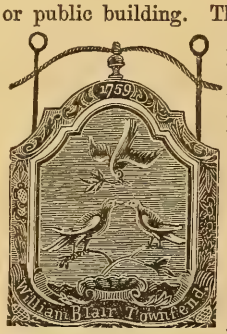
It had been a custom from a very early day, among the lower classes, to have evening gatherings, to march in processions, following some pageant, in mockery of persons or transactions which they had learned to detest from former example. These gatherings frequently ended in

Oct. 20. bloodshed and other mischiefs. A law was therefore made "to prevent riotous, tumultuous and disorderly assemblies, of more

* Messrs. Jonathan and John Amory were importers of Dry Goods. In 1757 their store was at "the sign of the Horse at the head of Dock Square." They afterwards (before 1762) removed into King-street, "just below the Town House." Their store was, I believe, the last of the *old stores* in State-street.

† The meetings of Columbian Lodge of Freemasons were held at Concert Hall from 22d June, 1795, to 5th May, 1796, with five exceptions. After the installation of the Rt. Worshipful Jeremy Gridley as Grand Master of Masons of North America, Oct. 1st, 1755, and after Divine Service on that occasion, "the brotherhood returned to Concert Hall and celebrated the day in harmony and joy." — *Hist. of Columbian Lodge, by* J. T. Heard, Esq., now in course of publication.

‡ Singular signs are not so much in use as formerly. Before the streets were numbered, signs of an odd appearance were very important to shop-keepers who were unable to locate themselves near some well-known residence or public building. There has been given a



view of the sign of a Bookseller, who probably outdid all his brethren in that time. In 1758, William Blair Townsend and Edward Wigglesworth, importers of British and India goods, kept in Marlboro'-street, opposite Dr. Gibbins'. But the Doctor was not sufficiently known, perhaps, and they put out a large swing-sign, on which were painted the figures of three doves; which not only served their own purpose, but that of their neighbors also. For being one, two, or three "doors from the Sign of the Three Doves" was almost equal to having that sign.

§ Peter Brigham, Esq., who has conducted it for about twenty-five years.

than three persons, all or any of them armed with sticks, clubs or any kind of weapons, or disguised with vizards, or painted or discolored faces, or in any manner disguised, having any kind of imagery or pageantry, in any street, lane or place in Boston." The penalty for being in such a gathering subjected each person to a fine of forty shillings.

Among the deaths of the year 1756 should be mentioned that of Mr. Edward Bromfield, a merchant. He died on the tenth of April, aged sixty-one. He was born in Boston, in 1695. His father was the Hon. Edward Bromfield, and his mother was Mary, eldest daughter of the Rev. Samuel Danforth, of Roxbury, by Mary, daughter of the Rev. John Wilson, the first minister of Boston. He was a gentleman of great benevolence, and was much beloved by the people for his public spirit and upright dealing. He was a Selectman in 1731, in 1735 an Overseer of the Poor, in 1739 a Representative to the General Court. This office he declined after four years,* but continued an Overseer of the Poor for twenty-one years.†

On the sixth of December died Josiah Willard, Esquire, late Secretary of the Province, at the age of seventy-six. He was son of the Rev. Samuel Willard, of the Old South, born in May, 1681, graduated at Harvard College in 1698, of which he was Tutor and Librarian in 1703. In 1717 he was appointed Secretary of the Colony, which office he resigned in 1745, after a service of twenty-eight years. In 1731 he was made Judge of Probate, and in 1734 he was chosen of His Majesty's Council.‡ He was succeeded in the office of Judge of Probate by the Hon. Edward Hutchinson, and in the Secretaryship by Andrew Oliver, Esquire.

1757. In prosecuting the War against the French, Lord Loudon, who had been some time in the country, came to Boston to meet the Governors of the Colonies and others, Commissioners, to confer with them upon measures to be pursued. The Massachusetts Commissioners were Thomas Hutchinson and William Brattle, of the Council; Samuel Wells, Thomas Hubbard, and James Otis, of the Representatives. The Convention lasted ten days. The number of men to be raised for the service by each of the New England Colonies was agreed upon. Massachusetts was to furnish 1800.

Aug. 2. Thomas Pownall, Esquire, having been appointed Governor of Massachusetts, arrived in Boston on the second of August. This was his third visit to the Colonies. He came over to New York in 1754, with Sir Danvers Osborn, and had a commission of Lieutenant Governor of New Jersey. In June of that year he was at the famous

* The Hon. Thomas Cushing, Speaker of the House, was Mr. Bromfield's brother-in-law. He died on the 11th of April, 1746, aged 53. His wife, Mrs. Mary, daughter of the Hon. Edward Bromfield, died 30th October, of the same year.

† Prince's *Sermon at his Funeral*, p. 30. Mr. Bromfield's oldest son, also named Edward, was very remarkable for his scientific attainments. He graduated at Harvard College, 1738, died August 18th, 1746, at the age of 23. There is a long and interesting account of his microscopic investigations in the American Magazine of 1746, p. 548, &c.

‡ Sewall's and Prince's *Funeral Sermons*. See also Eliot and Allen.



THOMAS POWNALL.

Congress of Albany, where Franklin made his memorable proposal for a union of the Colonies, similar to that adopted at the commencement of the Revolution. On coming to Boston soon after, Governor Shirley appointed him a Commissioner, with two others to solicit aid from New York and Pennsylvania, for carrying on the War. He was also with Mr. Shirley and the other Governors and gentlemen who met General Braddock at Alexandria in 1755. He returned to England the same year, but the next year returned with Lord Loudon. His stay was now limited to a few months. Being again in England, he succeeded in being appointed Governor of Massachusetts, and soon after arrived in Boston, as has been mentioned. Mr. Shirley was thus superseded, and he succeeded General Braddock in the command of the Army.

Notwithstanding an Act had been passed in 1719, for the suppression of Lotteries, "as common and public nuisances," the town was this year carrying on a lottery, and the inhabitants were notified, on the 23d of November, that if they did not "adventure" in the purchase of tickets "on or before Monday the 28th, they would be excluded" from the *benefits* of said Lottery, as the Town had voted to take all unsold tickets to itself. What arguments had been made use of by the Fathers of the Town to convince the General Court that they might gamble by Lotteries without suffering in character, does not appear. But certain it is, that body did authorize the Town to raise 2,100 dollars by a Lottery, towards paving and repairing the Neck; and not long after another, to raise funds for paving the Highway from Boston line to Meeting-house Hill in Roxbury. The days of Lotteries were not yet numbered.

1758. Mar. 13. At the Town Meeting on March 13th, Ezekiel Goldthwait was chosen Town Clerk.

The visitation of the Schools had for some time been quite a formidable circumstance. The Committee appointed by the Selectmen to make the visitation reported that they were accompanied by the Hon. John Osborn, Richard Bill, Jacob Wendell, Andrew Oliver, Stephen Sewall, John Erving, Robert Hooper, Esquires, the Representatives of the Town, Overseers of the Poor, the Ministers, Mr. Treasurer Gray, Joshua Winslow, Richard Dana, James Boutineau, Stephen Greenleaf, Esquires; Dr. William Clark, and Mr. John Ruddock; that they found in the South Grammar School, 115 scholars; in the South Writing School, 240; in the Writing School in Queen-street, 230; in the North Grammar School, 36; in the North Writing School, 220: "All in very good order."

There were at the same time several Private Schools. Richard Pateshall * kept one in Hanover-street, "three houses below the Orange

* He was the only brother of Capt. Robert Pateshall, of the 40th Regiment of Foot, who died at the Havana, about the beginning of 1763.

Tree,* at the house of Mr. Bradford." He instructed in all branches, from the Alphabet to Latin, inclusive, and kept an Evening School at his house in Pond Lane,† opposite to Capt. James Nickles, south of "Seven Star Lane." He was living at the same place in 1763.

June 1. Thomas Hutchinson, Esquire, a native of Boston, was proclaimed Lieutenant Governor of the Colony, and Andrew Oliver, Esquire, Secretary. Their Commissions were published in Council on the first of June.

Aug. 31. A Periodical is commenced, called the New England Magazine. Judging from its contents it was a very feeble affair.‡ But three or four numbers were published in the course of six or seven months, and there the work ended. Benjamin Mecom was the Printer.

Sept. 13. The thirteenth of September was a great day in Boston. General Jeffery Amherst, who had been appointed to take the command of the Army in America, landed in the Town. Never before did the Harbor exhibit such an amount of Shipping. The Men-of-War and Transports from London, with those from Louisbourg which accompanied the General, made a more grand and imposing appearance than the people of Boston had been accustomed to see. His Excellency came in a seventy-four gun ship, called the Captain, commanded by his brother Captain John Amherst. With the General there came Lieutenant Colonel William Forster, Lieutenant Colonel Morris, Lieutenant Colonel John Hale, Lieutenant Colonel Ralph Burton, and Colonel Simon Fraser,§ of the Highland Regiment; the same, it is supposed, who afterwards fell fighting under General Burgoyne, at Saratoga. The men under the immediate command of these officers were encamped on the

Sept. 16. Common. After being refreshed for a few days, they marched, 4,500 strong, for Albany, led by General Amherst in person. There was a marked difference between the movements of this officer and those of Lord Loudon. Amherst was at all points in apparently the briefest possible space. In about a month he was at Boston, Albany, Lake George, New York, Boston again, and Halifax.‖ His

* Corner of Queen and Hanover streets. The corner opposite Concert Hall.

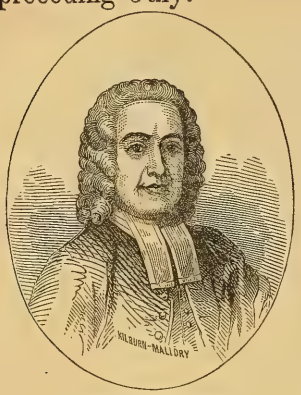
† Now Bedford-street. Seven Star Lane, now Summer-street.

‡ Article I. was a Poetical Dedication; V. Quintessence of Books — a great book is a great evil; XV. A Learned Method to roast Eggs; XVII. Seven Queer Notions. — See *Thomas*, ii. 259.

§ Capt. Thomas Fraser, of Colonel Simon Fraser's Regiment, died on the march to Albany, at Springfield, September 28, of fever; "an elderly gentleman, whose death was greatly lamented."

‖ General Amherst was a truly meritorious officer, but like others similarly circumstanced, he was treated by the then intriguing Ministry with all the atrocity which corruption could suggest. But he had more than a requital for all that from the pen of Junius. One could well afford to suffer some to find such a defender. However, he received due honors at length, being made a Knight of the Bath in 1761, was raised to the Peerage in 1776, as Baron Amherst of Holmesdale, in the County of Kent. In 1778 he was appointed to the chief command of all the land forces in Great Britain. In 1796 he was made Field Marshal, and died the following year. Though twice married he left no issue. The present Lord Amherst was son of Lord Amherst's brother, William, who also served in America, as Aide-de-camp to the General, and was at the capture of Louisburg in 1758, and carried the news of its surrender to England. An autograph letter of General Amherst, dated Staten Island, 28th October, 1761, is in my collection. Its direction is "Colonel Bradstreet, D. Q. M.

men were in good health and spirits, generally, consequent upon their activity and success at the reduction of Louisbourg, on the 26th of the preceding July.



THOMAS PRINCE.

Oct. 22. The 22d of October will be remembered as a remarkable day in the history of the Town, and not only of Boston, but of New England; for on that day died the Rev. Mr. Thomas Prince, a benefactor to his country; leaving a name which will be venerated to the remotest ages, if literature shall then be valued; a name which may with pride be emulated by the inquirers after historical knowledge, and the admirers of precision and accuracy in the paths of history.

Mr. Prince died at the age of seventy-two. He had been one of the Pastors of the Old South Church forty years and twenty-one days.* His father was Samuel Prince, Esquire, of Middleborough, in the Colony of Plymouth, and his mother was Mercy, daughter of Thomas Hinckley, Esquire, one of the Governors of that Colony. His grandfather was Mr. John Prince, of Hull, who emigrated to New England about 1633. The town of Princeton was named for him, and Prince-street in the City perpetuates the name, though not named for him.

Nov. 10. But a few days after the death of Mr. Prince, occurred that of Charles Apthorp, Esquire, at the age of sixty years. He was reputed "the greatest and most noble Merchant on this Continent." His death was very sudden. As he was about to retire for the night, he complained of feeling cold, and nearly at the same moment fell lifeless upon the floor. His funeral took place twelve days after, at King's Chapel, and his remains were therein deposited. He is characterized

G., at Albany." It gives minute directions about the discharge of certain troops, with paternal expressions for their comfort upon their return march; strictly ordering that they should be well supplied with provisions and other necessaries.

* As I have elsewhere published a Memoir of Mr. Prince, it is not necessary to be more particular here. — *See N. E. His. G. Reg.* (1851) v., p. 375, &c. In that Memoir an attempt was made to make a perfect catalogue of his writings. Since that publication I have come into the possession of several other of his works. In 1826, Mr. Hale, of the Boston Daily Advertiser, printed an edition of the "New England Chronology" (by the Rev. Mr. Prince). After about *twenty-five* years Mr. Hale had left of his edition some fifty copies. The greater part of these I purchased, and added to them my Memoir, some corrections, a list of the original subscribers (of 1736) and some engravings. This was denominated the third edition.

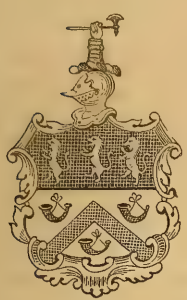
When Mr. Prince published his great work, the New England Chronology, he presented a copy to the General Court, of which circumstance the following record was made in the Journals of the House: — "The House being informed that the Rev. Mr. *Thomas Prince* was at the door, and desired admittance, Ordered, that Mr. *Prince* be admitted into the House, and, coming up to the Table, he addressed himself to Mr. Speaker and the House in the following manner, *viz.*: 'Mr. Speaker, *I most humbly present to your Honor and this Honorable House the first Volume of my Chronological History of* New England, *which at no small Expense and Pains I have composed and published for the Instruction and Good of my Country.*' And then he made a Compliment of one of the Books to Mr. Speaker, by presenting it to him, and another he presented to and for the use of the Members of the House of Representatives, and laid it on the Table, and then withdrew." But that laborious work was not fully appreciated in the Author's day.

as "a truly valuable member of society;" and that "he left few equals behind him." *

This was the birthday of the King, which appears to have been celebrated in Boston with greater earnestness than such days had hitherto been.†

CHAPTER LXV.

Progress of the War. — Fire at Oliver's Dock. — Death of Sir William Pepperrell. — Departure of Gov. Pownall. — Fire at New Boston. — Another at Griffin's Wharf. — The Great Fire. — Law respecting rebuilding the Burnt District. — News of the Surrender of Montreal. — Thanksgiving.



HENCHMAN.§

1759. BY a vigorous prosecution of the war, under the direction of Amherst and other experienced officers, nearly all Canada had fallen into the hands of the English, by the end of the summer of 1759. This was followed by the great victory gained by Sir Edward Hawke, Nov. 20. over one of the most powerful French fleets which had ever appeared on the ocean. This was commanded by Admiral Conflans, and had on board a large force for the service in America.‡ A few days after the news of this victory reached England, "A form of Prayer and Thanksgiving" was issued "By His Majesty's

* He was the son of John Apthorp, the founder of the family in this country. To King's Chapel he was a bountiful benefactor, having given £5000 towards its rebuilding. His father was a great proficient in the Fine Arts, especially in Painting and Architecture; talents which have been transmitted to his descendants, as Charles Bulfinch, Esquire, the Architect of the State House and other edifices, proves. A marble Monument with a Latin inscription was placed in the Chapel to the memory of the subject of this note, by his son, "which monument covers the tomb of the truly noble-minded race of Apthorp."

> "Apthorp! my proud paternal name,
> The homage of my soul is thine," &c.
> *Mrs. Morton.*

† Arnold Welles advertises "some very likely Negro boys, from twelve to eighteen years of age, and three or four Negro men, between twenty and thirty years old."—*News-Letter*. This Mr. Welles I suppose to have been the father of the Hon. John Welles, who died yesterday (25th September, 1855), in his 91st year. — See *Papers of the Day*.

‡ The news of Hawke's victory did not arrive in Boston until the following February; upon which arrival, Feb. 21st, the great guns of the Castle were fired, and also those of the batteries in the Town. — *Sup. to the News-Letter of* 25 *Feb.*, 1760.

§ The above representation of the Arms of Henchman is taken from a drawing in possession of Dr. Daniel Henchman, of Cambridge-street, which has been handed down from his ancestors. They do not materially differ (with the exception of the Crest) from those of Henchman, or Hinchman, of Nottinghamshire. There is a notice of several of the Henchman family, in the *N. Eng. Hist. and G. Reg.*, v. 374, communicated to that work by Mr. Thomas Waterman, of Boston. Capt. Daniel Henchman, freeman of Boston, 1672, was one of the original purchasers of Worcester of the Indians, in 1674. He died there, Oct. 15th, 1685, intestate. The inventory of his estate amounted to £1381.13.09. It is dated 29 April, 1686, from which it appears that he was a dealer in military goods. Many books are named in it, some of them in Latin, some on geometry, &c., by which it is inferred that he was a man of learning. His property seems to have been nearly all in Boston. "At the County Court for Suffolk," 12 Nov., 1685, "administration was granted on the estate of Capt. Daniel Henchman, formerly of Boston, unto Mary his relict, and his two elder sons, Richard and Hezekiah Henchman." His [2d?] wife was a daughter of William Pole [now Poole], of Dorchester, whom he married 22 April, 1672. —*Hist. and G. Reg.*, v. 402. Col. Daniel Henchman, the enterprising Bookseller, who died 25 Feb., 1761, at the age

Special Command." * Governor Pownall had ordered a Thanksgiving in Massachusetts for the success against Canada, and the Rev. Samuel Cooper preached a sermon † before His Excellency, the Governor, and both branches of the General Court; and the Rev. Andrew Eliot preached on the same occasion on the 25th of the same month.
Oct. 16. In the Sermon of the last-named gentleman is found a detailed account of the war.

In the two preceding years this Colony had furnished the army with "little less than 2000 men." ‡

Nov. 14. A fire occurred at Oliver's Dock, by which about fifteen families were rendered houseless. It began a little to the southward of Oliver's Bridge, and extended to the lower end of Water and Milk streets, to Hallowell's ship-yard. It continued to rage for about two hours. Governor Pownall was present during the whole time, encouraging the people in their exertions against the flames, at the same time exhibiting much sympathy for the distressed.

It cannot be foreign to a history of any portion of New England, to notice the death of one of its noblest sons. Sir William Pepperrell died at his seat in Kittery, on the sixth of July, at the age of sixty-three years and nine days. He was son of William Pepperrell, Esq., a native of Wales, who came to New England, and settled first on the Isles of Shoals, and not many years after at Kittery Point, where Sir William was born. He married a Boston lady, Mary, daughter of Grove Hirst, Esq., with whom he became acquainted while residing here as a member of the General Court. §

of 72, was son of Hezekiah above named, son of Capt. Daniel H. Thomas Hancock, who was a book-binder and book-seller, served his time with Henchman, whose daughter, Lydia, he married. — Thomas, *Hist. Print.*, ii. 430. He lived in Queen-street, in what is now the Brattle-street Society's parsonage, and which was willed to that Society by Mrs. Hancock. Col. Henchman established the first Paper Mill in the Colony, in which undertaking he was encouraged by the General Court. It was in Milton. In his will he remembers his brother Samuel, also John Wharton, and Nicholas Bowes, "who lived with him;" and sister Margaret Breck.

There were several Daniel Henchmans. In 1719, Jan. 4th, John Varney of Boston, bricklayer, was appointed "guardian to Daniel Henchman, a minor, aged about 12 years, son of Daniel H., late of Dorchester, in South Carolina, gent., deceased." Elizabeth, wife of Daniel H., administered on the estate of her husband, 1775. He was son of Rev. Nath'l. H., of Lynn. His wife was dau. of Jacob Hurd.

Cap. Daniel Henchman, before named, was distinguished in the Indian war of 1675–6, a merchant, and a dealer in real estate to a great extent. Conveyances to and from him began as early as 1669.

After I had written thus far, I received some memoranda from Dr. Henchman, of whom the Coat of Arms was obtained, from which it appears that Nathaniel, son of Capt. Daniel H., was a book-binder, and was father of the Rev. Nathaniel H., of Lynn, and died in that town, in July, 1749, aged 94. That Daniel H., son of the Rev. Nathaniel, of Lynn, returned to Boston, and was the father, by Elizabeth, dau. of Jacob Hurd, of twelve children.

* It was issued in an octavo tract of 4 pages, a copy of which is before me.

† It is dedicated to the Governor, in which he says, "When our hearts overflowed with joy at the news of the conquest of Quebec, your Excellency, with both Houses, thought proper to point our attention to the Providence of God, and to order that the civil demonstrations of loyalty and gladness upon this event should be preceded by solemn Praise, and Thanksgiving." — p. x. and xi.

‡ Cooper's *Thanksgiving Sermon, Dedication*, p. viii.

§ She was grand-daughter of the Hon. Judge Samuel Sewall. A sister of Sir William, Miriam, older than himself, married Andrew Tyler, of Boston; another, Jane, younger, married, 1st, Benj. Clarke, of Kingston, N. H., and, 2dly, William Tyler, of Boston, brother of Andrew. Catherine, dau. of An-

The administration of Governor Pownall, though short, was a very popular one. At a full Town-meeting, an Address was unanimously
Mar. 10. voted him, in which the inhabitants acknowledged their great obligations to him.* He had been appointed to the Government of South Carolina, but he did not leave Boston until the third of June.

Until the present time the fire of 1711 had been denominated the Great Fire, but now one occurred, which rendered that comparatively unimportant. Before proceeding to narrate the history of that of the 20th of March, it is proper to state, that only three days before,
Mar. 17. between eleven and twelve o'clock at noon, it being Monday, a large house, and a joiner's shop adjoining, were burnt in the west part of the town, called New Boston. Several other houses near by were much damaged and many things destroyed. The wind being high, and from the north-east, the roof of the West Meeting-house took fire in several places, but by great exertion the house was saved.

Mar. 18. The next day, between ten and eleven o'clock in the forenoon, a store at the upper end of Mr. James Griffin's wharf (since Liverpool wharf), the chamber of which was improved as a laboratory by a detachment of the Royal Artillery then here, accidentally took fire. It soon communicated to a quantity of powder, by which the building was blown up, wounding four or five men. Mr. Griffin's loss was considerable, having a large quantity of merchandise in the lower story. Two other buildings, lower down on the wharf, a carpenter's shop and a blacksmith's, also took fire, and the former was destroyed. One or two grenados and some small arms went off during the fire, and "the explosion was so great, that a considerable shock was felt over the extreme parts of the Town."

Mar. 20. "But the 20th of March will be a day memorable for the most terrible fire that has happened in this Town, or perhaps in any other part of North America, far exceeding that of the second of October, 1711, till now termed the Great Fire." It broke out about two of the clock "in the first watches of the morning, when our bodies

drew and Miriam, m. David Ochterlony, who was the father of Gen. Sir David Ochterlony (also born in Boston), a distinguished commander in the East Indies, who died 15 July, 1825. After the death of David Ochterlony, the father, his widow, Catharine (Tyler) Ochterlony, married Sir Isaac Heard, Garter King at Arms, the same who took so much pains in searching out the pedigree of Washington. Dr. Usher Parsons has lately published an excellent work on Sir Wm. Pepperrell.

* On the 17th of May the following named gentlemen waited on the Governor with the Address, namely, Samuel Wells, Andrew Oliver, Thomas Hancock, Thomas Hubbard, Francis Borland, John Phillips, Harrison Gray, Stephen Greenleaf, James Pitts, Joshua Henshaw, and John Rowe, Esqs., Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, and Mr. John Scollay. These had signed the Address, "with upwards of 150 merchants and others." They say to his Excellency, in the opening, "The happy influence of your Administration, while it has extended itself to every branch of the Public Interest, has been too sensibly felt by the Merchants and others concerned in trade, to allow us to part with your Excellency, without the most particular acknowledgment of gratitude and respect."

The reply of the Governor was brief, but couched in language which plainly expressed the goodness of his heart, and his great interest in the welfare of the Country, and of Boston especially. And to his lasting honor it should be remembered that he always remained the friend of the Colony, even in its darkest trials of the Revolution. This, though well known, cannot be too often mentioned.

were fast fettered with soundest sleep, and the Town alarmed with an outcry." It began in the dwelling-house of Mrs. Mary Jackson and Son, at the sign of the Brazen Head in Cornhill,* but by what accident it took was unknown. The flames immediately extended to the adjoining houses in the front of the street, and four large buildings were consumed before it could be checked in that direction. It still raged violently towards the east; the wind being strong at north-west, carried all before it, from the back sides of the houses. All the stores and dwellings in Pudding-lane, excepting those which fronted the south side of King-street, and a store of Mr. John Spooner † in Water-street, to Quaker lane; thence, only leaving a large old wooden house and a house which belonged to the then late Cornelius Waldo, Esq., every house, shop, store and out-house, to Oliver's Dock, was consumed. Then, by a sudden veer of the wind, the fire was driven in a contrary course, taking the buildings fronting the lower part of King-street, and burning the houses from the corner opposite the Bunch of Grapes,‡ to the warehouse of Box & Austin, leaving only the warehouse of the Hon. John Erving, and the dwelling-house of Mr. Hastings. The other brick warehouses towards Long Wharf were considerably damaged. On the south-east part the conflagration extended from Mr. Torry's, a baker, in Water-street, to Mr. Hall's working-house, and thence to Milk-street, consuming every house from Mr. Joseph Calef's § to the foot of the street, and the opposite way, including Mr. Dowse's; likewise every house to Fort Hill, excepting that of the Hon. Secretary Oliver's and two or three tenements opposite; also every house, warehouse, shop and store, from Oliver's Dock, by Mr. Hallowell's ship-yard, taking the house of Mr. Hallowell, the Sconce of the South Battery, all the buildings on Col. Wendell's wharf, to the house of Mr. Hunt, ship-builder. Hence, from Pudding-lane to the waterside, there was not a building of any description left, excepting those on the side of King-street, and those above mentioned. Besides, there was a large ship burnt, at Col. Wendell's wharf, of which Capt. Eddy had been in command, also two or three sloops and a schooner. ‖

Such was the Great Fire of 1760, in which 349 dwelling-houses, stores and shops, were consumed,¶ and above one thousand people were left without a habitation; many of whom, the day before, were in easy circumstances. "But it is not easy," says an eye-witness, "to describe the terrors of that fatal morning, in which the imaginations of the most calm and steady received impressions that would not easily be effaced.

*Very nearly opposite Williams, Court, answering to No. 96 Washington-street.

†This store was afterwards a blacksmith's shop, and made the westerly corner of Water and Devonshire streets, and stood till 1824, when it was replaced by a brick building, the lower part of which was occupied by Mr. Daniel Hersey as an auction room.

‡"In King-street, just below the Town-house, 1724." — *Bost. Gazt.* 26 *Oct.* It was rebuilt after the fire, and perhaps lower down the street, on the site of the present New England Bank.

§In Milk, corner of Congress. It was afterwards the noted Julien's restaurant. It stood till July, 1824.

‖ There were eight or nine vessels burnt at the wharves. — Mayhew, *Ser. on the Fire*, 17.

¶ Of the number were 174 dwelling-houses, and 175 other buildings.

The distressed inhabitants of those buildings wrapped in fire scarce knew where to take refuge. Numbers who were confined to beds of sickness, as well as the aged and the infant, were removed from house to house, and even the dying were obliged to take one remove more before their final one." *

When the fire was discovered there was but little wind, but it soon came on to blow a hard gale from the north-west; "then was beheld," says the eye-witness, "a perfect torrent of fire, bearing down all before it. In a seeming instant all was flame." The people living in the neighborhood of the South Battery were in much terror, knowing there was a large quantity of powder deposited there; but the greater part of it was removed, "by some hardy adventurers," just before the fire reached the place of its deposit. As it was, enough was left to make a heavy explosion, "which was heard and felt to a very great distance." †

People had flocked in from the neighboring country, who, with the Town's people, fought with desperation against the flames, "encouraged by the presence and example of the greatest personages of the place, who condescended to the most laborious services, but to no purpose; for the haughty flames triumphed over our engines, our art, and our numbers." It continued to rage till near noon, about ten hours.

The amount of property destroyed was at first supposed to be 300,000 pounds; but in the votes of the General Court upon the occasion, it is said "that the loss upon a moderate computation could not be less than 100,000 pounds sterling." ‡ As there were a great many persons requiring immediate relief, it was voted to advance, out of the public treasury, 3,000 pounds of the money raised by Excise the previous year. This sum was committed to the Selectmen and Overseers of the Poor, § to be by them distributed among the sufferers. ‖

A large amount in donations was from time to time received. On receipt of the news of the conflagration in Pennsylvania, which was communicated to Governor Hamilton by Governor Pownall, the Assembly of that Province voted 1,500 pounds sterling for the relief of the unfortunate Bostonians. The Assembly of New York voted them a very liberal sum. ¶ Governor Lawrence, of Nova Scotia, wrote to Governor

* "We hear that the woman who was overtaken in travail, and delivered in the open air on Fort Hill, in the time of the late dreadful fire, is likely to do well." — *Newspaper, extracted in* Janeway, 48.

† The stones and timber were widely scattered about. "The explosion, and light of the fire, was heard and seen many miles in the country and on the sea-coast."

‡ "Others, who had observed the increased value of the land upon which the houses stood, estimated the loss at not more than £50,000; and judged, that if the donations could have been equally distributed, no great loss would have been sustained." — *Hutchinson*, iii. 81. — Dr. Holmes, *Annals*, ii. 103, says the value of property destroyed was £73,112, 7*s.* and 3*d.*; and that "collective donations amounted to £17,750, 15*s* and 8*d.*"

§ The gentlemen appointed by those officers to receive contributions were John Phillips, Esq., Joshua Henshaw, Esq., Mr. Joshua Barrett, Joseph Jackson, Esq., Thomas Flucker, Esq. They accepted the appointment, and gave notice that they would attend at Faneuil Hall, every Monday and Tuesday, where the sufferers were to apply.

‖ The above account is chiefly made up from the *News-Letter*, and that appended to Janeway's "Dreadful Fire of London."

¶ £25,000, old tenor, which was in proportion to sterling as 25 to 1.

Pownall, advising him that "480 dollars and one real" had been collected for the same object. Mr. Charles Apthorp, of New York, ordered 100 pounds, "lawful money," to be paid for the benefit of the sufferers; and Mr. De Berdt, of London, gave 100 pounds. A petition was forwarded to the King, drawn up and signed by the sufferers, praying for relief, and, after two years, they learned that "it had been graciously received by his Majesty," but what finally became of it does not appear; nor does it appear whether it was directed to George the Second, who was living till the 25th of October of that year, or to his successor, George the Third.* Mr. Whitefield collected and sent over 250 pounds.

It is remarkable that no lives were lost during the fire, though several persons were one way and another wounded. It extended, on Cornhill, to the house of Mr. Peter Cotta on the north, and to that of Mrs.

* The following is a list of the persons burnt out, as contained in the News-Letter, so far as they could be ascertained at the time; compiled chiefly from the Assessors' books of the previous November:

"*In Cornhill*, Mary Jackson and Son, widow McNeal, Jona. Mason,* Mrs. Quick. —*In Pudding Lane*, Wm. Fairfield, ——Rogers, John Sterling, Geo. Glen, James Steward, widow Marshal, Edmond Dolbear. — *Upper part of Water-street*, Henry Lawton, Jr., an old house untenanted, Mrs. Grice, an empty house of Mr. Cazneau, Wm. Palfrey, Joseph Richardson, Dinley Wing, Benj. Jeffries, John Durant, —— Lawson. [*Two or three items wanting in copy.*] — *In Quaker Lane*, Wm. Hyslop, Sampson Salter (brewer), Capt. Robert Jarvis, Daniel Ray, Friends' Meeting-house. — *Towards Oliver's Dock*, David Spear, Thomas Bennet, Wm. Baker, Ebenezer Dogget, James Barnes, Daniel Henchman, Joseph Marion, Thomas Hawkins, shop and barns opposite, widow Savel, James Thompson, Hugh Moore, widow Davis, Nicholas Tabb, Michael Carrol, two tenements of free Negroes.—*Mackerel Lane* [Kilby-st.], John Gardner, John Powell, Vincent Mundersal, Masseton's barber's shop, and a gunsmith's, Edmund Perkins, James Perkins, several chair-makers' shops, James Graham, Capt. Atherton Haugh, John Doane, Capt. Benoni Smith, Samuel Bangs, Daniel Remak, Geo. Perry, Paul Baxter's shop, Benj. Salisbury, Nicholas Dyer, Wm. Stutely, Peter Airs, Francis Warden, Benj. Phillips' store, —— McNeal's sail-loft, —— Palfrey's do., Potter's cooper shop, —— Davis' blacksmith's do., James Graham's do., Fish Market, —— Sowerby's shop, —— Read's do., —— Harris' do., —— Mellen's do., T. Palfrey's sail-loft, widow Brailesford, John Osborn, Obed Cross, Isaac Dafforn. — *The lower part of Water-st.*, Wm. Torrey, Jacob Bucknam, James Beaton, Nicholas Lobden, John Rice, a blacksmith's, carpenter's, and chaise-maker's shops, Thos. Palfrey, Thos. Hartley, Jr., Edmond Mann, Col. Thwing, James Thwing, widow Noyes, Edmund Quincy, Jr., Thos. Walley, widow Parrott, Benj. Parrott, Mrs. Stevenson, Thos. Read, Thos. Read, Jr., Brackley Read, Robt. Williams, James Tucker, John Fullerton, Capt. Nathaniel Winslow, Joseph Webb, Jr., Barnard & Wheelwright's shop and stores adjoining. — *Milk-st., and Battery March*, Mr. Hall's and Messrs. Calef's tan-houses, Thomas Barnes, widow Griffin, —— Jones, and —— Waters, Nathan Foster, Thos. Speakman, Wm. Freeland, Isaac Hawse, Hon. John Osborn, widow Brown, Oliver Wiswall, Caleb Prince, Mary Oliver, Joseph Dowse, Esq., David Burnet, Edward Stone, Andrew Oliver, Jr., Esq., John Powell, Edward Davis, —— Masters, Thos. Masters, Benj. Cobb, James Orill, John Pierce, Eben. Cushing, Eben. Cushing, Jr., Jas. Rickford, Joseph Uran, Joseph Putman, Stephen Fullerton, John Province, Mr. Andrew Gardner, —— Finnesey, Andrew Lepair, Samuel Hewes, Increase Blake, Capt. Edward Blake, Benjamin Hallowell, Esq., Daniel Ingerson, sundry shops, Thos. Salter, Peter Bourn, widow Perkins, Nath. Eddy, Joshua Sprigg, Zephaniah Hasset, John Boyce, Jacob Ridgeway, James Moore, ——Muggot, Wm. Fullerton, —— Hill, John Nowell, Wm. Cox, Isaac Pierce and distil-house, a bake-house, Benj. Frothingham, Edward King, John Giffen, —— Bright, Thos. Spear, Capt. Killeran, Isaiah Audebert, Ed. Brattle Oliver, Matthew Salter, Joshua Bowles, James Phillips, Isaac Wendell, John Allen, —— Wallis, —— Wilson, all the buildings on Col. Wendell's wharf. — *King-street*, John Stevenson, cor. Mackerel-lane, widow Foster, Simon Eliot, —— Peck, glasier, John Green, James Lamb, widow Checkley, John Wheatly, John Jepson, Ben. Jepson, Thos. White, Hezekiah Cole, Goodwin's shop, John Peck's shop, Apthorp and Gardiner's warehouse, John Knight's do., Barthol Cheever's do., where the fire was stopt." It did not extend to any part of the north side of King-street, nor to any part of the westerly side of Cornhill.

* The prefix of "Mr." is to all the names of men in the original list, unless the Christian name was unknown, or the person had some title, as "Capt.," &c. The use of "Mr." had now become very general.

West on the south, inclusive of them. Mrs. Alice Quick kept next north of Mrs. West, where she "sold all sorts of the best kinds of teas." *

At the May session of the General Court an Act was passed "for the better rebuilding that part of the Town which was laid waste by the late fire; and for preventing fire in Boston for the future." In the Preamble to the Act it is said that this "great desolation hath been principally occasioned by the narrowness of the streets, and the houses being built of wood, and covered with shingles." Therefore a committee was appointed to lay out the streets in the burnt district anew, who reported, accompanying their report by a plan, which report and plan were adopted. To settle difficulties which might arise by loss of land to certain owners, three Commissioners were appointed to hear all such causes. They were Samuel Danforth, Samuel Watts and Joseph Williams, Esquires, who with twelve jurors (none of whom to be residents of Boston), constituted a Court. The General Court at the same time enacted, "that no house or other building whatsoever more than seven feet in height shall be erected in Boston, otherwise than of stone or brick, and covered with slate or tiles." The penalty for non-observance of this Act was fifty pounds, which was to go to the poor of the town.

Although the power of the French in Canada was broken with the fall of Quebec, yet the conquest was not complete until the final reduction of Montreal, to which place the French commander-in-chief, Gen. Vaudreuil, had retreated with all the forces he could command. However, that last stronghold was now surrendered to the English, and

Sept. 8. "Articles of Capitulation were signed in the Camp before Montreal, September the eighth, by the French and English Commanders, Generals Amherst and Vaudreuil." Major Barré† and Capt. Joseph Deane were dispatched with the news for England.

The particulars of that event did not reach Boston until near three months after it occurred, and then it came by way of England. ‡ Yet, that Montreal had fallen was well known throughout the Country in considerably less then one month § after its occurrence, and a Public Thanksgiving took place on the ninth of October following. Sermons were

Oct. 9. preached in the churches, among which may be named one by the Rev. Mr. Foxcroft, "in the Old Church in Boston," which is regarded as of much historical value.

* Her house appears not to have been entirely destroyed, for, she being dead in 1762, Thomas Knight, one of her executors, advertised that "he lived in the same house in Cornhill that Mrs. Quick did, and kept the same shop."

Mrs. Jackson and Son [William] soon after opened another store in Cornhill, "a few doors from the Town House, and opposite Deac. [John] Phillip's." She was, I suppose, widow of Mr. Jonathan Jackson, who died in 1736, leaving a large estate.

† This was the afterwards famous Col. Isaac Barré. He had lost an eye by a musket-ball in the battle of Quebec. His arrival in London is thus announced: — "Oct. 4. Major Barré and Capt. Deane arrived Express in the Vengeance frigate from Quebec, in 23 days, with the news of the Surrender of Montreal and the whole of Canada to the British." Capt. Deane had distinguished himself in the naval service in America. He commanded the frigate Lowestoff at the taking of Quebec.

‡ "It is but three months since the conquest was completed, and yet the account has been home [to England] and the particulars returned here in so short a time." — *News-Letter of Dec. 4th*, 1760.

§ It was brought here on the 23d of September.

CHAPTER LVI.

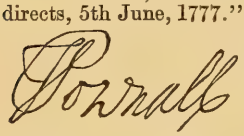
Arrival of Gov. Bernard. — Festivity on the Occasion. — Death of the King. — George Third Proclaimed. — Last of New England's Kings. — Funeral of George Second. — Severe Winter. — Fire in Dock Square. — Faneuil Hall burnt. — Lottery for rebuilding it. — Jealousies between the Colonists and the Home Government. — Writs of Assistance. — James Otis. — Parties formed. — Hutchinson Chief Justice. — Indian Deputation. — Whipping and the Pillory. — Foreign Bills of Credit Prohibited. — War with Spain. — A Fast. — Surveyors of Wood and Bark. — Umbrellas. — Fire in Williams' Court. — A Privateer. — Spinning-School reöpened. — Prelatical Influence. — Deaths. — Gunpowder Treason Celebration. — Pope Day.



POWNALL.*

FRANCIS BERNARD, Esq., having been appointed Governor of the Colony, arrived in Boston on the third of August. He was received with great parade and ceremony. The Sheriff of Suffolk, Stephen Greenleaf, Esq.,† at the head of a part of the Governor's troop of guards, met him at Wrentham, thence escorted him to Dedham, where Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson, several of the Council, and Brigadier Gen. Isaac Royall, with the rest of the troop of guards, received and accompanied him to his residence at the Province House. The militia were drawn up in the main street, and salutes were fired from all the forts, and the ships in the harbor. The same day the new Governor was treated to an elegant dinner, served up in Faneuil Hall; at which the Lieutenant Governor, the Council, Clergy, and many other gentlemen, were present.‡

* Such were the Arms of Gov. Pownall, as published under his portrait; which portrait (from an engraving by Earlom after Cotes) is one of great beauty, in point of artistic and mechanical execution. It has this Inscription: — "Thomas Pownall, Esq., Member of Parliament, late Governor, Captain General and Commander in Chief; and Vice Admiral of His Majesty's Provinces of the Massachusetts Bay and South Carolina, and Lieut. Governor of New Jersey. London. Printed for R. Sayer and J. Bennett, No. 53 Fleet-street, as the Act directs, 5th June, 1777."

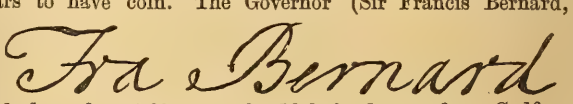


The accompanying autograph is taken from an original, which is upon a fly-leaf of a copy of Edwards' "Treatise concerning Religious Affections." Printed in Boston in 1746. This "Treatise" of the great Metaphysician (belonging to the Author's library) was doubtless a companion to Gov. Pownall during his travels in America, as he appears to have written, at the same time with his name, "Crown Point, 20th of June, 1760." A copy from this book has been preferred, to one from a commission politely furnished me by Mr. W. F. Story; it being much smaller.

Gov. Pownall, son of William Pownall, Esq., was born in 1722, was of North Lynn, Co. Norfolk, and Everton House in Bedfordshire; m. in 1765, widow Lady Faukener, dau. of Gen. Churchill, and died at Bath, Eng., in 1805, aged 83, without issue. — See *Gent. Mag.*, vol. LXXV., p. 288, where there is a minute account of his literary labors and public services. The curious antiquary will find an interesting account of the origin of the name Pownall in Burke's *Landed Gentry*, ii. 1063; from which it appears to have been originally Paganel, and was imported into England by a follower of William the Conqueror.

† He was son of the Rev. Daniel Greenleaf. His residence was in what is now Tremont-st., near the site of the Masonic Temple. His adjacent garden extended to West-street. When the Revolution took place, he adhered to the Crown, but did not leave Boston, and lived to the great age of 91, dying in Jan. 1795. — See *Genealogy of Greenleaf Fam., by* Rev. Jona. Greenleaf, p. 69.

‡ Governor Bernard was of the family of Bernard of Nettleham, in the county of Lincoln. The Governor (Sir Francis Bernard,



1769) was the 13th in descent from Godfrey Bernard of Wansford, in the East Riding of the County of York, who flourished there in the time of Henry III. In 1741, he m.

As before remarked, the administration of Governor Pownall, though short, was highly pleasing to the majority of the Province. While here he took great pains to gain information respecting the country, historical, geographical and statistical. After his return to England, he published several able works on the Colonies, which were the result of his acquaintance with them.*

Oct. 25. Between seven and eight o'clock in the morning of the 25th of October, died George the Second. "He was suddenly seized, at his Palace at Kensington, by a violent disorder, when he fell speechless, and, notwithstanding every medical aid, almost immediately expired, in the 77th year of his age, and 34th of his reign." † And

Oct. 26. on the following day, about noon, his grandson, George, son of Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales, was proclaimed King, as George the Third.

The news of the death of the King was not received in Boston till December the 25th, just two months after that event. Then the cere-

Dec. 30. mony of Proclaiming the new King from the balcony of the Town House took place. The guns were fired at all the forts, and this was followed by a dinner at Fanueil Hall, similar to that lately given in honor of the new Governor. Thus ended the kingly celebrations in Boston; George the Third being the last of the line to be acknowledged here.

1761. Jan. 1. On the first of January mourning ceremonies were performed for the late King. All the bells in the Town were tolled during the day, and minute guns, corresponding in number to the age of his late Majesty, were fired at the Castle. This was the last show of mourning for a King in Boston. The deaths of Kings, when they occur, are now regarded as the deaths of other men; the people of this country

Amelia, dau. of Stephen Offlay, Esq., of Norton Hall, Co. of Derby (by Mary, sister to John Viscount Barrington). Sir Francis died 16th June, 1779, and was succeeded by his second son, Sir John Bernard; Francis, his eldest, died unmarried in 1770. These sons were both with their father in Boston. John came over in 1760, and Francis in 1762. The Baronetcy is now in the name of Morland. Gov. Bernard had ten children. His seventh, William, a Lieutenant in the army, perished in the Canada expedition of 1776.

*The accompanying view of Boston was taken by Gov. Pownall, whose point of observation was Castle William, now Fort Independence. His chief work, "The Administration of the Colonies," was published in 1768, and a fifth edition (2 vols. 8 vo.) in 1774. During the Revolution he advocated the cause of the Colonies, in and out of Parliament. And in the midst of the war, to reach with his pen those whom he could not reach with his oratory, he issued "A Memorial, most humbly addressed to the Sovereigns of Europe, on the present state of Affairs between the Old and New World." This work, though the Preface was dated in Paris (25 Jan., 1780), was published by Almon, in London, the same year. In this treatise he declared,—"North America is *de facto* AN INDEPENDENT POWER, *which has taken its equal station with other Powers*, and must be so *de jure*." His "Map of the Middle British Colonies," accompanied with "A Description," was published in London in 1776, imperial folio; and is to this day a most desirable and valuable work. A copy of it, with MS. additions by Gov. Pownall himself, was recently imported by Mr. Welford, of New York, and sold at auction. Its present fortunate possessor is unknown to me.

In the *News-Letter* of 28 Feb., 1760, appeared the following item of intelligence respecting Mr. Pownall: — "We hear that his Excellency, our Governor, who is appointed Captain General, and Governor in Chief of his Majesty's Province of South Carolina, has received his Majesty's order to go to England; and that the Hon. William Bull, Esq., appointed Lieut. Governor of Carolina, is to administer the Government until his Excellency's arrival in that Province."

† Boyle's *Chronology*, 239.

rationally concluding, that if a man has performed any acts worthy of remembrance, he will be honorably remembered; while another, who has done nothing for the good and benefit of his fellow-man, though he may have accidentally worn a crown, is entitled to no expression of regard at his demise on that account.

The month of January was intensely cold. The harbor was for about three days nearly filled with ice, and almost closed up. During the extreme cold, a fire broke out about half-past nine o'clock in the evening of the thirteenth of the month. It began in a shop opposite the north side of Faneuil Hall, in Dock Square, destroying an entire row of wooden buildings, from the store occupied by the Hon. Thomas Hubbard, to the Swing Bridge. These shops were the property of the Town, being leased to their occupants, most of whom had their all in them, and hence lost everything. The fire did not extend to the buildings on the north side of the Dock, but it caught Faneuil Hall, which it entirely consumed, saving its brick walls. It then extended to some shops on the south side of the Market, and destroyed a number of them also; the night being so dismally cold that water could be used with but trifling effect, for it congealed as soon as it came in contact with the atmosphere, falling from the engines in particles of ice. The records and papers in Faneuil Hall were said to have been "mostly saved."

Jan. 13.

At the Town Meeting on the 13th of March a vote was passed for repairing Faneuil Hall, and the General Court granted a Lottery for raising the necessary funds. The first meeting in it after it was rebuilt was on the 14th of March, 1763. Upon that occasion James Otis, Jr., Esq., delivered an appropriate address.

Mar. 13.

The jealousy which had existed between the Colonies and the Mother Country increased materially upon the fall of Canada. The French, who had been a bar to the expansion and growth of the former, and occasioned a constant scene of blood upon the frontiers, were no longer to be dreaded. Now, by a very simple calculation, it was as easy for a Briton as a Colonist to see that, at the rate the Colonies had increased, with all their burthens upon them, the day was not very remote when they would far outnumber in population Great Britain itself. Hence a very natural feeling of independence constantly increased. This, of course, was apparent to the officers of the Crown, for a spirit of independence exhibited itself in various ways; but in none touching the Royal interest so much as the opposition to the laws of trade and revenue.

Opposition to the revenue laws was no new thing in Boston in 1761. It had in fact become so serious that the Home Government saw pretty clearly that, without some new regulation, they would soon be of no avail; and hence the origin of the attempt to introduce what was termed Writs of Assistance.*

* These writs authorized the officers of the Customs to enter stores, houses, and any other places, wherever they had reason to believe there were any contraband goods, and to seize

Notwithstanding, the Revenue Officers had for a long time acted under Admiralty writs, and property to a large amount had from time to time been seized, and a portion of the proceeds of such seizures, though accruing to the Province, had never been paid to its Treasurer. A suit had been brought for its recovery, and though advocated on the part of the people by the learning and ability of James Otis, the case was lost; the Court unjustly declaring the proceeding illegal. This decision was exceedingly irritating to the leaders in opposition to the Revenue Laws, some of whom had been large sufferers by their operation.

At the same time the officers of the Crown had been charged, and no doubt with some truth, with appropriating to their own use moneys belonging to the Province, arising from the forfeitures to which allusion has just been made. This charge was embodied in a petition to the General Court, signed by above fifty of the principal merchants of the Town;* and though men of great influence, many of them, yet that influence was not sufficient to reach, at this period, the officers of Government with the effect desired.

A crisis was fast forming when the people were to become one party, and the officers under the Crown and their immediate friends another. Leaders of the former had already begun to distinguish themselves, and hence became necessarily arrayed against certain Government measures. James Otis, eldest son of Col. James Otis, of Barnstable, was an early advocate of the people. His father was the prominent man for the office of Chief Justice of the Province, whenever a vacancy might occur; but when that time came Colonel Otis was passed over, and the office was given to Lieut. Governor Hutchinson.† This was extremely disliked by all the friends of Otis; and the son, of course, upon whom the slight weighed heavily, cannot be supposed to have been more friendly to Governor Bernard and his advisers than before that occurrence took place.

Meanwhile, the proceeding under Writs of the Colonial Admiralty, for

all such goods. A statute of the 14 Charles II. authorized the Court of Exchequer to issue Writs of Assistance. Another of the 7th and 8th of William III. made it imperative that all necessary aid and assistance should be given to officers of the Customs in the Plantations, to enable them to execute the law.

* The Petition or Memorial was presented to the General Court on the 19th Dec., 1760. As the signers were the principal business men of the Town, their names are here given, as necessary to show the head and front of the opposition to the Crown officials then resident among them:—

"John Avery, Jonathan Williams, Thomas Fitch, John Dennie, John Waldo, Thomas Green, Jr., William Molineaux, John Boylston, John Browne, Benj. Hallowell, Malatiah Bourne, Thomas Gray, Samuel Austin, Joshua Winslow, Ezekiel Goldthwaite, Samuel Dexter, John Greene, John Tudor, Solomon Davis, John Amory, John Gooch, Jonathan Mason, Peter Boyer, Samuel Grant, Samuel Hughes, Benjamin Austin, George Erving, Joseph Green, Samuel P. Savage, James Perkins, Thomas Boylston, John Rowe, Timothy Newell, Joseph Domett, John Spooner, William Greenleaf, John Welch, Jr., John Scollay, John Baker, William Thompson, Christopher Clarke, John Erving, Jr., John Powell, Nathaniel Holmes, John Barrett, Edward Davis, Fitch Pool, Thomas Greene, Henderson Inches, Daniel Malcom, Thomas Tyler, Jonathan Amory, James Thompson, Samuel Wells, Jr., Samuel Wentworth, Arnold Welles, Jonathan Sayward, James Boutineau."

† This circumstance, according to Mr. Hutchinson, iii. 88, was the origin of the Revolution. "From so small a spark a great fire seems to have been kindled." President Adams also says, "Here began the Revolution;" not in the affront to Otis, however, but in the principles he advocated in opposing the measures of an arbitrary Government.

the seizure of contraband goods, was attacked as illegal, arbitrary and oppressive. Therefore, to give these Writs unquestionable authority, application was made to the Superior Court for Writs of Assistance, similar to those issued by the Admiralty in England. The Honorable Stephen Sewall, then Chief Justice, being a greater friend to the liberties of the country than to its oppressors, declined to give such Writs his sanction; "having great doubt," as President John Adams writes, "of the legality and constitutionality" of such Writs. He however ordered that the subject should be argued before the Court in Boston, at the February term, 1761. But before the meeting of the Court in February, Mr. Sewall died, and Mr. Hutchinson was appointed his successor.*

The appointment of Mr. Hutchinson gave great dissatisfaction to the people in general, for several reasons; but the principal one was, his known leaning towards sustaining the Royal prerogative. Add to this, that he was already holding a great number of offices — as Lieutenant Governor, Judge of Probate, and Counsellor. His family were likewise incumbents of several important offices. Andrew Oliver, Secretary of the Province, married his wife's sister, and Peter, brother of Andrew, was one of the Chief Justices.

In the same month that Mr. Hutchinson received the appointment of Chief Justice, came on "the great cause of Writ of Assistance," which was argued before the Court in the Council Chamber, in Boston. James Otis made the argument in opposition to those Writs, which is thus described by one who heard it†: — "He displayed so comprehensive a knowledge of the subject, showed not only the illegality of the Writ, and its insidious and mischievous tendency, but he laid open the views and designs of Great Britain in taxing us; of destroying our Charters and assuming the powers of our Government, legislative, executive and judicial; external and internal, civil and ecclesiastical, temporal and spiritual; and all this was performed with such a profusion of learning, such convincing argument, and such a torrent of sublime and pathetic eloquence, that a great crowd of spectators and auditors went away absolutely electrified."

The next day Mr. Otis was elected a Representative, and re-elected for ten years following.‡ "He governed the Town of Boston and the House of Representatives, notwithstanding a few eccentricities, with a caution, a prudence and sagacity, which astonished his friends and confounded his enemies."

* Mr. Sewall died Sept. 10th, 1760, at the age of 58. He was son of Stephen Sewall, Esq., of Salem, and nephew of Judge Samuel Sewall, and had been Chief Justice eight years. Hutchinson gives him an excellent character. Dr. Mayhew preached his funeral Sermon, an extensive and elegant performance. Mr. Sewall died a bachelor. All agree that he was a man of superior abilities.

† President John Adams. Hutchinson significantly remarks: — "Mr. Otis' zeal in carrying on these causes was deemed as meritorious as if it had sprung from a sincere concern for the liberties of the people." — *Hist. Mass.*, iii. 195. But to deny true patriotism to James Otis is to deny that it ever existed in the world.

‡ The others were Royal Tyler, John Phillips, and Thomas Cushing. They were the same in 1762, and William Whitwell was chosen Overseer of the Poor, in room of Mr. Isaac Walker, deceased; also, Belcher Noyes and Capt. Samuel Doane were chosen Assessors, in room of Mr. Samuel Edwards, deceased, and Mr. Joseph Bradford, who had resigned.

A deputation of Indians from the Five Nations came to Boston, to congratulate the people upon their success against the French; and on the last day of the year they had an audience of the Governor in the Council Chamber. The name of the chief speaker was Hongougsaniyonde, or Thomas King, who was an Oneida. It was said that "he conducted himself with surprising dignity and politeness."

1762. Feb. 11. On the eleventh of February, the Hon. Harrison Gray was chosen Treasurer and Recorder General of the Province; the Hon. Thomas Hubbard, Commissary General, and the Hon. James Russell, Impost Officer. A few days previous, a person was set in the Pillory an hour, whipped twenty stripes, and fined twenty pounds, for counterfeiting dollars, or for having tools for counterfeiting in his possession. The sentence was executed upon him at Charlestown. The Town voted to have the bells of Hollis-street Church, the Old Brick and Old North, rung at five o'clock every morning, except Sundays. A Society for Encouraging Trade had been established, and a meeting was held by its members at the British Coffee House, on the first of February. At this meeting the subject of sending "some representations home concerning their trade" was considered. The Governor signed a Bill "for the effectual preventing the currency of the Bills of Credit of Connecticut, New Hampshire and Rhode Island, within this Province."

Some time in the month of February, the body of Major Gen. Edward Whitmore was brought up to Town from Plymouth, in the schooner Leopard, Thomas Church, master. He was upon his voyage from Louisbourg to Boston, and, putting into Plymouth in stress of weather, upon some occasion went upon deck about midnight, fell overboard and was drowned. He was at the time Governor of Louisbourg, and commander of the twenty-second Regiment of Foot; and, at the second capture of that place, received the keys of the Citadel. He appears to have had no family. His effects were sold by auction at the Royal Exchange, in King-street, on the 24th of March. Thomas Hancock was appointed administrator.* His age was seventy-one.

Apl. 8. On the fifth of April the Castle guns and the Town batteries fired salutes on receiving the news of the reduction of Martinico. Christopher Prince offered ten dollars reward to any body who would catch his negro man, named Cæsar, who could read and write, but had run away.†

Apl. 15. The General Court attended in the Old Brick Church, to hear a sermon by Doctor Sewall, occasioned by a Fast for the declaration of war against Spain. General Amherst proposed to the merchants to hire vessels of them for transports.

May 11. At the Town Meeting on the eleventh of May, it was alleged that great frauds were practised in the sale of wood and bark.

* He was probably of the family which had given several Aldermen and a Lord Mayor to London. — See Dale's *Hist. of Harwich*, &c. 71–2, 205–7, 409, &c. His remains were interred in King's Chapel.

† May 24th. — "A parcel of hearty, likely Negroes, imported the last week from Africa, to be sold. Enquire of Capt. Wickham, or Mr. John Avery, at his house near the White Horse," in Newbury-street.

Whereupon it was voted that all such fuel should be surveyed by an officer appointed for that purpose, and the vender to be furnished with a ticket, by which he should sell the article.

Umbrellas were probably introduced about this time, as "Umbrillos" are advertised for sale in the papers of the day.*

June 4. The birthday of the new King was celebrated with the usual noise on such occasions; and the example of the Government officials, as now-a-days, was followed by many, because they knew no better.

June 10. About one o'clock a fire was discovered in the bakehouse of Mr. George Bray, at the upper end of Williams' Court, Cornhill, but it had made such progress at that time that nothing of much account could be saved of the effects of Mr. Bray. It took his dwelling-house, bedding and other furniture, and even his clothing, together with one hundred and fifty barrels of flour; the family barely escaping the flames themselves. It immediately communicated to other houses and barns in that confined vicinity, and great was the apprehension that an immense conflagration could not be avoided. However, from the favorable time of day, the engines of the Town were at once on the spot, also those of Charlestown and Castle William, and, all being in fine condition, the fire was subdued with less damage from its ravages than was at first expected. As it was, however, many families were burnt out, and many new objects of charity were added to the list, already very large, occasioned by the destructive fires during the three past years. Governor Bernard was present during the whole time, encouraging the exertions of the firemen.†

June 24. Towards the close of June, exertions were made to raise men to go against the Spaniards. Captain William Augustus Peck gave out that he was about to sail on a cruise, and invited able men to join him. He commanded the private armed vessel Tartar, called a "Billander," mounting fourteen six-pounders, twenty cohorns, and its complement of men was 120. He sailed the following month, and was reported from time to time as having taken several rich prizes.

Aug. 26. News having been received that the Moro Castle, at Havannah, had surrendered after a forty days' siege, occasioned great rejoicing. Some time after,

Sept. 26. Dr. Sewall preached a sermon on the "Reduction of the Havannah," which was printed.

Notice was given, on the second of September, that the "Spinning School in the Manufactory House is again opened, where any person who inclines may learn to spin gratis; and to be paid for their spinning after the first three months." At the same time a premium of eighteen pounds, Old Tenor, was offered to the four best spinners.

* Is it possible that, as Hayden, *Dictionary of Dates*, says, umbrellas were not used in London, except in noblemen's houses, in 1778?

† The following list of persons, then living in Williams' Court, were burnt out: — "Mr. George Bray, Mr. John Popkins, Widow Slater, Mrs. Jane Day, Capt. Arthur Noble, Mr. Samuel Holbrook, Mr. Ephraim Copeland, Jr., Mr. Jacob Thayer, Mr. Benj. Loring, Widow Gould, and Mr. John Barker." — *Evening Post*, June 14th. Mrs. Day was noted as a school-teacher. She re-opened her school at Mr. Head's, in Brattle-street, soon after. She taught "embroidery in Gold and Silver," &c.

Several tracts issued this year indicate pretty clearly the growing opposition to Government measures, and especially the Prelacy, so intimately connected with it, which had made fearful strides in the Province within a few years, as it appeared to the descendants of the Puritans. An anonymous tract came out, in favor of the Church of England, calculated to irritate and alarm the fears of those who looked upon that Church as having been intruded upon the Country, both in a spirit of opposition, and a determination to supplant the religion which the founders of the State had established at so much sacrifice. This work was written to show "The real advantages which ministers and people may enjoy, especially in the Colonies, by conforming to the Church of England." The writer prophesied "that the Dissenters in New England were likely to break to pieces in a very little time;" which must have been viewed by such men as Samuel Adams with feelings of much regret, if not with subdued indignation.* James Otis about the same time issued his "Vindication of the House of Representatives."

Among the deaths this year were those of Capt. John Larabee,† the commander of Castle William, and the Rev. Andrew Le Mercier.‡ Also on the 30th of November died Mr. John Draper, a much respected printer, "having just entered his 61st year." § He was a son of Mr. Richard Draper, a merchant of Boston. Several newspapers were published by him, the Laws of the Province, and many other works. At the time of his death he published the Evening Post; in the publication of which he was succeeded by his son Richard. He owned and lived in a house which stood at the east corner of the short alley which led to Brattle-street Church. ‖ His paternal ancestor came originally from Banbury, in the County of Oxford.¶

Nov. 15. The anniversary of the discovery of the "Popish Gunpowder Treason" was celebrated with all the licentiousness which long-continued recurrences of such celebrations are calculated to produce. This important era in the history of England had been observed by the people of New England from its first settlement, but nowhere with such an enthusiasm as in Boston, especially of late years. The day was always sure

* The manner in which John Adams spoke and wrote about the "Established Church" long after, shows something of what the feeling must have been at this period. — See his Letter to Dr. Morse, in Morse's *Hist. American Revolution*, p. 199.

† Capt. Larabee died 12th Feb., 1762, at the age of 76. He had been an old soldier. Capt. Benjamin Larabee, perhaps his father, died at Brunswick, Me., in May, 1748. He was commander of Fort George in 1735, at which time his house was burnt, "which cost him £323 9s. 2d.;" besides great loss of goods. Capt. John Larabee had been in command at the Castle since the death of Capt. Fairweather, in 1712, about 50 years. He had a wife, Elizabeth; son John, born 19th April, 1713; Elizabeth, born 4th Feb., 1715, died 2d May, 1746, aged 29; Sarah, born 12th July, 1719, married Thomas Edes, of Boston, 1738. He rose from a common soldier, and became distinguished for his merit alone.

‡ See *ante*, p. 489.

§ *Evening Post*, 6th Dec., 1762.

‖ Thomas, *Hist. Print.*, i. 328.

¶ His son Richard died in Boston, June 5th, 1774, in his 48th year. His father, also named Richard, was a Deacon of Brattle-street Church. After the death of Mr. John Draper, Richard continued the News-Letter till his death, which paper had been published by the family for eighty years. The widow of the last named continued the paper (The Massachusetts Gazette, and Boston Weekly News-Letter) until the Town was evacuated by the British, with whom she retired to Halifax, thence to England, where she was living long after the war.

to invite all the frolicsome, wayward and turbulent young men as participants; and hence the termination was an extravagant and, sometimes, a riotous affair.

The manner of proceeding on these anniversaries was to form a procession at certain head-quarters, thence to proceed through the streets. At the head of the procession went one with a bell in his hand, which notified the people in their houses that the procession was in motion, and that they were to be called upon to contribute something to carry out the celebration.* Those who did not contribute were in danger of having their windows broken, or of receiving some other injury. The money thus obtained was to defray the expense of a supper provided for the leaders.

An imposing pageant was carried along with the procession. It consisted of a figure, or figures, upon a platform, or stage, mounted upon wheels, and drawn by horses. On the front part of the stage a lantern was elevated some six or eight feet, constructed with transparent paper, upon which were inscriptions suited to the occasion; usually significant of some obnoxious political characters of the day. The Pretender,† on a gibbet, stood next the lantern, and in the centre of the platform stood the Pope, grotesquely attired, exhibiting a corresponding corpulency. In the rear stood a devil, with a superabundance of tail, with a trident in one hand, and a dark lantern in the other. Under the platform were placed boys, or persons of small size, who, with rods which extended up through the figures, caused them to perform certain motions with their heads, — as making them face to the right or left, according to circumstances, or rise up as though to look into chamber windows.

Pope Day originated on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, in 1558. At first the Pope and the Devil were the only pageantry, which were burnt as soon as they had been satisfactorily exhibited. After the detection of the Gunpowder Plot, in 1605, Guy Fawkes figured conspicuously. Hence, in process of time, the pageantry became considerably changed, as it respected its subordinate characters. In this country the conductors of the celebration took such liberties in the production and arrangement of characters as suited their fancies. At what time Boston first produced two celebrations, upon the same day and occasion, does not appear. But there were two about this time, occasioned, no doubt, by the rivalry which had grown up between the inhabitants of the North End

* The bellman chanted a ballad as he proceeded, which, according to Tudor, in his life of Otis, ran thus:

"Don't you remember
The fifth of November,
The Gunpowder treason and Plot?
I see no reason
Why gunpowder treason
Should ever be forgot.
From Rome to Rome
The Pope is come,
Amid ten thousand fears,
With fiery serpents to be seen
At eyes, nose, mouth and ears.
Don't you hear my little bell
Go chink, chink, chink?
Please give me a little money,
To buy my Pope some drink."

† The effigy of the Pretender was added after the accession of Queen Anne. An epigram used on the occasion has been preserved:

"Three Strangers blaze amidst a bonfire's revel,
The Pope, and the Pretender, and the Devil;
Three Strangers hate our faith, and faith's defender,
The Devil, and the Pope, and the Pretender;
Three Strangers will be strangers long, we hope,
The Devil, the Pretender, and the Pope;
Thus in three rhymes three Strangers dance the lay,
And he that chooses to dance after 'em may."

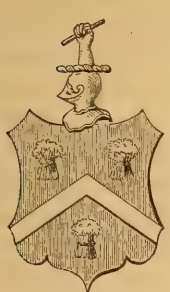
and those of the South End. The two celebrating parties, after having marched about to their content, used to meet in and about Union-street, and then would commence a disgraceful fight for the possession of all the effigies. These fights ended in bloodshed, broken bones, and sometimes broken heads. The victors, if South-Enders, carried the trophies to the Common, and there burnt them. If the North-Enders gained the day, they took the trophies to Copp's Hill, and burnt them there.

These celebrations were kept up till 1774, when the patriot leaders of the Revolution found means to reconcile the North and South Ends, and to unite both in the common cause of the Country. So in November of that year both parties joined in one celebration, which they called the Union Pope, and this was the last Pope Day in Boston.

There were now four Newspapers published regularly, namely, the News-Letter, The Evening Post, The Gazette, and The Advertiser, or Post-Boy.

CHAPTER LXVII.

Fire in Newbury-street. — Sermon in Faneuil Hall. — First Stage between Boston and Portsmouth. — Wilkes and Liberty. — Whig and Tory. — Opposition to Government. — Reasons for it. — Discussions about Taxation. — Anti-Stamp Fire Society. — Crown Officers Churchmen. — East Apthorp. — Jonathan Mayhew. — Great Pamphlet War. — The Participants in it. — Independence no new Principle. — Its Leaders. — James Otis. — Oxenbridge Thacher. — Benjaman Pratt. — Thomas Cushing. — Samuel Cooper. — Charles Chauncy. — Samuel Adams. — John Hancock. — Josiah Quincy, Jr. — Joseph Warren.



BULFINCH.*

1763. Jan. 16. ABOUT ten of the clock in the forenoon of the 16th of January, a fire broke out in a building in Newbury-street, by which five or six houses were destroyed, and several others considerably damaged. The weather was exceedingly cold, and the snow lay very deep; but the fire, occurring in the daytime, was not so destructive as it probably would otherwise have been.

Mar. 6. On the evening of the sixth of March, the Rev. Mr. Samuel Mather preached a Charity Sermon in Faneuil Hall, for the relief of the poor, which was the first sermon delivered in it after it was rebuilt.

* This engraving of the arms of Bulfinch is from a copy in King's Chapel Inscriptions. — Gules, a chevron Argent, between three garbs Or. *Crest* — From a wreath on a helmet, a dexter arm, couped below the elbow, grasping a baton, ppr.

The first of the family in Boston was Adino Bulfinch, who settled here in 1681, a merchant. From 1700 to 1708, he was often chosen into town offices. He had four sons, John, Samuel, Adino and Thomas. He left a valuable estate at his decease. His son John married Jeanette, daughter of John Crawford, whose only child, Elizabeth, married Daniel Boyce. By this last marriage were two daughters, Elizabeth, married to Joseph Coolidge, 1772, and Katharine, who married Joseph Coolidge, 2d April, 1778, died 5th Dec., 1829. Samuel had daughters, Abby and Elizabeth, both of whom died unmarried. Adino, the third son, died unmarried also, about 1746. Thomas was educated a physician in Paris,

April. A Stage began to run regularly from Boston to Portsmouth, in New Hampshire. Owing to the trouble of ferrying the stage and horses over Charles River, they were kept at Charlestown, at the sign of the Three Cranes. Bartholomew Stavers was the undertaker, who had his head-quarters at the sign of the Lighthouse,* at the North End of Boston. His vehicle was called the "Portsmouth Flying Stage-Coach," and was to carry "six persons inside, each person to pay thirteen shillings and sixpence sterling to Portsmouth, and nine shillings to Newbury; to set out every Friday morning, between six and seven o'clock; to put up at inns on the road, where good entertainment and attendance were provided for the passengers in the coach. Returning, to leave Portsmouth every Tuesday morning." Mr. Stavers further added, that "as this was a convenient and genteel way of travelling, and greatly cheaper than hiring carriages or horses, he hoped gentlemen and ladies would encourage the same."

This was the commencement of Stage-Coach travelling between Boston and Portsmouth, and was doubtless viewed with almost as much astonishment by the people as the first train of railroad cars was a few years since. Stage-travelling, thus begun, was continued between the two Capitols until within the memory of the young people of this age.

It is said, by one high in authority, that at this period there did not appear to be any cause of dissatisfaction with the administration of government in Massachusetts Bay, except such as arose from persons who had not, but desired, a place in that government. From these and their friends "the sound of 'Wilkes and Liberty' was heard in Boston, as much as in London, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, and squibs were thrown at the characters of officials, in newspapers and handbills.†

Whig and Tory were new terms in New England, or they had not been in general use previous to this time. "All on a sudden the officers of the Crown, and such as were for keeping up their authority, were

whence he returned to Boston in 1722, and became very eminent in his profession. He married Judith, daughter of John Colman, Esq., a distinguished merchant, often mentioned in this History. Dr. Bulfinch had but two children, Thomas, and Judith married to Dr. Samuel Cooper, of Brattle-street Church, noticed in the present chapter. Thomas was of the profession of his father, having completed his studies in medicine in Edinburgh. He married Susan, second daughter of Charles Apthorp, Esq. They had a number of children, three only of whom arrived at marriageable age. Charles, the only son, was born 8th Aug., 1763, married Hannah, eldest daughter of Mr. John Apthorp, 20th November, 1788. Anna married Geo. Storer, May, 1795. Elizabeth married Joseph Coolidge, 20th Sept., 1796. Mr. Charles Bulfinch graduated H. C., 1781, and, after spending some time in Europe, returned to Boston in 1786. This was the great architect before mentioned in these pages. He was chairman of the Board of Selectmen twenty-one years, during which official service many of the great improvements in the town, yet to be seen, were executed. Among others, the building of Franklin-street, the State House, City Hall, and General Hospital. After the Capitol of the United States was burnt by the British, in 1814, Mr. Bulfinch was applied to by President Monroe to superintend its reërection. He was also employed on other public buildings of the General Government. His wife died in 1841, and he survived her but three years, dying April 15th, 1844.

* Robert Whatley lived at the Lighthouse and Anchor at this time; perhaps the same place.

† Hutchinson.

branded with the name of *Tories*, which was always a term of reproach, while their opposers assumed the name of *Whigs*."*

The reason of much of the present opposition to the General Government in Boston arose from the difficulties thrown in the way of certain measures advocated by Mr. Otis, "the idol of the people."

The heavy duties upon molasses and other necessary articles amounted almost to a prohibition of those articles, and this occasioned the proposal of Lord Grenville to substitute a stamp duty; but he condescended to give the Colonies an opportunity of taxing themselves in some other way, if they could think of any they liked better. But it was a shallow device of the Minister, and was no sooner proposed by him than seen through by the people, who could see no difference in the principle, as to whether they paid a certain amount of money, demanded of them, out of one pocket or the other. They very naturally said that if the Mother Country could tax them without their consent, it mattered not whether they paid such tax on one article or a dozen, or none at all. They were not represented in Parliament, and, consequently, there was no one in that body to protest against any measure it should propose, however unjust it might be to them.

Oct. The daily discussion of this subject of taxation in Boston, soon produced a considerable excitement among all classes. In October a number of persons formed themselves into a society, which they called "The Anti-Stamp Fire Society."† It probably became dormant after the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766, and was not revived until after the Declaration of Independence; it is supposed it did not survive the war, at least under that name.

The officers serving under the Crown were, from highest to lowest, nearly all Churchmen. Hence it is not at all strange that the Episcopal Church should be looked upon with quite as much suspicion as the Government, part of which it was. The Ministers of that Church, viewing themselves secure under the wing of the Government, may have, from a consciousness that it could protect them, acted in some things injudiciously. An Episcopal Church frowned in the very presence of Harvard College. Here, Mr. East Apthorp, "hot from Oxford,"‡ this year issued his "Considerations on the Institution and Conduct of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign

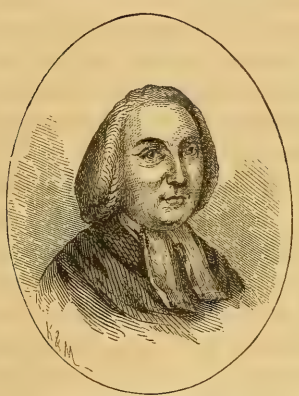
* Hutchinson.

† I have not ascertained the names of any of the original members belonging to it. It was revived in November, 1776, and the following names appear signed to their "Rules and Regulations": Edward Walker, William Bant, Joseph Barrell, Samuel Eliot, Joshua Gardner, Thomas Chase, William Hickling, John Lowel, Herman Brimmer, Samuel Alleyne Otis, Ziphion Thayer, Lemuel Cox, Nathaniel Abraham, Thomas Lee, Thomas Hill, John Read, Nathaniel Barrett, John Hunt, tertius, Samuel Eliot, Jr., Edward Gray, John Andrews, James Smithwick, and John Hopkins.

‡ "And still more warmed by holy orders from Episcopal hands, returned to his native country; and soon after arose a splendid edifice, as it was then thought, which everybody immediately concluded was intended for an Episcopal Palace, and in time for a Lambeth. All sensible men knew that this system could not be effected but by act of Parliament; and if Parliament could do this, they could do all things. And what security could Americans have for life, liberty, property, or religion?"—*John Adams.* Mr. Adams is often quoted to show the spirit of the times, not that I always fully subscribe to all he says.

Parts;" in which, by implication, the conductors of that society were accused of misapplying its funds in the cause of the Indians. He also openly avowed that the conversion of the Indians was now the "*sole* business" of the Society; "whereas, in truth," he says, "the Indian conversions are only subordinate to their principal, most excellent and comprehensive object, that of giving all the British subjects on this vast continent the means of public Religion." * This was at once construed to mean nothing short of a design to supplant that religion which the founders of the Colony had established.

But the Bostonians found they had a champion in the ecclesiastical field, inferior to none in that of politics. This was the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, of the West Church, already brought to notice in this history. Viewing Mr. Apthorp's "Considerations" in the nature of a challenge, he composed and published "Observations on the Charter and Conduct of the Society," † in answer to it, in an incredibly brief period. By an extract from the Apostle Paul to the Galatians, which he inserted as a sort of motto in his title-page, it is pretty easy to judge of the whole tone of his work. "Brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our LIBERTIES which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into BONDAGE. To whom we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour."



JONATHAN MAYHEW.‡

This was the commencement of a pamphlet war, "which soon interested all men, spread through America, and in Europe brought forward the aged Doctor [Samuel] Johnson, and at last [Dr. Thomas Secker] Archbishop of Canterbury. All denominations in America became interested in it, and began to think of the secret, latent principle upon which all encroachments upon them must be founded, the power of Parliament. The nature and extent of the authority of Parliament over the Colonies was discussed everywhere, till it was discovered that it had none at all." §

* *Considerations*, 7, 13. — Mr. Adams says: "Upon the death of Dr. Miller, of Braintree, a satirical irony appeared in a newspaper, the point of which turned upon this abuse of the Society's resources." That "this *jeu d'esprit* soon produced an explosion," which explosion was Mr. Apthorp's "Observations."

† The whole title to Dr. Mayhew's work is too long to be transcribed. His design was to show that between the "Charter and Conduct of the Society" there was a "Non-conformity, with Remarks on the Mistakes of East Apthorp, M. A., Missionary at Cambridge, in Quoting and Representing the Sense of said Charter, &c. As also various incidental Reflections relative to the Church of England, and the State of Religion in North America, particularly in New England." These "Considerations" extended to 176 pages, large octavo; printed by Richard and Samuel Draper, in Newbury-street, Edes & Gill, in Queen-street, and Thomas and John Fleet, at the Heart and Crown in Cornhill, 1763.

‡ Paul Revere engraved a portrait of Doctor Mayhew, which accompanied a volume of the Doctor's sermons. It is the most perfectly awful-looking thing of the kind I have ever seen. The above is a copy of that accompanying Bradford's Life of Mayhew.

§ John Adams, who says: "If any gentleman supposes this controversy to be nothing to

One of the most masterly productions, caused by the controversy begun by Mr. Apthorp and the Rev. Dr. Mayhew, was by Samuel Adams, though by some, who had probably never read it, ascribed to Mr. Apthorp. It is, according to the judgment of the late President John Adams, "a model of candor, sagacity, impartiality, and close, correct reasoning."

Thus the agency of certain individuals, men of Boston, is touched upon, in tracing the rise of Independence, clearly showing that it was no new principle or idea; but that it was to be asserted as soon as there was power to maintain it. And hence, as in all times reached by history, great spirits suited to the great occasion were not wanting to meet any emergency. And here, before proceeding to other details, it is proper to take some special notice of several of the great men who took the lead in the stirring events already begun.

The commencement of the career of James Otis has already come under notice. He was now but thirty-eight years of age; an age for ardent and energetic action. He studied law under the direction of Jeremy Gridley, now Attorney General of the Province, one of the first civilians of his time. It was Mr. Gridley, who, by virtue of his office under the Crown, pleaded the cause of Writs of Assistance in opposition to Mr. Otis; a circumstance calculated to arouse the energies of the mind of the latter. Mr. Otis well knew that the Attorney General would come into the cause with abilities with which no other lawyer then in the Province could come; that he had every qualification necessary to ensure a decision in favor of the Government which any man could possess. To overcome these was the task which Mr. Otis had undertaken; and thus were master and pupil set against each other in the cause of Writs of Assistance, which was nothing more nor less than the cause of Independence; the great parties to which were the People on the one side, and the Place-men on the other. For this cause Mr. Otis had ample time to prepare himself; and that he did prepare himself there is this evidence, by one who heard the defence he made, and who has left this account of it.

Feb. "Alarm was spread far and wide. Merchants of Salem and Boston applied to Mr. [Benjamin] Pratt, who refused, and to Mr. Otis and Mr. [Oxenbridge] Thacher, who accepted, to defend them against this terrible menacing monster, the Writ of Assistance. Great fees were offered; but Otis, and I believe Thacher, would accept of none. 'In such a cause,' said Otis, 'I despise all fees.' Mr. Gridley argued with his characteristic learning, ingenuity, and dignity, and

the present purpose, he is grossly mistaken. It spread an universal alarm against the authority of Parliament. It excited a general and just apprehension that Bishops, and Dioceses, and Churches, and Priests, and Tythes, were to be imposed on us by Parliament. It was known that neither King, nor Ministry, nor Archbishops, could appoint Bishops in America without an Act of Parliament; and if Parliament could tax us, they could establish the Church of England, with all its Creeds, Articles, Tests, Ceremonies and Tythes, and prohibit all other Churches as Conventicles and Schism-shops."

said everything that could be said in favor of Cockle's * petition, all depending, however, on the 'If the Parliament of Great Britain is the Sovereign Legislature of all the British Empire.' Mr. Thacher followed him on the other side, and argued with the softness of manners, the ingenuity, the cool reasoning, which were peculiar to his amiable character. But Otis was a flame of fire! With a promptitude of classical allusions, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glare of his eyes into futurity, and a rapid torrent of impetuous eloquence, he hurried away all before him. American Independence was then and there born.† Every man of an immense crowded audience appeared to me to go away, as I did, ready to take up arms against Writs of Assistance."‡

In passing from Mr. Otis, § the next upon the same side may be mentioned Oxenbridge Thacher, his colleague, also before noticed. He belonged to one of the most respectable families in New England; had been educated for the ministry, a calling in which his immediate ancestors had been distinguished; but his constitution being slender, and his voice weak, he renounced the Pulpit for the Bar. He was about two years older than Mr. Otis; was a fine scholar, and had acquired much general literature. Being in his manners affable, modest and unassuming, he was well calculated to gain popular favor; and his practice had become as large as any one in Boston. Whenever he entered into a subject, it was with his whole strength; and his physical system being entirely unequal to support the intellectual, he fell an

* James Cockle, the Collector of Salem, who, at the request of Charles Paxton, Surveyor General, of Boston, moved in the Superior Court at Salem for its sanction of Writs of Assistance, as has been before observed. Roger Hale was at this time Collector of Boston.

† After what the reader may have seen in the progress of this History, he will probably decide that this sentence is a little poetical. What can be truly said is, it received an *impulse* then, and a confidence, hitherto unknown.

‡ The stage on which this primary act in the great drama of the Revolution was performed, was, as before stated, in the Council Chamber of the old Town-house still standing at the head of State-street, one of the few remains of revolutionary scenery in the city. That chamber was in the east end, and is thus described by John Adams: "It was as respectable an apartment, and more so too, in proportion, than the House of Lords or House of Commons in Great Britain, or that in Philadelphia in which the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776. Near the fire were seated five Judges, with Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson at their head, as Chief Justice; all in their new fresh robes of scarlet English cloth, in their broad bands and immense judicial wigs. At a long table, all the Barristers of Boston, and its neighboring County of Middlesex, in their gowns, bands, and tye-wigs. They were not seated on ivory chairs, but their dress was more solemn and more pompous than that of the Roman Senate when the Gauls broke in upon them. Two portraits, at more than full-length, of King Charles II. and King James II., in splendid golden frames, were hung up in the most conspicuous side of the apartment. I believe they were by Vandyke, being far superior to those of the King and Queen of France, in the Senate Chamber of Congress. Sure I am there was no painter in England capable of them at that time. They had been sent over, without frames, in Gov. Pownall's time. But, as he was no admirer of Charleses or Jameses, they were stowed away in a garret among rubbish, till Gov. Bernard came, had them cleaned, superbly framed, and placed in the Council for the admiration and imitation of all men."

§ For details respecting the family of Otis, see the *New Eng. Hist. & Gen. Reg.*, vols. II. and V., containing articles by one of its members, Mr. Horatio N. Otis, of New York, discovering much patience, diligence and research. The admirable life of Otis by Tudor, should be read by every one.

early martyr to the cause he so ardently espoused. He died of disease of the lungs, in 1765, at the age of forty-five. His death is said to have been much hastened by his great anxiety in public affairs.* Hutchinson said of him, "Thacher was not born a plebeian, but he was determined to die one."

Conspicuous at this time was Benjamin Pratt, one of the greatest lawyers in this or any country. His father was poor, but circumstances gave the son an education at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1737, at the age of twenty-eight, and hence, at this period, was about fifty-three years of age. Being older than Otis or Thacher, he was applied to by both parties to argue the great cause of Writs of Assistance, but he had, through the influence of Governor Pownall, received the appointment of Chief Justice of New York, in 1761, and, therefore, declined a service which would have been agreeable to him under other auspices. He, however, enjoyed his high position but a short time, dying there this year (1763).† Jan. 5. He has been characterized as the embodiment of "wit, sense, imagination, genius, pathos, reason, prudence, eloquence, learning, science, and immense reading." When Mr. Pratt commenced his judicial services in New York, he was viewed with jealousy by the Judges of that Province, over whom he was placed; but that jealousy soon gave way to admiration of his legal knowledge and acumen. His intellectual sagacity, displayed in a very important cause which had been several years depending, at once secured the wavering in his favor, and silenced all who were disposed to entertain a distrust of his abilities.

Another of the leading men was the Hon. Thomas Cushing. "His good sense and sound judgment, the urbanity of his manners, his universal good character, his numerous friends and connections, and his continual intercourse with all sorts of people, added to his constant attachment to the liberties of his country, gave him great and salutary influence from the beginning in 1760." He was son of the Hon. Thomas Cushing, merchant, of Boston, and his mother was Mary, a daughter of Edward Bromfield, and was, at this time, about thirty-seven years of age.‡

* He was son of the Rev. Oxenbridge Thacher, of Milton, who died October 29, 1772, a. 91; grandson of the Rev. Peter T., of Milton, by Theodora, dau. of the Rev. John Oxenbridge, of the First Church of Boston, who died Dec. 27, 1727, in his 77th year; great-grandson of the Rev. Thomas T., of the Old South Church, who died Oct. 16, 1678, a. 58. The Rev. Thomas T., of the Old South, was son of the Rev. Peter T., a Puritan minister of Salisbury, in England. — *Funeral Sermons*, and Prince's *Christian History*. The introduction of the name of Oxenbridge is apparent. The Reverend John O., before named, was son of "Daniel O., Doctor in Physic," of Daventry, in Northamptonshire, of whom there is a curious account in *Magna Britannia*, iii. 502. See, also, Sewall's *New Haven*, &c., 57. Mr. Peter Thacher, of Cleaveland, Ohio, is expected to give a history of the Thacher family.

† He was son of Aaron Pratt, born in Boston in 1709, grandson of Phinehas, the old planter of Weymouth, a fac-simile of whose autograph is given at page 41. He was married to a Miss Wells, but left no male posterity. He had been appointed Governor of one of the West India Islands, but had not entered upon the duties of the office. — *MS. letter of Mr. E. F. Pratt, of Boston*, 20 June, 1855.

‡ Mr. James S. Loring, author of the "Hundred Boston Orators," has communicated a good account of the Cushing family to the *New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, which will be found in vol. viii. of that work



SAMUEL COOPER.*

Among the ministers of the Town, there was, besides Mr. Mayhew, Doctor Samuel Cooper, to whom the patriots were much indebted for the exertion of his great talents in the common cause. He was about the age of Mr. Cushing, having been born the same year, namely, 1725. He was not only great in the pulpit, but he was remarkable for extensive general acquirements. He well understood the nature and objects for which governments were instituted, and was early attached to the cause of religious liberty, and among the first to assert its importance at this crisis. He was a fine classical scholar before he entered college. In 1754 he wrote a political tract against the Excise Act, which he entitled The Crisis. Doctor Cooper was the son of the Rev. William Cooper, and succeeded him in the ministry of the Brattle-street Society. In the founding of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences he was one of the foremost, and became very intimate with Doctor Franklin, the Adamses, and other leading men, and through them became known and valued in France, and other countries of Europe.

Nor should the name of Chauncy be overlooked in a notice of the ministers who contributed to the cause of the Revolution. Doctor Charles Chauncy was now in the vigor of manhood, being fifty-eight years of age.† He entered Harvard College at the age of twelve years, and received his first degree in 1721, at the age of sixteen. In 1727 he became colleague with Mr. Foxcroft over the First Church, and he lived to see the Independence of the United States, if not their Consolidation. He died in 1787, having just entered upon his eighty-third year. He was one of the good men who did not believe benefits would accrue to the country from the preaching of Mr. Whitefield. Neither did Colman, Sewall, Prince, Cooper, Foxcroft, nor Eliot,

* This portrait is from a copy in the March number of the Boston Magazine for 1784, engraved for that work by J. Norman; the same, probably, who printed the first Directory of the Town five years after. The plate in the Magazine is a very rude specimen of copper-plate engraving of that or any other time.

† I have a pedigree of the Chauncy family, in the handwriting of Dr. Chauncy above named, the concluding part of which is as follows: "Isaac, the eldest of the sons of Charles Chauncy, had three children; Elisabeth, now alive in London, the widow of the late Rev. Mr. John Nesbitt, one of the Lecturers at Penner's Hall; Isaac, a linen-draper in Bristol, who died in middle age, leaving two daughters; Charles, who came over into this country, and settled here [in Boston], a merchant, taking to wife Sarah Walley, eldest daughter of the Hon. John Walley, Esq. From this Charles descended Charles, who was born Jan. 1st, 1704–5, and married to Elisabeth Hirst, May the 9th, 1728, by whom he had the following children: Charles, born 16 May, 1729; Elisabeth, born 12 Nov., 1731, and Sarah, born 22 Sept., 1733. Written by me, their father, this 23d day of March, 1743. CHARLES CHAUNCY."

Isaac, above named, was the oldest son of Dr. Charles Chauncy, President of H. C., who "arrived at Plymouth from England, a few days before the great Earthquake, which happened Jan. 1st, 1638. There were five others, Isaac, Ichabod, Barnabas, Nathanael, Elnathan and Israel." — *Ib.* See p. 393, *ante*.

although some of them were not unwilling to hear him, and to allow him to speak for himself. But Mr. Chauncy rendered his chief service in the cause of Independence in the learned and able attacks which he made upon Episcopacy as it was at that time practised.

Of Samuel Adams, so conspicuous from this time to the firm establishment of Independence, it is no easy task to speak; of whom it has been said, "He was in the Cabinet of his Country what General Greene was in the field; ever early, ever watchful, and never weary of toil or fatigue, until he saw all was well."* And by another: "If Otis was Martin Luther, Samuel Adams was John Calvin. If Luther was rough, hasty, and loved good cheer, Calvin was cool, abstemious, polished and refined, though more inflexible, uniform and consistent, who was destined to a longer career than those before mentioned, and to act a more conspicuous, and, perhaps, a more important part than any other man."†

Samuel Adams was born in Boston, as appears by his father's family record in his own hand, "The sixteenth day of September, at twelve of the clock at noon, being Sabbath Day, 1722." He was son of Samuel Adams, Esquire, a merchant, by Mary, daughter of Richard and Mary Fifield, also of Boston. At the age of eighteen he graduated with high honors at Harvard College, at which early day he exhibited signs of those political principles which he so successfully maintained in his manhood. When he took his Master's degree, in 1743, he proposed this question for discussion: "Whether it be lawful to resist the Supreme Magistrate, if the Commonwealth cannot be otherwise preserved." He maintained the affirmative with marked ability. He was a political writer as early as the commencement of Governor Shirley's administration; in which he always displayed great ingenuity, wit, and profound argument. The office of Collector of taxes in Boston was in those days one of importance. This he exercised to the satisfaction of the people, though it is said with loss to himself. However that may have been, the people all became acquainted with him, and were ever after his fast friends. On the death of Mr. Oxenbridge Thacher, in 1765, he was elected a Representative, and soon after Clerk of the House; in which house his influence soon became almost unbounded. He was now in the midst of the most stirring events, but he possessed a courage which no danger could shake. The prospect which sent dismay, and struck terror into the hearts of many, he met with undisturbed dignity. For nearly ten years he was a member of that House, and he was the soul which animated it to the most important resolutions; and to him belongs the credit of drafting the able State Papers of that period. No man did so much. Now in the prime of life, he pressed his measures with ardor, yet with prudence. He knew how to bend the minds of others to the great purposes of State.‡

* Niles' *Principles and Acts*, 477. † John Adams. ‡ Dr. Allen.

No man was dreaded by the officers of the Crown like Samuel Adams. In that day of ministerial corruption, a proposition to silence him by bribery was entertained; but when the proposition had proceeded as far as Governor Hutchinson, he replied that bribes were out of the question with such a man, and that if the authors of the proposition knew him as well as he did, it would not be for a moment thought of. "For," he said, "such is the obstinacy and inflexibility of the man, that he never can be conciliated by any office or gift whatever." Here, then, was one man without a price!

The testimony of Thomas Jefferson respecting the character of Samuel Adams will always be viewed by many with the greatest respect. "I can say," says that shrewd and far-seeing philosopher, "that Mr. Adams was truly a great man; wise in council, fertile in resources, immovable in his purposes; and had, I think, a greater share than any other member of Congress in advising and directing our measures in the northern war.* In debate, although not of fluent elocution, he was so vigorously logical, so clear in his views, abundant in good sense, and master always of his subject, that he commanded the most profound attention whenever he rose in an assembly by which the froth of declamation was heard with sovereign contempt." †

There are many engraved likenesses of Samuel Adams. The earliest is believed to be that upon copper, "done" for the Royal American Magazine by the patriotic Paul Revere, and accompanying the April number, of 1744, of that work.‡ The head is surrounded by devices emblematical of the state of the times. Above it is an angel with wings displayed, sounding a trumpet; below is a scroll, inscribed MAGNA CHARTA. On the right, a female stands upon a large volume as a pedestal, which volume is inscribed, LAWS TO ENSLAVE AMERICA. In the right hand of the female figure is a rod, on which is elevated the Cap of Liberty, while her left arm rests upon the portrait. In her countenance is discovered an expression of security, and her breast is bared in defiance. On the left is a corresponding figure representing Wisdom, the pedestal of which is the prostrate Pope, with but one arm visible, in the hand of which is grasped a hissing serpent.§

* This was doubtless so considered in England; for in the picture of him published in that country in 1780, hereafter to be described, there appears a map suspended in his apartment, with "Canada" inscribed upon it. And in his left hand is exhibited a document disclosing the words, "Plan of the Reduction of Canada."

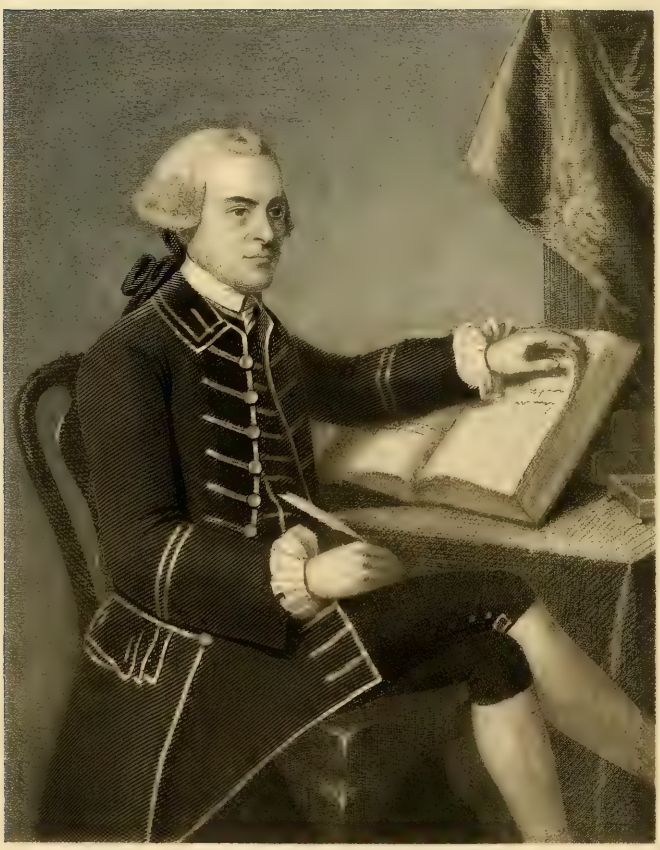
† From an extract in that popular work, *The Hundred Boston Orators*, by James S. Loring, p. 12.

‡ Though this is the best engraving which I remember to have seen by that Artist, it makes but a sorry figure by the side of similar works of art of this age.

The next engraving of a portrait of Mr. Adams that I now recollect is one of full length, sitting, engraved for "An Impartial History of the War in America," and published in London in 1780. This is a picture of much interest; for, besides being a good engraving, it is a tolerable likeness, which is worthy of remark. How it could have been produced in England at that time is matter for conjecture. The same work contained Hancock, Franklin, Washington, and others, all well done. These were reproduced here, in a reprint of the work by Coverly, with the addition of Warren and others, but they were perfectly shocking as specimens of art.

In the time of Mr. Adams' administration as Governor of Massachusetts, there was a very good mezzotinto portrait of him published, but no name of artist appears upon it. Of the numerous late portraits it is not necessary to add any account.

§ I have been particular in describing this rare portrait, as it is now very difficult to pro-



John Hancock

It is a reproach to the present age that there has not appeared a Life of Samuel Adams worthy of him. Unfortunately for his memory, there are no male descendants of his name, and his private papers have not only gone out of the name, but out of New England also.

The most of the conspicuous characters here sketched were from time to time honored by the publishers of almanacs, if the caricature likenesses which they produced can be said to honor them; for that of James Otis, in "Bickerstaff's" Almanac for 1770, could never have been recognized as a likeness. Aware of this, the publishers took care to put his name under it. The same may be said of one of General Warren, in George's, of 1776; nor did Washington and John Wilkes fare any better in "Weatherwise," or Washington and Gates in "Bickerstaff," in 1778.

The numerous portraits of the great Statesman, however well or poorly executed, all represent him as no common man; they discover a majesty and dignity almost without a parallel, exhibiting a nobleness of demeanor, harmoniously blended with that of benignity.*

There are fine paintings of Mr. Adams. That in Faneuil Hall, the noble gift of a noble Bostonian,† is one of the best. Among the thousands who annually visit that renowned edifice, few will probably forget the marked features of Samuel Adams, as exhibited there upon canvas. It has been pronounced by one of the best judges‡ to be Copley's masterpiece. It is from that the copy has been made for this history. The original was presented to the City early in 1842.

John Hancock was five years younger than Mr. Adams.§ He was early secured to the patriot side, and, once having taken that elevated and enviable stand, he ever maintained it without wavering. His great wealth and wide mercantile transactions made his name extensively known before he declared himself in opposition to parliamentary usurpation. Indeed, it was not till a later period than this under consideration, that he came before the people, as one of them, in the great cause now fully commenced. But it was considered proper to introduce him briefly in this connection, but to defer further particulars to a subsequent period.

cure, or even to get a sight of; and as it is an excellent auxiliary in a description of early revolutionary times in Boston.

* The reverend and venerable Dr. Jenks, of this city, recently gave the author some of his recollections of Samuel Adams, whom he knew in his childhood; his demeanor towards children being that of kindness and paternal affection. On a time when, with other children, the future distinguished Divine was playing about his dwelling, the venerable Statesman called him to him, and, patting him upon the head, among other things said to him: "Be good and love learning, and in time you will become a great man." This, the reader may be assured, on no questionable authority, had something to do in directing *one* to the paths of eminence.

† Adam W. Thaxter, Esq., who, with no little perseverance, secured it for Faneuil Hall, at a cost of about $400. It was painted for Gov. Hancock, and when his effects were sold it went into the hands of Samuel A. Wells, Esq., grandson of Mr. Adams. Mr. Thaxter has said, "If he had performed any act to be proud of, it was this." But *this*, though enough to cause his name to be remembered with gratitude by the citizens of Boston, is *not* the only one.

‡ Mr. Howarth.

§ He was son of Rev. John, of Braintree, gr.-son of Rev. John, of Lexington, gr. grandson of Nathl., who was son of Nathl. H., of Cambridge. He was born on the 23d of January, 1737; died Oct. 8th, 1793. For a pedigree of Hancock, prepared by Mr. W. H. Whitmore, see *New Eng. Hist. & Gen. Reg.*, ix., 352.

Josiah Quincy, junior, was still much younger, having been born early in 1744 ; notice of him will be more properly taken hereafter. But as he was bred in that school of Patriots, many of whom have received a passing glance, it may be but justice to observe, here, that he graduated in 1763, and, being designed for the profession of the law, he pursued its studies under the direction of the learned and able Oxenbridge Thacher ; and, as he attended closely upon the courts of the time, noted the arguments of those able barristers, Auchmuty, Gridley, Thacher, Otis, Adams, and others, he was, from the first, imbued with the lofty patriotism of those who advocated the cause of independence ; and himself became one of its ablest defenders, as may hereafter appear.*

The conspicuous figure of Gen. Joseph Warren will always rise in the imagination whenever the American Revolution is mentioned, or the pages of its history are opened. Due and deserved honors have been paid to his memory, which will last when the firm granite column, which marks the spot where he yielded up his life's blood in the cause of liberty, shall have given place to other memorials, perhaps in other less sacred causes. He was born in Roxbury, but resided in Boston, where he was a practising physician; and, though at this period he was but twenty-three years of age, he took great interest in political affairs, and became one of the most eminent physicians in the Town. His acts, like his compatriots, are a part of the history of Boston, and will occupy an important place in the sequel.† The same may be said of John Adams, and many others.

Such is a passing glance of some of those leading Patriots who had the boldness and the firmness to stem the torrent of what was then generally believed a power which could not be resisted with even a faint hope of success. And when the immense resources of that power are considered, it is not to be wondered at that many, even stout hearts, quailed at the prospect before them. It was, indeed, literally, the rich against the poor; strength against weakness ; while equally true it is, that it was might against right ; a fact which the issue has long since established.

* This was the father of the now venerable Josiah Quincy, Senior, who, in 1825, published a life of his father worthy of the great patriot, and alike honorable to the son. Had the Memoir been accompanied by a likeness of the former (for we are told that one exists), it would have been a most desirable addition to that able performance.

† An elegant Memorial of Gen. Warren and his family has been printed by his distinguished nephew, John Collins Warren, M.D., of Boston ; which Memoir contains a most beautiful engraving of the General. This work, it is proper to state, was not printed for sale, and the number of copies was very limited. It is to be hoped it will be republished, and in a form for general circulation.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

Cause of Taxing the Colonies. — A Stamp Duty proposed. — Small-Pox. — Inoculation. — Great Numbers fly from the Town. — General Court removed to Concord. — Fire at Harvard College. — Harvard Hall and Library destroyed. — Depressing News from England. — Non-importation Agreement. — Mourning Costume changed. — Habits of Economy adopted. — Power of Parliament questioned. — Colonial Representation in Parliament considered. — Otis' "Rights of the Colonies." — Ellis Callender. — Thomas Hancock. — Numerous Bankruptcies. — The Common. — Small-Pox Hospitals. — Beacon Hill. — Sandemanians. — Geo. Whitefield. — Fire. — General Court meet in Town. — Jealousies in England. — Stamp Act News from there. — Its Effect. — Stamps and Stamp Masters. — Continental Congress. — Fire. — Lightning Rods first used.



ADAMS.*

AFTER the fall of Canada, the Home Government found itself laboring under a great accumulation of debts. Its own immediate subjects had long groaned under excessive taxes, and it was hardly possible to increase them further without the risk of insurrections. The Colonies were represented as prosperous, and they were looked to with anxious eyes by the English Ministers as the only source of relief. They argued that a large part of their present debt arose from defending the Colonies, and it was just and reasonable that the Colonies should contribute to relieve the Mother Country. This was indeed plausible, but it was only a side view of the subject. It should have

* In the *New Eng. Hist. and G. Reg.* for 1853, pages 39—45, is given some account of the Adams family of Boston, originally settled at Braintree, now Quincy. To this family belonged SAMUEL and JOHN ADAMS, two of the most distinguished men of the period now entered upon in this History. By a reference to the work above cited, it will be seen that HENRY ADAMS was the first ancestor in New England of the two patriots here named, and that his ancestry in England is traced up, through sixteen generations, with as much particularity, and consequently with as much certainty, as any pedigrees appear to be, extending over as long a period.

Mr. Burke, in his *Royal Families*, shows the descent of a branch of this family, now represented by EDWARD ADAMS, Esq., of Middleton Hall, Co. of Carmarthen, from EDWARD THE THIRD. We learn, from the same source, that the ancient Arms of this family are still to be seen (as represented in the above engraving) in the upper part of a Gothic window on the south-east side of Tidenham church, near Chepstow, County of Gloucester. These Arms are described: — Argent, on a cross gules, five mullets of five points or, and were those of Lord Ab Adam, whose name appears above the arms (Johes Ab Adam. 1310) in Gothic type.

matthew adams The family of Matthew Adams (noticed *ante*, p. 634) is probaby distinct from that of Braintree; at least, no connection is yet discovered. Since the previous pages of this History were published, my friend, WILLIAM G. BROOKS, ESQ., has handed me some extracts made by him from the MS. diary of Josiah Cotton, of Plymouth, which corrects the date of the death of Mr. Adams, and which extracts follow: "Oct. 29th, 1734–5.— We hear that Mrs. Meriel Cotton, youngest daughter to my brother Rowland, is married, or about to be married, to one Mr. Adams, a merchant in Boston; and God render them acceptable one to another, and to y^e^ people among whom they reside and build up their house. Amen." "Aug. 19th, 1746–7.— Cousin Meriel Adams, a good woman and wife, died at Boston, and left one daughter." "March 2, 1748–9. Mr. Matthew Adams, that married my brother Rowland's daughter, died at Boston."

There will be found in the *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vol. x. p. 89, etc., a paper upon the "Descendants of Matthew Adams," in which there are considerable valuable and new materials. There was a Matthew Adams, of Boston, lost at sea in 1768.

been considered at the same time, by those Ministers, that there was no small sum due to the Colonists for the blood and treasure they had spent in conquering a vast extent of country, all of which was added to the British Empire; and they should have entertained the question, "Where were the Colonists to look for their remuneration?" For the Colonies to fight the battles of the Mother Country, and then to be made to pay for it, was the present aspect of things. The people here had done their part in conquering Canada, and this, they very reasonably thought, should exempt them from direct taxation. They had conquered Louisbourg, in 1745, with very small assistance. For this service England made them a partial remuneration. Now it was different. All Canada had been conquered, and the English government spread over it. This government must be supported. The Colonists were willing to pay for their own government, even though not of their own choosing, but to pay for the support of another was, to say the least, of questionable justice. The people were already obliged to support a government forced upon them, daily becoming more and more expensive. New offices were created, and there was, literally, a swarm of place-men pouring in upon them. The present was a great departure from the simple days of the old charter, when those who were to govern were chosen by and from among themselves. This state of things never was, nor could it ever be, agreeable to them, and was only submitted to because it could not be successfully resisted. The numerous office-holders being viewed, therefore, as "spies upon their liberties," it is not strange that whatever could be was kept from the knowledge of the Home Government. Nor is it a matter of wonder that when a census of the Colonies was ordered, it met with opposition from the popular branch of the Legislature. When Governor Bernard brought the subject before them, the true friends of the Country, well knowing that it was for purposes of taxation, directly or indirectly, managed to have it postponed from one session to another for some time; but at length a majority was obtained for the measure.*

1764. The ships which arrived from London, early in May, brought the doings of Parliament relative to the Colonies. They were looked for with interest, and proved to be very important. A committee of the House of Commons reported that, after the twenty-ninth of September of this year, instead of the present duty upon molasses and syrups, one of three pence sterling on the same articles ought to be substituted. The report was long, and related entirely to the "ways and means for raising the supply granted to His Majesty." The committee

* Hutchinson gives a wrong impression respecting this matter, to my apprehension; intimating that the opposition to it arose from a jealousy of something which they could not discover. "Some suspected that it was required for purposes, though they could not discover them, to the disadvantage of the Province; others, and not a few, seemed to have religious scruples, and compared it to David's numbering the people."—*Hist. Mass. Bay*, iii. 104. This is a direct charge of ignorance by that Historian.

also "Resolved that it was their opinion that, towards further defraying the necessary expenses of defending, protecting and securing these Colonies and Plantations, it may be proper to charge certain Stamp Duties in the said Colonies and Plantations."

Here was created a new cause of alarm. The Duties on some articles were proposed to be reduced, and at the same time, though under another name, they were to be demanded upon others.

The year 1764 was one of great depression to the Town, occasioned by the Small-Pox. As yet there does not appear to have been any proper system adopted for its management, and inoculation had its opponents, singular as that may seem. Early in January, Jan. 8. Governor Bernard issued a proclamation, forbidding inoculation until the Selectmen should give notice that all means to prevent the spreading of the pestilence were like to prove ineffectual, or till they should give permission for persons to be inoculated. About ten days later, the Selectmen advertised that the distemper was Jan. 19. 26. in fourteen families ;* and a week later, that it was in eleven ; that flags were kept suspended from those houses, as a warning to such as were liable to take the infection.

The small-pox continued to spread, and great alarm prevailed. People were constantly flying from the town in various directions. Many of the merchants and traders removed their goods into the country, opened stores in private houses, and there advertised them for sale.† These persons were probably generally Feb.

* "All of which were in Fish-street, near where the first person who had it dwelt ; except Mr. Lebrees, by the Rev. Mr. Eliot's meeting-house : Mr. Hall's, in Paddy's Alley, to the northward of Mill-bridge ; Mrs. Jervis's, near the North Battery ; Mr. Pease's, at the head of Mr. Gray's ropewalk." The "first person," mentioned above, was Capt. Joseph Bulkley, who died of the small-pox Jan. 2d. He arrived from Newfoundland some time previous. His was the only case in town at the time of his death.

† Samuel Blodget fled to Medford, "to a house nigh the south side of the Bridge," with his broadcloths and W. I. goods; Joshua Blanchard, to Watertown Bridge, where he opened his English goods, 7 by 9 and 8 by 10 glass, &c. ; William Greenleaf to Watertown, also, to the house of Mr. Saltmarsh. He had English goods and "a few Boston Lottery Tickets." Stephen Deblois, Jr., fled to Dedham, and got into the house of the Old Almanack-maker, Dr. Ames. He had a great assortment, "too numerous to mention," from fowling-pieces to violin-strings, "as cheap as in Boston." Gilbert Deblois did not stop short of Weston, with his large stock of hardware, and had "a commodious shop and store adjoining the house of Mr. Josiah Smith, innholder, on the Great Road to Worcester, at the sign of the Half Moon, near the Meeting-house." He had "New England rum by the hogshead, barrel, or less quantity, W. I. goods," &c. Thomas Handasyd Peck removed his hats and furs to Roxbury. Ezekiel Lewis, Jr., went to the same town, "at the Upper end, commonly called Spring-street, in the house of Ebenezer Whiting." Besides English goods, Mr. Lewis sold powder and shot, W. I. goods, &c. Theophilus Lillie, with a similar assortment, set down "near Milton Meeting-house." Thomas Knight, who kept at the "Sign of the Three Kings" in Cornhill, said "he had no one in his family to have the small-pox," and would sell his W. I. and English goods where he was. Richard and Samuel Draper, who printed the Mass. Gazette and News-Letter, in Newbury-street, gave notice, on the 1st of March, that "the small-pox was in no house nigh the Printing Office of the printers thereof." Wm. Blair Townsend, at the "Sign of the Three Doves," said, "as no person would have the small-pox in his house, and he should be careful of going where it was," people might come to his shop, "through the Common," without danger. But "Stephen Cleverly & Co." would not risk it, and went to Dedham, and opened their W. I. and English goods close by Samuel Dexter, Esq. Ralph Inman went to Wal-

such as had not had the small-pox. And, on the other hand, persons in the country, who had not had it (who were a great majority), would not venture into town. Hence, business was almost at an end. This state of things lasted about three months. But by the beginning of April there was such general confidence in inoculation, that in the previous five weeks near 4000 persons received it; of which number only about one in a thousand died. People flocked in from New Hampshire, and even from Connecticut, to forestall the small-pox by this practice.

Mar. 10. The Governor issued a Proclamation, proroguing the General Court, which was to have met in Boston on the 28th of March, to meet in Concord on the 18th of April, "there being nothing in prospect for his Majesty's immediate service."

Mar. 12. At the Town-meeting, James Otis was Moderator, and Joshua Henshaw, Joseph Jackson, John Scollay, Benjamin Austin, Samuel Sewall, Nathaniel Thwing, and John Ruddock, were chosen Selectmen. David Jeffries was Town Treasurer.

Mar. 22. The Treasurer of the Province gave notice, on the twenty-second of March, that as it was probable the town would be generally infected in a few days, and it would be hazardous for any persons to come in, he would keep his office at the house of Mr. John Greaton, in Roxbury, innholder, where dues to the Province might be paid.

Jan. 25. A distressing fire occurred at Cambridge on the 25th of January. It was discovered soon after twelve o'clock, in the morning, in what was then called the Old College, or Harvard Hall, which was entirely consumed, together with the Library, and the extensive Philosophical Apparatus. Stoughton and Massachusetts Halls were preserved from the flames with great difficulty, they having been on fire several times. The fire was supposed to have originated under the hearth (which was laid upon timber), as it had been kept up for a week or more for the accommodation of the General Court then sitting there.* Harvard Hall was four stories high, ninety-seven feet in length, forty-two in breadth, and had been built almost one hundred years.†

Although the General Court were burnt out, no notice of it appears in their journals; nor does there appear to have been any interruption in the business of the session,‡ which was continued in the house of Mr. Ebenezer Bradish.

tham, and so did Herman Brimmer. Richard Salter removed to Watertown, and Powers Marriott to Milton, "beyond Milton Bridge, over against Col. Gooch's house." He sold English and India goods. These are all I have space to mention.

* They had been driven from the Town Hall in Boston by the small-pox. The library-room of the College was occupied by the Governor and Council, and the Representatives had a room below.

† It was erected in 1672. See Mass. Gaz. and News-Letter, 26th Jan., 1764. Mr. Quincy has been minute in his account of this conflagration, in his *Hist. Har. Col.*, ii. 112–13.

‡ There is, indeed, this entry on the 26th

Boston had not emerged from one trouble before another was upon it. Amidst the small-pox distress, frequent advices were received from England, that oppressive taxes and restrictions were laid, or to be laid, on the Colonies; and, worst of all, that some persons, brought up and educated in Boston, were movers of the oppression.* To this effect wrote a gentleman in London to another in New York. He said "he could write nothing agreeable; that there would soon be sent over a parcel of Marmadonian ravens, who would rip up and feed upon the very vitals of the people; such as officers of stamp duties, appraisers of lands, furniture and other goods; and that the Ministry were determined to make the Colonists pay for the peace which they liked so well."

Feb. 7.

Such intelligence, with the news of the arrival of several Lieutenants of the Navy,† to command cutters on the coast, whose duty it was to see that the Custom House was not defrauded, was exceedingly alarming, especially to the commercial part of the people.

With these prospects before them, many of the inhabitants of Boston decided upon a non-importation system, and a non-consumption of articles on which heavy duties were laid. It was the practice then, as it is at this day, to dress in black clothes on mourning occasions. It was decided to discontinue such dresses, and the custom of wearing black on those solemn occasions was generally laid aside.‡ An agreement to this effect was drawn up and very generally signed by the inhabitants of the town, also by some members of the Council and Representatives.§ This would affect the sales of English goods, and none were to be purchased but at fixed prices. At the same time another agreement was very extensively signed, to eat no lamb-flesh during the year. This was to increase the sheep in the country, and consequently to encourage the manufacture of woollen goods, which were imported from England in large quantities.

following: — "Whereas, the Files of the General Court, and the Minutes of Council, for the present Session, are consumed by fire, *Resolved*, That there be allowed and paid out of the publick Treasury all such grants and allowances as shall appear upon the Journal of the House to have been made by them before the 25th instant, and which shall not appear to have been non-concurred by the Board, or refused by the Governor, and for which warrants have not been already issued." — *Journal House Rep.*, 227.

* "What is most unlucky for us is, there is one Mr. Huske, who understands America very well, and has lately got a seat in the House of Commons; but, instead of standing an advocate for his injured country (for he is an American born, and educated in Boston), he has officiously proposed, in the House of Commons, to lay a tax on the Colonies, which will amount to £500,000 per annum, sterling, which he says they are well able to pay; and he was heard by the House with great joy and attention." — *Letter from London*, 7th Feb. 1764.

† Six of those officers arrived at New York in the Juno frigate, on the 29th of March, viz.: Thos. Langham, Thos. Allen, Robt. Dugdale, —— Candler, Thos. Hill, and Ralph Dundass.

‡ The only sign made use of was a piece of black crape about the hat, which was in use before, and a piece of the same stuff tied around the arm.

§ The Rhode Islanders came heartily into this arrangement. One of them wrote, at Newport: "As we have always manifested a great attachment to *Boston fashions*, however ridiculous and extravagant, it is to be hoped we shall not show an aversion to such as are decent, reputable, and prudent; but that we shall cheerfully join in the above resolutions."

As yet it was not generally agreed that Parliament had not the right to tax the Colonies; but it was agreed that if Parliament exercised that power, the people had a right not to use the goods taxed with duties.

Through the teachings of such men as Otis and Adams, the people soon became very strong in the belief that any kind of taxation, without representation, was arbitrary, illegal, and liable to the grossest abuses; and in England the same doctrine was not seriously denied. A few, indeed, advocates of despotism, had the hardihood to aver that the Colonists had no rights, except what the Crown or Parliament might think proper to grant them. But when the Ministry saw the stand made by the Bostonians, they began to think there would trouble arise in levying taxes, unless the question of representation should be disposed of satisfactorily to the party complaining of the grievance. They therefore were about to propose, or did in fact propose, that the Colonies might send Representatives to Parliament. But before any actual decision was arrived at in England, the leaders in Boston had discovered, and not only discovered but avowed openly, that Parliament had no right to tax the people here at all. Hence, the Mother Country was placed in a truly awkward position. It must give up its pretended right, or attempt to maintain it. Here was a dilemma, out of which a deliverance only by the sword was eventually effected.

Mr. Otis published, early in the year, his "Rights of the British Colonies Vindicated." In that he did not claim an exemption of the Colonies from parliamentary taxation. His language upon the point, however, is somewhat equivocal; and he laid great stress upon the inseparability of representation and taxation.

However, the idea had pretty extensively taken root, before the end of this year, that the way to make the King's taxes under the name of duties lightly felt was to make little use of the articles on which such duties were laid. Encouraging letters were received in Boston, from people of several other Colonies,* approving of the course they had entered upon. An occasion, though a melancholy one, soon presented itself, when the swarm of Custom House and other officers of the Crown had an opportunity to see that the Non-consumption Agreement lately entered into might amount to something more than they had anticipated. The occasion referred to was the funeral of Mr. Ellis Callender,† which was conducted conformably to that Agreement, "by a great number of respectable inhabitants." The corpse was placed in a very plain coffin, and followed to the grave by a long train of mourners, "without any sort of mourning at all. Mr. Andrew Hall, the chief mourner, appeared in his usual habit, with a crape round his arm, and his wife, who was sister and nearest relation to

* Rhode Island, New York, and Pennsylvania.

† He was a son of the late Rev. Mr. Elisha Callender, of the Baptist Society.

the deceased, with no other token of mourning than a black bonnet, gloves, ribbons, and handkerchief." The funeral was attended "by a large procession of merchants and gentlemen of figure, as a testimony of their approbation of this piece of economy, and as a mark of their esteem for a family who have shown virtue enough to break a custom too long established, and which has proved ruinous to many families in the community."*

This was, perhaps, the first public demonstration of the determination of the people of Boston to carry out the views expressed in the late Agreement. There was a much greater funeral occasion but a little more than a month before this of Mr. Callender's, but the time for a demonstration had not then arrived, or the individual of the occasion did not warrant such an exhibition of opposition to taxation principles.

The individual occasion referred to was the funeral of the Hon. Thomas Hancock, "one of His Majesty's Council." He died of apoplexy on the first day of August, "about three of the clock in the afternoon, having been seized about noon of the same day, just as he was entering the Council Chamber." He was in the sixty-second year of his age, "and was one of the most noted merchants in New England."† He was the first American to found a professorship of any kind in this country.

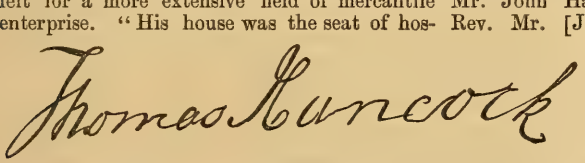


HANCOCK HOUSE.

But the practice of wearing expensive mourning-dresses was soon very generally laid aside. Other funerals, which soon after followed

* *Gazette and News-Letter.*

† He was buried on the following Monday, August 6th, "with great respect." He was son of the Rev. Mr. John Hancock, of Lexington, and was born there July 13th, 1703; being sent to Boston early in life to learn the business of stationer, etc., which business he left for a more extensive field of mercantile enterprise. "His house was the seat of hospitality, where all his numerous acquaintances and strangers of distinction met with an open and elegant reception." He was bountiful to the poor, and what added to such bounties was their being privately made. By his will he gave £1,000 sterling for the founding of a professorship of the Oriental languages in Harvard College; £1,000, lawful money, to the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians; £600 to the Town of Boston towards an Insane Hospital, and £200 to the Society for carrying on the Linen Manufactory. But, "having no issue, he left the bulk of his estate to his nephew, Mr. John Hancock, eldest son of the late Rev. Mr. [John] Hancock, of Braintree." His wife, as mentioned in a previous note, p. 648, was Lydia Henchman. The once splendid mansion in Beacon-street, yet standing, was built by the Hon. Thomas Hancock, and which, as my friend N. I. Bowditch informs me, was finished in 1737. He purchased the lot on which it stands in 1735. Our artist, Mr. Kilburn, made a drawing on the spot, of which the annexed engraving is an exact copy. How long will modern *improvements* allow the "Hancock House" to remain?



that of Mr. Callender's, were conducted in the same manner in which his was, in respect to mourning garments. It was now further proposed "to give no other gloves than are of the manufacture of the country, in lieu of white ones, that are seldom drawn on a second time." It was suggested to the glovers that, "it might not be amiss if some peculiar mark of distinction were put upon them, as a bow and arrow, or pine tree,* instead of the usual stitching on the back." And "a great number of the respectable tradesmen of the Town came into a resolution to wear nothing but leather for their working habits for the future, and that to be only of the manufacture of this Government."

The course of the Government, and the determined stand made by the people, had a ruinous effect on the business of Boston and its vicinity, and innumerable bankruptcies were the consequence; a catalogue of the names alone of those who became bankrupts would make a formidable portion of the whole community, embracing names connected with all branches of business, and almost every family; and, for a long period, the newspapers are nearly filled with advertisements of insolvent estates. Debtors, then, to avoid being thrown into loathsome prisons, were compelled to abscond or keep themselves concealed. Women as well as men were obliged to resort to the same humiliating means, the better to enable them to contend with misfortune.

But amidst all the trials to which the people were subjected during this period, the consequence of the Schools of Boston is strikingly observable. Booksellers flourished, newspapers increased, and a Circulating Library of above twelve hundred volumes was established.† The most extensive bookseller of that day in Boston was the proprietor of this Circulating Library. A few months later his advertisement of books, "just imported," covers an entire page of the Massachusetts Gazette, in which he says his stock comprised "above ten thousand volumes," which would be more for the Town then, than a stock of 150,000 is at this time (1855).

May 15. The gentlemen chosen to serve as Representatives in the General Court this year were the same as last year; namely, Royall Tyler, James Otis, Jr., Thomas Cushing, and Oxenbridge Thacher, Esquires. Elaborate Instructions for their government were

* The lofty, majestic, and useful pine was always an object of great regard. Whoever has paused beneath its lofty branches, when swayed by tempests, and in a primitive wilderness, as the writer has, will never forget a feeling which no other occasion can produce in the mind.

But what "Robert Hall, gardener," wanted of a great quantity of "pine-tree seeds of different sorts," for which he at this time advertised, is not within the knowledge of the writer. He said he wanted ten pounds of that commodity, "more or less," and would pay a dollar a pound for it, "at his house, the head of Long-lane" (Federal-street).

† John Mein, of the late firm of Mein & Fleeming, before noticed, was the proprietor. It was opened about the 7th of November, 1765. In his advertisement Mr. Mein says he was influenced to undertake it "by the repeated request of a number of gentlemen, the friends of literature." It was kept at the London Bookstore [late Rivington & Miller's], second door above the British Coffee-House, north side of King-street. Yearly subscribers to pay £1 8*s.*, Quarterly, 10*s.* 8*d.*, in advance. He had a printed catalogue of his library. He took the side of royalty, and was one of the very few who would not come into the non-importation arrangement, and was advertised by the Liberty party. He came from Scotland, with Mr. Robt. Sandeman, in 1764.

drawn up by a Committee* appointed by the Town. Such Instructions were common, and drawn with much ability. They were entered at length upon the Records. The following passages from those at this time, are a very important part of the History of the Town. They commence by observing to those gentlemen that their election was a strong testimony of the inhabitants to their integrity and capacity; that they expected from them their "power and influence in maintaining the invaluable rights and privileges of the Province, of which this Town was so great a part, as well those rights which were derived to them by the Royal Charter, as those which, being prior to and independent on it, they held essential as free-born subjects of Great Britain." These Instructions continue: "You will endeavor, as far as you shall be able, to preserve that independence in the House of Representatives which characterizes a free people; and the want of which may, in a great measure, prevent the happy effects of a free government. Cultivating, as you shall have opportunity, that harmony and union there, which is ever desirable to good men, when founded in principles of virtue and public spirit; and guarding against any undue weight which may tend to disadjust that critical balance upon which our happy Constitution and the blessings of it do depend. And for this purpose we particularly recommend it to you to use your endeavors to have a law passed, whereby the seats of such gentlemen as shall accept of posts of profit from the Crown, or the Governor, while they are members of the House, shall be vacated, agreeable to an Act of the British Parliament, till their constituents shall have the opportunity of reëlecting them if they please, or returning others in their room. You will have a special regard to the morals of the people, which are the basis of public happiness; and endeavor to have such laws made, if any are still wanting, as shall be best adapted to secure them; and we particularly desire you carefully to look into the laws of Excise, that, if the virtue of the people is endangered by the multiplicity of oaths therein enjoined, or their trade and business is unreasonably impeded or embarrassed thereby, the grievance may be redressed."

Those Instructions further propose that, "as the Province still lies under a very grievous burthen of debt," occasioned by the war with France, frugality should be strongly recommended as one means of lessening the public debt; and that the necessity of continuing garrisons on the eastern frontier should be inquired into, as it was now "a time of profound peace; the French being totally subdued, and there being hardly any remains of the Indian tribes left ever again to give annoyance."† They continue: "Our trade has for a long time labored under great discouragements; and it is with the deepest concern that we see such further difficulties coming upon it as will reduce

* It consisted of Richard Dana, Samuel Adams, John Ruddock, Nathaniel Bethune, and Joseph Green, Esquires.

† Governor Bernard was of a different opinion. See his message at Concord, 31 May, of this year.

it to the lowest ebb, if not totally obstruct and ruin it. We cannot help expressing our surprise, that, when so early notice was given by the Agent of the intentions of the Ministry to burthen us with new taxes, so little regard was had to this most interesting matter, that the Court was not even called together to consult about it till the latter end of the year; the consequence of which was that the instructions could not be sent to the Agent, though solicited by him, till the evil had got beyond an easy remedy. We therefore expect that you will use your earliest endeavors in the General Assembly that such methods may be taken as will effectually prevent these proceedings against us."

The Instructions then proceed to show, by close and cogent reasoning, "that such severities will prove detrimental to Great Britain itself. But what still heightens our apprehensions is," they say, "that those unexpected proceedings may be preparatory to new taxations upon us. For, if our trade may be taxed, why not our lands? Why not the produce of our lands, and everything we possess or make use of? This we apprehend annihilates our Charter right to govern and tax ourselves. It strikes at our British privileges, which, as we have never forfeited them, we hold in common with our fellow-subjects, who are natives of Britain. If taxes are laid upon us in any shape, without our having a legal representation where they are made, are we not reduced from the character of free subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves?" *

These and the other Instructions, given from time to time by the Town to their representatives, embody the grievances, not only of Boston, but of the whole country.

May 15. According to the annual custom, the Town proceeded to fix the salaries of the School-masters. Mr. John Lovel, of the South Grammar School, 120 pounds; Mr. Peleg Wiswall, of the North Grammar School, 100 pounds; Mr. Samuel Holyoke, of the Writing School in Queen-street, eighty; Mr. John Proctor, of the same school, 100; Mr. John Tileston, of the North Writing-School, 100; Abia Holbrook, of the Writing School on the Common, 100; Mr. James Lovel, Usher to the South Grammar School, sixty; Mr. Ephraim Langdon, Usher in the North Grammar School, sixty; and Mr. John Vinal, Usher in the Writing School in the Common, fifty pounds.

The price of committing depredations on the Common was very low; or but a very small reward was offered by the Selectmen for the detection of those who committed them, notwithstanding they say "the Town has suffered considerable damage from persons passing over it with horses and carriages, and breaking down the rails and enclosures." Two dollars was the reward tendered!

May 17. It was complained of, as a great grievance, that people from other towns obtruded themselves into this to be inoculated for

* James Otis uses the same language in his "Rights of the British Colonists Vindicated," before noticed. That work was published on the 23d of July of this year. Hence he probably adopted the language of the Instructions purposely.

the small-pox, when the Selectmen were using all their exertions to clear the Town of the distemper. They therefore ordered the inhabitants to give them notice when any such intruders appeared. They at the same time gave notice that the period for inoculating in the Town was now ended. The physicians * also gave notice that they had removed their inoculating Hospital from Castle William to Noddle's Island, at the mansion-house where Robert Temple, Esq., had lately resided; "which contained elegant rooms, suitable for the reception of persons of the first condition." One of the physicians, Dr. Gelston, to reside constantly on the island, and the others were to attend when desired. Dr. Barnet continued to reside at the hospital at Point Shirley. There were supposed to be "more down with the small-pox, in the natural way, than there has been or will be this season."

On account of the prevalence of the contagion, it was decided not to have any Election Sermon this year,† although a gentleman had been elected to deliver one as usual.‡

Up to this time Beacon Hill had probably suffered very little diminution in height; the people of the Town appear to have looked upon it as among the natural objects to be preserved and transmitted unimpaired to other ages. But there was a certain owner of a small tract of land on the north side of the hill, who, having a right, as he believed, to dig up his ground to any extent he pleased, in prosecution of that right had jeopardized the very existence of this famous eminence. The individual in question was named Thomas Hodson. He was reasoned with by the Selectmen, but they could not succeed in dissuading him from persisting in digging gravel on his lot, to the general damage of the Town, and the particular damage of Beacon Hill. The subject was therefore brought up in Town-meeting, and a Committee was raised to take Thomas Hodson and his digging gravel into consideration. Accordingly, Thomas Hancock, William Phillips, Joseph Sherburne, Joshua Henshaw, and James Otis, Esquires, were appointed to serve as such committee. They accepted the appointment, and a few days after reported that the said Thomas Hodson would dig ground on his lot, and had dug to that extent that the said hill was in very great danger of being destroyed, and that there was no prospect of the Town being able to buy him off. That is to say, he would not sell his land to the Town. That they saw no way to prevent the destruction of Beacon Hill without the interposition of

May 15.

May 24.

* They were N. Perkins, M. Whitworth, J. Lloyd, S. Gelston, and J. Warren. There were besides them, practising in Boston, Doctors Kast, Sprague, Lord, Church, Roberts, Jackson, of Portsmouth, N. H., Sylvester Gardiner, Gardner, Barnett, Clark, John and William Perkins, Yougust, Bulfinch, Pecker, Doubt,* Crozier, and Pynchon. These gentlemen gratuitously inoculated 526 poor of the Town, and 499 were inoculated at the expense of the Town; making in all, 1025.

* Dr. Nyott Doubt. He died on the 11th of June following.

† There appeared this announcement in the Gazette and News-Letter of the 24th of May, relative to this important part of Election services:

"As the election of Counsellors this year is to be at Concord, and the gentleman appointed to preach on that day is obliged to be conversant with persons sick of the small-pox in this Town, we hear, that to prevent all apprehensions of danger, there will be no sermon on that occasion."

‡ The Rev. Andrew Eliot. — *Jour. H. Reps.*, p. 226.

the General Court. It was therefore voted that the Representatives should be instructed to move in the Legislature for an act by which this and similar mischiefs might be prevented. No law, however, appears to have been passed concerning it.

June 6. One of the Representatives of the Town, Royall Tyler, having been elected a Counsellor, Mr. Thomas Gray, merchant, was chosen in his stead.

The Rev. Mr. Whitefield, who had been for some time sojourning in this vicinity, preached a farewell sermon on the fifth of May, in the Old South, being about to depart for the southern colonies.

In the time of the election, on the sixth, a fire occurred near the lower end of Auchmuty's-lane,* but it was confined to a turpentine distillery, which it consumed, but the damage was not great. From the second of April to the seventh of June, the burials, including those who died of the small-pox and other diseases, were 175 whites, and twenty-nine blacks.

July 18. The brig Hannah, Capt. Robert Jarvis, arrived from London, bringing several gentlemen of note. Among them were Benjamin Hallowell, Jr., Esq., who had lately been appointed Controller of His Majesty's Customs for this Port, the Rev. Mr. William Walter, an assistant minister at Trinity Church, and Mr. John Timmins, merchant.†

Aug. 2. The Selectmen gave notice that there were but two cases of the small-pox in Town; "one in a house in Orange-street, and one at a house behind Fort Hill."

The Town having suffered from a disproportionate taxation in respect to the Colony tax, for some time past, had petitioned for an abatement. After much delay the General Court granted the sum of 3,000 pounds in 1763. This was but a part of what was claimed by the Town as justly due, and it was consequently refused. But, subsequently, a vote passed in Town-meeting, "that, considering the distressing circumstances of the inhabitants by means of the small-pox, and the absolute necessity of ready money for the poor and needy, the Town do accept the grant."

The new religious sect, since called Sandemanians, were first known in Boston this year. They took their name from Robert Sandeman, a native of Perth, in Scotland, whose writings had been read with avidity by some of the people here. They accordingly invited him to visit them, which he did, arriving in Town on the eighteenth of October, direct from Glasgow. On the following Sunday he preached to a few followers at Masons' Hall. After this he had regular meetings in a large room in the house of Mr. Edward Foster, in that part of Prince-street called Black Horse lane. His followers becoming more numerous, meetings were held at the Green Dragon Tavern.‡ Soon after, his

* That part of Essex-street between Short and South streets.

† The following ships of war were now lying in the harbor: The Fortune, 14 guns, Capt. Bishop; Cygnet, 18, Leslie; Jamaica, 14, Burden; Magdalene, 8, Capt. Dugdale.

‡ They petitioned for the use of Faneuil Hall, 3 May, 1765, but the petition does not appear to have been granted. Masons' Hall was, I suppose, in the Green Dragon Tavern. The name of this tavern, as elsewhere mentioned, was changed to "The Freemasons' Arms."

friends built a house to worship in, at the foot of a lane "leading to the Mill Pond, somewhere between the two Baptist meeting-houses." This house was burnt on the fourth of April, 1773, by a fire which originated in the cabinet-shop of Mr. Alexander Edwards, on a Sunday. Several other buildings were at the same time burned. After the destruction of their meeting-house, the Sandemanians met for a time in a School-house; then at Mr. Shippie Townsend's,* in Cross-street, until a new house could be built, which was soon after erected in the rear of Middle-street. Here they held their meetings until about 1823; at which time their numbers were so much diminished that they were discontinued. Their house was soon after occupied as a Primary School. Mr. Walford Butler, who died in Boston in 1829, at the age of eighty-nine, is said to have been the last of the denomination here.

Those who first adhered to Mr. Sandeman in Boston, were, Edward Foster, Alford Butler, and George Ogilvie, or Oglevie, with their families. To these were soon joined, Edward King, Henry Capen, Adam Chizeau, Ebenezer Allen, Barnabas Allen, Hopestill Capen, Benjamin Davies, Isaac Winslow, Colburn Barrell, Walter Barrell, Mr. Peck, Hannah Robinson, Susanna Davies, Mary Cotton, Mary West, Keziah West, Mrs. Stayner, and a few others; and, at a later period, Mr. Joseph Howe, Mr. Samuel Harris and his wife. One of Mr. Sandeman's Deacons was Daniel Humphries, Esq., brother of Col. David Humphries, of the Revolution. He went to Danbury, in Connecticut, and afterwards to Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, where he was District Attorney of the United States, and died there in 1827, aged eighty-eight.

1765. The next year, in the month of June, a meeting-house was erected for Mr. Sandeman at Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, "near the Canoe bridge," and in the following November he preached in that town, "in the audience of some hundreds of people, to the acceptance of many." He died in Danbury, in Connecticut, April the second, 1771, at the age of fifty-three.

Jan. 9. The General Court now assembled in Boston at its former place of meeting, to which it had been prorogued by the Governor on the 24th of November. It had been notified to meet on the twelfth of December, but that notification was countermanded, and the assembling was postponed to the present time, because, as Mr. Bernard says in his Proclamation, there was nothing in prospect for His Majesty's immediate service requiring an earlier meeting.

The spring arrivals from England furnished new proofs of an increasing jealousy on the part of the Mother Country in respect to the growing prosperity of these Colonies. Since the addition of the French

* He was a block-maker, and his shop was on Barrett's wharf, "two wharves below the Draw-Bridge in Anne street." Dr. David Townsend was his son. The father was known as Deac. Townsend, and was the author of "Gospel News," 8 vo., 1794, and some other theological works. He died 31 Aug. 1798. He was Deacon of the Universalist Church at the time of his death; perhaps a son of Mr. Elias Townsend, of Boston, block-maker.

possessions to them, their importance was magnified to a great extent, and various projects were talked of relative to their commerce and internal regulations. The managers in that country had found out that the New England people tried to keep what was doing among them in the way of manufactures from their knowledge. In the Government organs, or publications, it was said that "The setting up manufactures in the Colonies was no new complaint; for as early as 1719, Governor Shute informed the Board of Trade that in some parts of Massachusetts the inhabitants then worked up their wool and flax, and made a coarse sort of stuff for their own use. There were also hatters in the maritime towns; they also manufactured the greatest part of their leather; and that six iron furnaces and nineteen forges were set up for making iron." * Governor Belcher, who succeeded Governor Shute in 1731, confirmed the same; and Col. Jeremiah Dunbar, Surveyor General of His Majesty's Woods in North America, in his letter to the same Board, of September, 1730, mentioned "their manufacturing and exporting hats to Spain, Portugal, and the West Indies." Colonel Dunbar further informed the Board of Trade, "that it was with the greatest difficulty they [the Officers of Government] were able to procure true information of the trade and manufactures of New England; that the Assembly of the Massachusetts Bay had the boldness to summon him [Col. Dunbar] before them, and pass a severe censure upon him, for having given evidence at the Bar of the House of Commons with respect to the trade and manufactures of this Province."

For the more ready management of the business of government, the establishment of a Line of Packets was in contemplation, between England and the newly acquired possessions.

As an important item of news from London it was published that the Queen had decided to wear a muff made of fur this winter, and it was not doubted but that all the ladies would follow the example; and that the French ladies would wear feathered muffs, and not fur ones as heretofore, because, by the loss of Canada, the fur market was lost to France.† Whether the ladies of Boston wore fur or feather muffs, or no muffs at all, is not mentioned.

Feb. 12. A remarkable woman died on the twelfth of February, named Ruth Barnaby; not only remarkable for her great age, but for her usefulness, her retentive memory and physical constitution. She was born at Marblehead, in August, 1644, and hence at her decease was in her 101st year. She practised midwifery forty years in Boston. To avoid the small-pox she had formerly removed from the town, but when it broke out here last spring, being then in her 100th year, she

* It was said about this time, in England, "We hear the North American Colonies endeavor to rival the Mother Country in divers material articles, which will occasion some wholesome regulations shortly to take place. Demands for iron ware, from New England, have sunk this year upwards of £10,000." This was certainly a lesson to the advocates of taxation, by which they should have profited.

† One might expect to find something respecting the antiquity of muffs in Hayden's Dictionary of Dates, but there is nothing. Their antiquity is doubtless nearly coeval with the origin of the race who use them.

gave out that she would not remove out of Town again, in consequence of it, but would remain and be inoculated. But this precaution was not taken, and yet she escaped the disease, although it visited the family in which she resided. A few months after she was born, her father removed with his family to New Harbor, in Maine, not far to the eastward of Pemaquid. She resided there until Philip's war, about eleven years, and then returned to Boston, where she continued till her death.

March 22. The world-renowned Stamp Act passed the British Parliament in March, and received the King's assent on the 22d of the same month, but a copy of the Act itself did not reach Boston until several months after.*

April 4. On the fourth of April, the Publishers of one of the Boston papers announced that they had seen the Resolves of the House of Commons respecting a Stamp Duty in the Colonies; fifty-five in number; — "a terrible string of them!" they said. Those which more immediately affected the Printers and Publishers, were, one penny to be laid on every newspaper of one sheet; two shillings for every advertisement inserted therein; two pence for every almanack; every book and pamphlet according to number of sheets; deeds, bonds, &c., were subject to higher duty.

When those resolves were passed, one member remarked "That where the Colonies stand on such high pretensions of independence on the supreme legislative authority of Great Britain, there was no moderating anything;" and among the speakers upon the same occasion, there was not one who did not declare that America ought to be taxed. This information, however, proved to be incorrect, as there were several members who spoke against the measure.†

About the same time Thomas and John Fleet, at the Heart and Crown in Cornhill, issued an edition of Dummer's Defence of the New England charters. Thus was given an invitation, to all who had a mind to read, to look into the rights of parliamentary taxation. Other works were from time to time republished with the same view. A little later an edition of Wood's New England's Prospect was sent forth; and although the original work had nothing in it relative to the political state of these times, some able writer accompanied it with a dissertation



* The Stamp here represented is copied from the London Morning Chronicle of 1775. The impression was usually in deep red or crimson ink, and often from a different engraving. The Stamp Act was reprinted in Boston by Edes & Gill, in Queen-street, 1765, in a folio pamphlet of 24 pages, a copy of which is now before me. A copy may be seen in Mr. Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution*.

† Edmund Burke declared that "no more than two or three gentlemen spoke against the Act." That "there was but one division in the whole progress of the Bill, and the minority was but 39 or 40. In the House of Lords," he said, "I do not recollect that there was any debate or division at all." "But amongst the 'two or three speakers' against the Bill was Col. Barré, who, in reply to Mr. Charles Townsend, the most eloquent of its supporters, made an admirable and forcible appeal to the House." Gen. Conway and Alderman Beckford were the other two.— Britton's *Authorship of Junius*, p. 37.

having special reference to them. Nor should mention be omitted of an essay on the Canon and Feudal Law, by John Adams. A work of power and ability.

Unfavorable reports respecting the temper of the people of Boston were often circulated in London. These, getting into the gazettes, came back to Boston, and were again published. "Indeed," says a London paper of the sixth of May, "at present all America seems to be in a violent agitation; they sing, up and down the streets of Boston, the downfall of Old England, and the rise of New." And a gentleman in London wrote to a friend in Boston, under date of the eleventh of June, saying, "We have been making an addition to your troubles by levying very heavy duties upon you, and if these are tamely borne, you may yet have a few more."

News had been received at Boston, in July, that a large quantity of stamped paper had been shipped for America, and on the fifth of August was published for the first time in the Massachusetts Gazette & News-Letter, a list of persons who had been appointed to distribute Stamps in the various Colonies. Among them was Andrew Oliver for Massachusetts. Rather than submit to this tax upon paper, several newspapers in the other Colonies had been suspended by their Proprietors.* A vessel having stamps on board arrived in Boston harbor in September.

Aug. Soon after, another letter from London announced that "Lord Bute and all that party were totally routed, to the joy of all the people there." †

June. At the June session of the General Court, the House of Representatives issued a Circular to the other Colonies, purporting that they had unanimously agreed to propose a meeting of Delegates from each of them, to meet in New York on the first Tuesday in October; there "to consult together on the present circumstances of the Colonies," and inviting those Colonies to send Delegates for the objects proposed. This was the origin of the "Continental Congress." The General Court soon after appointed, as its Delegates, the Hon. James Otis, Jr., Gen. Timothy Ruggles, and Col. Oliver Partridge, and one hundred and ten pounds sterling was voted to each, "to defray the expenses of their journey to New York." It may at this day be looked upon as extraordinary that the Council should concur in this appropriation, and still more extraordinary that it was approved by the Governor; but such are the facts.

* In the *Gazette and News-Letter*, of 26 April, 1765, there is this paragraph: — "It is said that the prospect of the Stamp Act has put a stop to three Gazettes already on this Continent, viz.: Virginia, Providence, and one of the New York." It is also said, "The Maryland Gazette is in a very ill state, occasioned by a violent cruel kick, and it is thought cannot possibly survive the month of October next." It was then expected that in October the Stamp Act would go into effect.

† In an extract from a London paper, published here on the 16th of August, is this passage: — "A coffin of exquisite workmanship was preparing for the interment of a young gentleman called the Stamp *Act*, who, it is said, expired soon after Lord B——e [Bute] went to Scotland."

May 14. In Town-meeting, on the 14th of May, a report was made by a Committee appointed in March preceding, to inquire "by what terms or tenure the mill-owners hold the Mill-pond Mills." They stated that on the 31st of July, 1643, there was granted to Henry Simons, George Burden, John Button, John Hill, and their partners, all the cove on the north-west side of the causeway leading towards Charlestown, with all the Saltmarsh bordering thereupon, not formerly granted, on these conditions: that, within three years they erect thereon one or more corn-mills, "and maintain the same forever." Also, make a gate ten feet wide to open with the flood for the passage of boats into the cove, &c. This gate was also to be "maintained forever." Four years after a committee took possession of the premises, as having reverted to the Town.

June 4. On Tuesday evening of the fourth of June, died the Hon. Thomas Lechmere, at an advanced age. He was for many years Surveyor General of His Majesty's Customs for the Northern District of America. The then late Lord Lechmere was his brother. His wife Ann died in 1746. The Point bearing the name Lechmere received its name from this family.

Aug. 17. The Rev. Timothy Cutler, D. D., Rector of Christ Church, died on Saturday morning, the seventeenth of August, at the age of eighty-two, after a long confinement. The Rev. Mr. Caner, of King's Chapel, preached a Sermon at his funeral, after which the remains were deposited under the Church.*

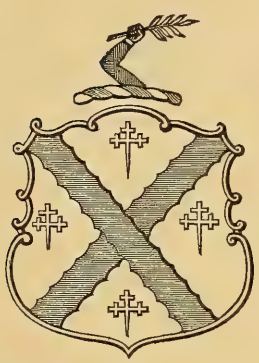
Aug. 21. On the morning of the 21st of August a fire broke out in one of six work-shops making the corner between Quaker-lane and Water-street, when the whole six were at once in flames, but by the extraordinary exertions of the inhabitants the fire was confined to these shops, and the upper part of them only was destroyed. They were all in one large structure.

At this fire an engine of home manufacture was made trial of, and "was found to perform extremely well." It was made by Mr. David Wheeler, a blacksmith, in Newbury-street. At the same time notice was given that there was now an opportunity for those disposed to encourage native artists; that Mr. Wheeler would manufacture engines "as good as any imported;" and the same artisan proposed "to make and fix iron rods with points, upon houses or any other eminences, for prevention from the effects of lightning." This was doubtless about the time of the first introduction of lightning-rods into Boston.

* There is extant a fine mezzotinto likeness of Dr. Cutler. It was published and sold in Boston, by "P. Pelham, pinx; et fecit. 1750." A copy is in the author's collection.

CHAPTER LXIX.

Stamp-Act Riots. — Their Cause. — Evasion of Revenue Laws. — Elms of Hanover Square. — The Great Tree. — Effigies upon it. — Burnt at Fort Hill. — Stamp Office demolished. — Andrew Oliver's House attacked. — Union Club. — Oliver's Resignation. — Jared Ingersol. — Proclamation. — Reward for Rioters. — Rioters encouraged. — Destroy Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson's House. — His Narrative of the Affair. — Dr. Mayhew. — William Storey's House attacked. — Benj. Hallowell's. — Town-meeting. — The Rioters denounced. — Another Proclamation. — Case of Mackintosh. — Prisoners set at Liberty. — George Messervey. — News of a Change of Ministry. — Rejoicings. — The Great Tree decorated and inscribed "Liberty Tree."—Lord Gordon. — Col. Barré. — General Conway. — Riots out of Massachusetts. — Arrival of Stamps. — None to receive them. — A General Court convened. — Death of Joseph Green.



OTIS.*

Aug. 14. THE serious outbreak of the fourteenth of August served to widen the breach between the inhabitants of the town and the King's officers, beyond anything which had occurred hitherto. Its immediate occasion appears to have been an assurance that there was no escape from the hated Stamp-tax. The Revenue Laws of the Custom-House had been, for a long time, very successfully evaded, but the Stamp-law admitted of no such evasion. Nothing could be done legally, where any kind of a written instrument was required, unless that instrument bore upon it the odious Stamp. Newspapers could not be issued, the business of the courts could not move, no process was valid, no vessel could go to sea, no person could be married, no debts could be collected. This Act was made, it may be, to punish the people for their former evasions of the Revenue Law, as well as effectually to ensure its observance for the future.

The Revenue Laws, as is well known, were regarded as the most unjust aggressions upon the liberties of the people upon whom they were made to bear; and, hence, to elude their operation was consid-

* A full and interesting account of the family of Otis will be found in the *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vol. ii. 281, &c., vol. iv. 163, &c., and vol. v. pp. 177—223, collected with persevering industry by Horatio N. Otis, Esq., of New York. Of the great patriot of the name, the Hon. James Otis, there is an excellent Life by the late William Tudor, which deserves a new edition, with the additions and corrections which can be easily made by a skilful hand, from the great store-houses of materials now accessible.

The first of the name of Otis in this country was John, who settled in Hingham, 1635, and had, by wife Margaret, John, married to Mary Jacob. They had also a son John, who married (for his second wife) Mary Bacon, and had issue, among others, James, who married Mary Alleyne. These were the parents of the great patriot, the Hon. James Otis, whose wife was Ruth Cunningham, of Boston. He was the eldest of thirteen children. The tenth child was named Samuel Allyne, who married, 1st, Elizabeth, only daughter of the Hon. Harrison Gray; and, 2d, Mary, widow of Edward Gray, and daughter of Isaac Smith. The late Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, third mayor of Boston, was the first child by the first marriage.

ered, if not just and proper in every sense, quite justifiable under the circumstances. Now the case was different; no chance being left for evasion.

The sky had hitherto been partially obscured, but now all was total darkness. This state of things produced the scenes of the fourteenth of August, before alluded to, which are, in the next place, to be related.

As localities are of the utmost importance in describing any transaction, it is necessary to observe that, at the junction of Essex and Newbury streets* (now Essex and Washington), there stood a number of majestic elms. This place was sometimes called Hanover Square. On one of these elms, usually called the Great Tree, which stood close to the street, were discovered, very early on Wednesday morning, suspended from a branch, "two effigies; one of which, by the labels, appeared to be designed to represent a Stamp Officer; the other a Jack Boot, with a head and horns peeping out of the top; said by some of the Printers to be the Devil or his Imp; but, as we are not acquainted with that species of gentlemen, we cannot so well determine whether it was an exact resemblance or not." This is the account published, eight days after the occurrence, in the News-Letter, a print which took sides with the people, and which, for apparent reasons, is here extracted. The News-Letter proceeds: "The report of these images soon spread through the Town, brought a vast number of spectators,† and had such an effect on them, that they were immediately inspired with a spirit of patriotism, which diffused itself through the whole concourse. So much were they affected with a sense of liberty, that scarce any could attend to the task of day-labor, but all seemed on the wing for freedom. About dusk the images were taken down, placed on a bier, supported in procession by six men, followed by a great concourse of people, some of the highest reputation, and in the greatest order, echoing forth 'Liberty and Property! No Stamps!' &c. Having passed through the Town-house, they proceeded with their pageantry down King-street, and, it is said, intended for the north part of the town. But orders being given, they turned their course through Kilby-street, where an edifice had lately been erected, which was supposed to be designed for a Stamp-office.‡ Here they halted, and went to work to demolish that building, which they soon effected without receiving any hurt, except one of the spectators, who happened to be rather too nigh the brick wall when it fell. This being finished,

* The reader is reminded that Orange-street terminated at what is now Boylston-street. This was its northern termination. The elms made the corner of Orange, Newbury, and Essex streets. The *Sexton of the Old School* errs in saying "Auchmuty's-lane, now Essex-street." That *part* of Essex-street was never, I think, called Auchmuty's-lane. Essex-st. had been so called nearly sixty years, having received that name as early as 1708.

† Not only the inhabitants of the town collected in great numbers to view them, but the people came in from the country in vast numbers; so that when the procession moved from the place there were several thousand persons in it.

‡ Gordon says it was not so designed. Hutchinson does not say as much, but that "it was conjectured" to have been erected for that purpose.

many of them loaded themselves with wooden trophies, and proceeded, bearing the two effigies, to the top of Fort Hill, where a fire was soon kindled, in which one of them was burnt; we can't learn whether they committed the other to the flames, or, if they did, whether it did not survive the conflagration; being, it is said, like the salamander, conversant in that element.

"The populace after this went to work on the barn, fence, garden, and dwelling-house, of the gentleman [the Hon. Andrew Oliver] against whom their resentment was chiefly levelled, and which were contiguous to said hill. And here, entering the house, they bravely showed their loyalty, courage, and zeal, to defend the rights and liberties of Englishmen. Here, it is said by some good men that were present, they established their Society by the name of the Union Club. Their business being finished, they retired and proceeded to the Province-house, which was about eleven o'clock, gave three huzzas, and all went quietly home.

"The next day the Honorable Gentleman who had been appointed to the duty of Distributor of the Stamps when they should arrive, supposing himself to be the object of their derision, informed the principal gentlemen of the Town that, as it appeared so disagreeable to the people, he should request the liberty of being excused from that office; and in the evening the populace reässembled, erected a pyramid, intending a second bonfire; but, upon hearing of the resignation, they desisted, and repaired to the gentleman's gate, gave three cheers, and took their departure without damage.

"But having heard it propagated that an Honorable Gentleman [Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson] at the North part of the Town, had been accessary in laying on the Stamp-duties, &c., they repaired to his house, where, upon being informed, by some gentlemen of integrity and reputation, that he had not only spoke but wrote to the contrary, they retired, and, having patrolled the streets, returned to their respective habitations as quietly as they had done the night before."

That the leaning of the writer of the above might not be mistaken, he closed by a memorable saying of Lord Burleigh, much in use in those days, — "England can never be undone but by a Parliament." Thus the mob was encouraged, and, as by the sequel it will appear, a very partial account was given of what had taken place. The course taken by the papers under the control of the Government had some effect in producing the above, for the News-Letter had been jeered by them because it had not come out with early denunciations of the proceedings of the mob. That occasioned it to introduce the account above given, with a sort of apology, or defence, in which, it is said, "It was out of our power to give a perfect account before, as the transactions were not finished, and a partial one would have drawn down the resentment of many of the true Sons of Liberty." It was then remarked that the News-Letter was a tool to no one, and hence it

labored under a disadvantage about getting correct information, while pens enough stood ready to assist on the other side.

The immediate cause of the proceedings now under consideration is attributed by Mr. Hutchinson to the arrival of Jared Ingersoll, Esq., from London, and the attentions shown him by Mr. Oliver; the former having been appointed Stamp Officer for Connecticut. His arrival was only a few days before the fourteenth, and, when he left Boston, Mr. Oliver accompanied him out of the Town. This exhibition of brotherhood between the "brothers in iniquity," as some expressed it, called forth audible murmurings among the people, and the Boston Gazette contained an article which was pronounced inflammatory by the Government party. It is also said that the news of the "Virginia Resolves" * had not only encouraged the people to resist the Stamp Law, but that they had "highly inflamed them." However, it was on the morning of the following day that the effigies or images were discovered upon the Great Tree, as has been described.

The persons who prepared and suspended these effigies, "upon the limb of a large old elm, toward the entrance of Boston," were John Avery, Jr., Thomas Crafts, John Smith, Henry Wells, Thomas Chase, Stephen Cleverly, Henry Bass, and Benjamin Edes. The figure representing a Stamp Officer, even without the label appended to it, was at once recognized as intended for Mr. Oliver.

The Sheriff, Stephen Greenleaf, Esq., with his Deputy, Mr. Benjamin Cudworth, was early on the spot, "but, by advice of some of the graver persons present, forbore any attempt to remove the Image." The Governor had already convened the Council, but the majority of that body, on hearing the report of the Sheriff, "advised not to meddle with the Image;" arguing that the people were orderly, and, if left alone, would take it down and bury it without any disturbance; while an attempt to remove it might bring on a riot, the very mischief sought to be prevented. This was in the forenoon of the fourteenth. The Governor convened the Council again in the afternoon, who were in session in the Town-House when the effigies were carried through it, as mentioned in the News-Letter account above extracted. It is likewise mentioned that the pageant was preceded "by forty or fifty tradesmen, decently dressed." †

Aug. 15. On the day following the riot, Governor Bernard issued a Proclamation, offering 100 pounds reward to be paid "upon

* These were the first Acts of any Assemblies against the authority of the Act of Parliament. They were expressed in such terms, that many people, "upon the first surprise, pronounced them treasonable; particularly, Mr. Otis, in the hearing of many persons in King-street."—Hutchinson, iii. 119. This, as it respects James Otis, may be very true. It is also very true that all such opposition partook of the nature of treason; and but for *treason* there would have been no Revolution; and but for a *Revolution* there would have been no Independence; however unjust may have been the requirements of Government, they do not, in a *legal* point of view, affect the nature of the offence. If the People possess the power to *rebel* successfully, rebellion is at once dignified with the name of Revolution.

† Hutchinson. — The reason for destroying Mr. Story's house, it is said, was, "because he

the conviction" of any person concerned therein.* But the current of public sentiment was already too strong to be turned by, or even to heed Proclamations, as will presently be seen.

Notwithstanding many persons were much distressed at the wanton destruction of the property of an estimable fellow-townsman and gentleman, and viewed the ruins with the sincerest and deepest regret, yet "their prejudices were not abated against the Stamp Act."

This aspect of affairs brought Mr. Oliver "to a sudden resolution to resign his office before another night, and he immediately signified, by a writing under his hand,† to one of his friends, that he would send letters, by a ship then ready to sail for London, which should contain such resignation; and he desired that the Town might be made acquainted with it, and with the strong assurances he had given, that he would never act in that capacity." This is Mr. Hutchinson's statement of the case of his friend and relative.

did something amiss in the Office he sustained in the Customs, relating to some gentlemen's characters in this Town;" and Mr. Hallowell, "they say, had given out he would not value taking the post of Stamp Master."— *Copy of a Letter from Joshua Henshaw, Jr., then in Boston, to David Henshaw of Leicester, dated* 28 *Aug.*, 1765. The original was recently in possession of Mr. T. J. Whittemore of Cambridge.

* As Gov. Hutchinson does not give the Proclamation in his Appendix, it is thought it would be proper to add it in a note here.

"By His Excellency FRANCIS BERNARD, ESQ., Captain-General, &c. A PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas, yesterday, towards evening, a great number of people unlawfully and riotously assembled themselves together, in the town of Boston, armed with clubs, staves, &c., and, with great noise and tumult, pulled down a new erected building, belonging to the Secretary of the Province, and, having so done, surrounded his dwelling-house, pulled down part of his fences, broke his windows; at length with force and violence entered the house and damaged and destroyed his furniture, and continued thus unlawfully assembled until midnight, and committed divers other outrages and enormities, to the great terror of his Majesty's liege Subjects. I have therefore thought fit, with the advice of his Majesty's Council, to issue this Proclamation; requiring all Justices of Peace, and all Officers, civil and military, to use their utmost endeavors for discovering, apprehending and bringing to justice all and every of the persons concerned in the unlawful assembly aforesaid. And I do hereby promise, that whosoever shall discover and detect any of the persons concerned in the outrages aforesaid, so that they or any of them may be lawfully convicted, shall receive out of the Public Treasury of this Province the sum of ONE HUNDRED POUNDS as a reward, to be paid upon the conviction of such offender or offenders: And any person concerned therein, over and above the reward aforesaid, upon discovery of any of his accomplices as aforesaid, shall receive his Majesty's free and gracious pardon.

"*GIVEN* at the Council Chamber in Boston, the 15th day of August, 1765, &c. &c.

"FRA. BERNARD.

"By His Excellency's Command,

"Jno. Cotton, Dep. Secr.

"GOD Save the KING."

† On the 26th of August following, Mr. Oliver wrote to his friend Ingersoll: "Sir, the newspapers will sufficiently inform you of the abuse I have met with; I am therefore only to acquaint you, in short, that after having stood the attack for 36 hours, a single man against a whole people, the Government not being able to afford me any help during that whole time, I was persuaded to yield in order to prevent what was coming on the second night; and, as I happened to give out in writing the terms of capitulation, I send you a copy of them; assuring you, at the same time, that this only was what was given out by my leave. I should be glad to hear from you, and am,

"Sr. Yor. most humble Servant,

"Andw. Oliver."

[At the foot of the letter follows the Capitulation.]

"Mr. Oliver acquaints Mr. Waterhouse that he has wrote to the Lords of the Treasury to desire to be excused from executing the office of Distributor of the Stamps, and that, when they arrive, he shall only take proper care to secure them for the Crown, but will take no one step for distributing the same, at the time appointed by the Act. And he may inform his friends accordingly. Thursday afternoon, 15 August."— *From a copy of the original, in possession of* Dr. F. E. Oliver, *of Boston.*

The determination of the Distributor being made known to the people, they were highly elated at their success, and looked upon it as, what in fact it was, a great victory; and it encouraged them to organize more effectually in opposition to the Government. They were so much pleased with Mr. Oliver's resignation, that the same night they assembled on Fort Hill, and kindled a bonfire in honor of the event. And, having been completely victorious, the officers of Government were encouraged to hope that the authors of the disturbance would quietly resume their wonted affairs; but they soon found they had deceived themselves, and that even more serious troubles awaited them.

On the night of the attack on Mr. Oliver's house, Lieut. Governor Hutchinson was in that house, and, as he acknowledges, had "excited the Sheriff and the Colonel of the regiment to suppress the mob." This, of course, it was his duty to do. But duty, on the part of those the people considered as their oppressors, was but a small argument with them for their forbearance to inflict retaliatory injury. Therefore, the Lieut. Governor was next to be called upon to make atonement for his *offences* against the sovereignty of the people. And as no one could give so faithful an account of what befell him as himself, his own relation of the whole transaction will presently be given in his own words.

"A report was soon spread that he * was a favorer of the Stamp Act, and had encouraged it by letters to the Ministry. Whereupon, on the evening of the sixteenth of August, the mob surrounded the house of the Lieutenant Governor and Chief Justice.† Upon notice of the approach of the people, he caused the doors and windows to be barred, and remained in the house. After attempting to enter, they called upon him to come into the balcony, and to declare that he had not written in favor of the Act, and they would retire quite satisfied. This was an indignity to which he would not submit; and therefore he made no answer. An ancient reputable tradesman obtained their attention, and endeavored to persuade them, not only of the unwarrantableness of their proceedings, but of the groundlessness of their suspicions of the Lieut. Governor, who might well enough wish the Act of Parliament had not passed, though he disapproved of the violent opposition to its execution. Some were for withdrawing, and others for continuing; when one of the neighbors called to them from his window, and affirmed that he saw the Lieut. Governor in his carriage, just before night, and that he was gone to lodge at his house in the country.‡ Upon this they dispersed, with only breaking some of the glass."

Aug. 16.

Meanwhile, Dr. Mayhew preached a sermon in his own Church, from

* The Governor wrote in the third person.

† Mr. Hutchinson, it will be remembered, held both these offices.

‡ Mr. Hutchinson had an elegant country seat in Milton, on the summit of the hill just beyond the Neponset river, on the main road. The beautiful trees, which shade the avenue leading from the river to that locality, are said to have been planted by Gov. Hutchinson's own hand.

Aug. 25. the text, "I would they were even cut off which trouble you." * The Doctor's enemies seized upon this circumstance, and reported that he had preached a sermon which went to encourage the people to resist the Government, and had caused the mob to commit the violence of which they had been guilty. This account of the Sermon was circulated immediately after the enormities of the twenty-sixth, next to be detailed.

As a reason for the proceedings of the mob against him, Governor Hutchinson makes the following declaration: "Certain depositions had been taken, many months before these transactions, by order of the Governor [Bernard], concerning the illicit trade carrying on; and one of them, made by the Judge of the Admiralty, had, at the special desire of the Governor, been sworn to before the Lieutenant Governor, as Chief Justice. They had been shown at one of the Offices in England to a person who arrived in Boston just at this time; and he had acquainted several merchants, whose names were in some of the depositions as smugglers, with the contents. This brought, though without reason, the resentment of the merchants against the persons who, by their office, were obliged to administer the oaths, as well as against the Officers of the Customs and Admiralty, who had made the depositions."

These causes, though they may have more readily occurred to the Lieut. Governor than others, do not seem to be quite sufficient to warrant the conclusion that they were the only ones, or even the chief causes of the troubles. Gordon, who wrote at the time, and was conversant with the stirring men of the period, dates the prime cause much

Aug. 26. earlier. However, on Monday evening following the decease of Dr. Mayhew, "about twilight, a small bonfire appeared to be kindled in King-street, and surrounded only by a few boys and children; but one of the Fire Wards, perceiving it to rise to a dangerous height, interposed and used his endeavors to extinguish, or at least to diminish it; in which salutary attempt, after several whispers from a person unknown, warning him of danger, he received a blow and such tokens of insult and outrage as obliged him to desist and take his departure."

* Galatians v. 12, 13. When it came to the knowledge of Mr. Mayhew that he was charged with causing the destruction of Gov. Hutchinson's house, he wrote a letter to that gentleman, in which he said: "God is my witness, that from the bottom of my heart I detest these proceedings; and that I am sincerely grieved for them, and have a deep sympathy with you and your distressed family on this occasion. I did, indeed, express myself strongly in favor of civil and religious liberty, as I hope I shall ever continue to do; and spoke of the Stamp Act as a great grievance, like to prove detrimental, in a high degree, both to the Colonies and the Mother Country; and I have heard your honor speak to the same purpose. But, as my text led me to do, I cautioned my hearers, very particularly, against the abuses of liberty, and expressed the hopes that no persons amongst ourselves had encouraged the bringing of such a burden on their Country, notwithstanding it had been strongly suspected. In truth, sir, I had rather lose my hand than be an encourager of such outrages as were committed last night. I do not think my regard to truth was ever called in question by those that knew me; and, therefore, hope your Honor will be so just as to give entire credit to these solemn declarations."—Gordon's *Hist. Am. Revolution*, i. 178–9. Ed. Lon. 1788.

This is the commencement of the account of what may be denominated the Great Riot, as published in a "Supplement to the Boston News-Letter," printed one week after it happened; and, as Mr. Hutchinson but barely alludes to it, this account is continued from the same source as the transactions preceding the destruction of the house of the Lieutenant Governor, which, as before stated, will be given in his own words.

"Soon after this" (the departure of the Fire Ward), "daylight being scarce in,* the fire gradually decaying, a peculiar whoop and whistle was observed to be sounded from various quarters, which instantaneously drew together a great number of disguised ruffians, armed with clubs, staves, etc. No sooner were they assembled than an attack was made on the dwelling-house of William Story, Esq., opposite the north side of the Court-house; the lower part of which, being his office as Dep. Register of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, was in a few moments laid open. The public files of that Court, Mr. Story's private papers, books of accounts, etc., were exposed to ravage and destruction, and improved as fuel to revive the expiring flames of the bonfire. Little more than half an hour sufficed them here.

"Boisterous and intrepid, from the first object of their rage, they rushed onward, increasing still in numbers and fury, to the new and elegantly-finished building of Benjamin Hallowell, Jr., Esq. [Comptroller of the Customs in Hanover-street],† where, after tearing down the fences, breaking the windows, etc., they at length entered the house, and, in the most savage and destructive manner, broke and abused his furniture, chairs, tables, desk, glasses, china, and, in short, everything they could lay their hands on; at the same time purloining his money,‡ and dispersing his private books and papers, until, by the effect of wine and the other stores of his cellar, they ripened in ebriety and madness, and became fit for the next more desolating and barbarous operation."

* Another account says the mob went first to Mr. Charles Paxton's house (which was in Tilley's-alley, afterwards Hutchinson, now Pearl-street, and stood on the east side of the street, some four doors from Milk, an elegant three-story brick). But Mr. Paxton was only a tenant, and did not own the house, and its real owner, happening to be there, assured them of the fact. He assured them also that Mr. Paxton had gone off, and had carried away most of his valuables; that, as he (the owner of the house) had not done them any harm, he hoped they would not injure his property, and, at the same time, proposed to treat them with a barrel of punch "at the tavern." This offer was immediately accepted. That after the punch was disposed of, the Mob went directly to Mr. Story's. There is no allusion to this prelude to the tragedy in the Governor's Proclamation of Aug. 28th. The barrel of punch probably prepared the way for the other mischiefs.

† After the numbering of buildings was adopted, that occupying the site of Mr. Hallowell's was No. 47. The Hon. John Coffin Jones afterwards lived on the same spot. Here stood his mansion-house when the first Directory of the Town was made (1789), and here he resided many years. Before 1818 he removed to Pearl-street, and afterwards to Somerset Place, where he died, 25 Oct., 1829, aged 82. A church was built in Hanover-street, upon the site of Mr. Jones' former mansion, over which the Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher was installed 22 March, 1826. This church was burned on the 1st of Feb., 1830, and the ground on which it stood has been since improved for stores.

‡ "About £30 sterling."—*Governor's Proclamation.*

"They came with intoxicated rage,"* writes Mr. Hutchinson (whose account follows), "upon the house of the Lieut. Governor.† The doors were immediately split to pieces with broad axes, and a way made there, and at the windows, for the entry of the mob; which poured in, and filled in an instant every room in the house.

"The Lieut. Governor had very short notice of the approach of the Mob. He directed his children and the rest of his family to leave the house immediately, determining to keep possession himself. His eldest daughter, after going a little way from the house, returned, and refused to quit it unless her father would do the like. This caused him to depart from his resolution a few minutes before the mob entered. They continued their possession until daylight; destroyed, carried away, or cast into the street, everything that was in the house; demolished every part of it, except the walls, as far as lay in their power, and had begun to break away the brick work.‡

"The damage was estimated at about 2,500 pounds sterling, without any regard to a great collection of public as well as private papers, in the possession and custody of the Lieut. Governor.§

"The Town was the whole night under the awe of this mob; many of the Magistrates, with the Field Officers of the militia, standing by as spectators; and nobody daring to oppose or contradict.

"The Governor was at the Castle,‖ and knew nothing of what had happened until the next morning. He then went to Town, and caused

* In a MS. note in a copy of Snow's History it is said, that "Mr. John Rowe led the Mob against Mr. Hutchinson's house; but there was no intention to commit such violence as was committed." The authority cited is "*C. Hopkins to R[edford] Webster.*" But Hutchinson himself says the leader was Mackintosh.

† In Garden Court-street. It was taken down about 1830.

‡ Governor Bernard's proclamation is more particular. It says those who had been at Mr. Hallowell's, "or other riotous people, did on the same night attack the dwelling-house of the Hon. Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., Lieut. Governor of the Province, and forcibly enter the same, break down and destroy the wainscot and partitions therein, leaving the house a mere shell from top to bottom, break and destroy every window, with all the furniture belonging thereto, destroy or carry off all the wearing apparel, jewels, books and papers of every kind belonging to his Honor and his family, drink, take away or destroy eight pipes and three quarter-casks of wine, and every bottle of liquors, and all provisions and stores of what kind so ever in his cellars, and carry off about £900 sterling in money, with all his Honor's plate; and did afterwards deliberately cut down the cupola or lantern on top of the house, and uncover great part of the roof," etc.

In an extract in Snow's History it is said, "they [the Mob] worked three hours at the cupola before they could get it down, and they uncovered part of the roof; but I suppose the thickness of the walls, which were of very fine brick work, adorned with Ionic pilasters worked into the wall, prevented their completing their purpose, though they worked at it till daylight. The next day the streets were found scattered with money, plate, gold rings, etc. The whole loss in this house is reckoned at £3,168 17*s.* 9*d.* lawful." This was the amount he received afterwards as an indemnity for his loss of property. — *Eliot.* But Gordon says, "Mr. Hutchinson's loss was £2,396 3*s.* 1½*d;* Mr. Oliver's, £129 3*s.;* Mr. Hallowell's, £289 0*s.* 3½*d.*"

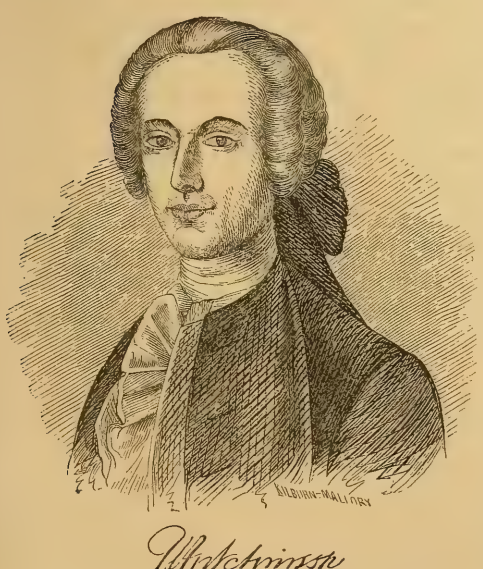
§ These papers he was using in compiling his History, the first volume of which was issued the last year (1764). In the Preface to the second volume he thus alludes to this destruction of his papers: "The loss of many papers and books, in print as well as manuscript, besides my family memorials, never can be repaired." Nor can any estimate be made of the real loss to the history of the Country.

‖ Gov. Bernard had a seat at Jamaica Plain, in Roxbury, about which Luther M. Harris, M. D., has communicated some interesting particulars to the *New Eng. Hist. & G. Reg.* for Jan. 1856, p. 23.

a Council to be summoned. Before they could meet, the inhabitants of Boston assembled in Faneuil Hall; and in as full a meeting as had been known, by an unanimous vote, declared an utter detestation of the extraordinary and violent proceedings of a number of persons unknown, against some of the inhabitants of the Town the preceding night; and desired the Selectmen and Magistrates of the Town to use their utmost endeavors to suppress the like disorders for the future; the freeholders and other inhabitants being ready to do everything in their power to assist them. It could not be doubted that many of those who were immediate actors in, as well as of those who had been abettors of, those violent proceedings, were present at this unanimous vote."

By advice of the Council, the Governor issued a Proclamation, offering a reward of 300 pounds for the detection of the ringleader, and 100 pounds for others concerned in the riot. Many of them were probably well known. Indeed, several were apprehended, among whom was one Moore; but courts and law had the majority of the people against them, and consequently jails had lost their strength.

One Mackintosh,* a mechanic of the Town, was apprehended in King-street, as a ringleader; but the Sheriff who had him in charge was at once surrounded by a number of merchants, and other persons of property and character, who assured him that if Mackintosh was proceeded against, not a man would appear in arms, as had been proposed, for the security of the Town the next night. Whereupon the Sheriff released him, and made return of his doings to the Governor, then in Council. Some of the Council thought the Sheriff could not be excused; but no action of disapprobation followed in that body; all being ready, probably, like the Lieutenant Governor, to exclaim: "To this feeble state were the powers of Government reduced!"



Six or eight others were apprehended, and on examination were committed to jail; but before their trial came on, a party of men entered the house of the Jailer in the night, compelled him to deliver them the keys of the prison, which they opened and set the accused at liberty. All this was effected without tumult or alarm to any except the Jailer and his immediate family. The persons liberated kept out of the way for a time; "but

* Perhaps Peter M'Intosh, a blacksmith, at the South End.

there was no authority," says Hutchinson, "which thought it advisable to make any inquiry after them."

Aug. 27. The day following this riot was the first day of the Superior Court for the County of Suffolk. And while the four Judges appeared in their robes of office, Mr. Hutchinson, as Chief Justice, appeared in his ordinary dress, in which he was sitting in the evening when the Mob came to his house; because his robes and every other garment had been destroyed or carried off.* Therefore, instead of a Charge to the Grand Jury, the Chief Justice made a long speech to the people, in which he endeavored to convince them of the fatal effects to the Province of the violent opposition to Government which had begun to take place. The Court then "showed their resentment by refusing to do any business while the Town was in that disorderly state, and adjourned for six weeks."

Governor Hutchinson observes, that "many of the most ruffian part of the Mob, who left the Town the next day after the Riot, returned in the evening, and attempted again to collect the people together, in order to further rapine; but a military watch having been ordered, and the Governor's company of Cadets appearing in arms, and showing great spirit, the Mob was dispersed."

Sept. 10. About the tenth of September, there was a ship arrived direct from London. In her came George Messervey, Esq., with a Commission as Distributor of Stamps for the Province of New Hampshire. Having understood that such officers were not very welcome in Boston, Mr. Messervey thought it best, before coming on shore, to signify by letter to some gentlemen in the town, "that, as such an office would be disagreeable to the people, he should resign it." This announcement being made known, a large number of his friends and other gentlemen assembled on the end of Long Wharf to greet him on his landing, which immediately followed. Here he made a declaration to this effect: "As he was the unhappy man who had personally accepted of an office odious to his Country, he freely resigned it, and would never act in that capacity." Upon this, three cheers were given "by a vast concourse of people" which had now assembled. Mr. Messervey was then escorted into the Town. On arriving at the head of the wharf the cheering was repeated, and again on the Exchange, in King-street. In the ship with the Stamp Master came one box of Stamps for New Hampshire, but no other mention is made of them.

News came by the same ship that there was a change of Ministry "at home," and that the Stamp Act would be laid aside. All this,

* The paraphernalia of office in those days was supposed to be of great consequence. Soon after the Revolution it was entirely dispensed with. Mr. Gordon says, "Mr. Hutchinson attended in his only suit, and necessarily without those ensigns of office so wisely calculated to produce regard to authority." Bagwigs, gaudy robes, and sashes, might have some influence in inspiring respect where ignorance abounded, while they only excited contempt in a community where intelligence and common sense had their due influence.

together with what had just transpired, filled the Town generally with joy; "and in the evening, many loyal healths were drank by numbers of gentlemen who met at several public places for that purpose."

Sept. 11. But the demonstration did not end here; for, on the following morning, all the bells were rung, "and joy and gladness appeared on every countenance. At the south part of the town, the trees, for which many have so great a veneration, were decorated with the ensigns of loyalty, and the Colors embroidered with several mottoes. On the body of the largest tree was fixed, with large deck nails, that it might last, as a poet said, 'like oaken bench to perpetuity,' a copperplate, with these words stamped thereon, in golden letters, 'THE TREE OF LIBERTY, August 14, 1765.'" A great holiday ensued. Liquor was freely served out to the multitude who had assembled about Liberty Tree, and salutes were fired. Soon after one o'clock, "some of the train of artillery brought down some cannon, placed them before the Town-house, and fired several rounds." This appears to have been done without the authority of the Commander in Chief, and without any notice to the Governor and Council, then sitting.

Sept. 12. The next day there was a Town-meeting in Faneuil Hall; the principal motive for which appears to have been to show respect to Lord Adam Gordon, who, on the previous Sunday, had arrived in Town from Albany, and to engage him to use his influence, on his return to England, to effect the repeal of the Stamp Act.* Accordingly, a committee was appointed to wait upon him, at the head of which was James Otis, the Moderator. His Lordship received the Committee with all due respect, but, in reply to Mr. Otis's address, his language was so well guarded, that, while it contained nothing to encourage the Patriots, it gave them no special ground to think he would take particular pains to serve them. He was attached to the Army, was Colonel of the sixty-sixth regiment, and soon after left for England. The meeting was adjourned to the eighteenth following.

At the Town-meeting of the twelfth of September, gentlemen, as usual, were appointed to draw up Instructions for the Representatives.

Sept. 18. At the adjourned meeting, those Instructions were reported and accepted. At the same meeting, special notice was taken of those gentlemen who had stood up in Parliament in opposition to the laws which bore so heavily upon the Colonies;† and it was

* He was a Member of Parliament, and was making a tour through the country.

† On a motion made at the above meeting, it was unanimously voted that the Hon. James Otis, Esq., the Moderator, the Hon. Samuel Welles, Esq., the Hon. Harrison Gray, Esq., the Hon. Royall Tyler, Esq., Joshua Henshaw, Esq., John Rowe, Esq., and Mr. Samuel Adams, be a Committee to draw up and transmit by the first opportunity, to the Rt. Hon. Gen. Conway, now one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, and to Col. Isaac Barré, a Member of Parliament, several Addresses, humbly expressing the sincere thanks of this Metropolis of His Majesty's ancient and loyal Province, for their noble, generous, and truly patriotic speeches, at the last session of Parliament, in favor of the

voted that letters of thanks should be transmitted to them, and that their portraits should be requested, and, when obtained, be hung up in Faneuil Hall. This was in due time accomplished, and the portraits of Gen. Conway* and Colonel Barré were afterwards placed there. But what became of them is not known, though they are supposed to have been destroyed or carried off when the British army had control of the town in 1775–6.

Mr. Otis probably drafted the letters sent to those gentlemen, but Colonel Barré did not receive that directed to him until the latter end of December following, owing to his absence from London. In a few days after its receipt, he replied to it, and in a style of surpassing felicity of expression, glowing with the best feelings of the human heart.† He commenced by observing that "it was with the highest sense of honor done him he acknowledged the receipt" of the letter, and the resolutions of the Town. He then referred to his services in, and acquaintance with, America, and then to the immediate cause of the notice taken of him by the Town of Boston, in these words: "My conduct in Parliament, so obligingly referred to, being the real sentiments of my heart, was the natural result of these considerations.‡ The terms in which they were delivered were such as the particular circumstances of time and place first suggested, and such as I cannot possibly, at this distance, charge my memory with. They were not premeditated, nor are they, perhaps, worthy to be remembered. I must, therefore, beg your mediation, Sir, with the respectable body whose pen you hold, to excuse my troubling them with an imperfect repetition of words, in themselves of little use in North America. But if there should be any call for the like exertion in Europe, I beg leave, through your means, to assure them that no consideration shall make me forget my duty, whenever an occasion presents itself, of promoting, to the utmost of my abilities, the united interests of Great Britain and her Colonies."

Colonel Barré then modestly refers to the request for his portrait, in this paragraph: "As long as the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay will continue to regard the motives of my conduct, and not the consequences, I do not despair of retaining, what I shall ever esteem among the greatest rewards, their approbation, of which I cannot have a more honorable or distinguishing mark than that contained in the last part

Colonies, their Rights and Privileges; and that correct copies of the same be desired, that they may be deposited among our most precious archives. Also voted, that those gentlemen's pictures, as soon as they can be obtained, be placed in Faneuil Hall, as a standing monument to all posterity of the virtue and justice of our benefactors, and a lasting proof of our gratitude. Attest,

"William Cooper, *Town Clerk.*"

* The Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, Secretary of State for the Northern Department, then the leader of the House of Commons, whom Junius, with no great justice, perhaps, characterized as "Caution without foresight." His career was a short one.

† It was dated January 11th, 1766. The date of Mr. Otis's was September the 20th, two days after the vote recorded in the text.

‡ Considerations respecting the interests of both countries, noticed in a previous paragraph of his letter.

of their resolution. A flattering request, which I shall comply with as soon as possible."*

Gen. Conway's letter, acknowledging the action of the Town, as also that of Colonel Barré, are entered upon the Records of the Town. The letter accompanying his portrait was not received until 1767.†

Boston, though it took the lead in opposition to the Stamp Act, was not the only place where a disposition was shown to set its provisions at defiance. Stamp Masters had been burnt in effigy in nearly all the Colonies, and those holding that office had been compelled to follow the example of Mr. Oliver, and resign. "Mobs became frequent in Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New York." The first of November was at hand. Then the Act was to take effect. All business requiring forms must be suspended or done illegally. To proceed as before, using instruments without Stamps, was hazardous in the extreme, inasmuch as it was by no means certain that the Act would not be enforced. This was the aspect of the political horizon in Boston in the autumn of 1765.

When the General Court met, in September, the Governor alluded to the disturbances in his speech; and, although he spoke sensibly in some parts of it, it is plain that he did not well understand his position, nor the people over whom he was placed. He had abundant proof that his authority was set at defiance; and for him to threaten them, under such circumstances, was calculated to call forth ridicule, and to lessen the little respect entertained for him. Even Mr. Hutchinson remarks of Governor Bernard's speech, that though "animated, the conclusion was faint."

The General Court were expected to take some action by which Stamps might be dispensed with. This was as well understood by the people as by the Court, especially the popular branch of it. Hence, when the subject came up, it was referred to a Committee of the two Houses.

Sept. 20. Meanwhile, the Stamps having arrived, and as there was no officer having a commission to receive them, the Governor caused them to be landed at the Castle, and there to be kept until the pleasure of his Majesty should be known.‡ Therefore the Report of the

* It is not a little source of mortification to the Writer, to be obliged to say, that the portraits of Col. Barré and Gen. Conway have never been replaced in Faneuil Hall. Could some of the City's expenditures be converted into them, it would lose none of its honor by the change.

† That letter was brief, and in these words: "London, March 16th, 1767. Sir, I am ashamed to have so long deferred sending my Picture, which the Assembly of Boston have done me the honor to request. But as this delay has been chiefly owing to the dilatoriness of the painter, who has been extremely slow in finishing it, I hope it will not be imputed to any neglect on my part, or to any want of the just sense I ought ever to retain of the great distinction they were pleased to favor me with on that occasion." — *From the original in the possession of* Francis Jackson, Esq., who kindly brought it to the notice of the Author. It should be stated that the letter is not in the autograph of Secretary Conway, but is signed by him.

‡ Before taking the responsibility of concerning with the Stamps, Mr. Bernard desired the advice of the General Court in the matter; but the Court declined giving any.

Committee was in accordance with all the facts; recommending that, as there was nobody to distribute the Stamps, and that no persons "would think it consistent with their reputation to become a Distributor," all business should proceed as before the passage of the Act, using papers without Stamps, and that this course should be legalized by the General Court, or become valid. The Governor, of course, was not expected to give his assent to such an Act, and it was recommitted in the House. In the mean time the Assembly was prorogued, but the opponents of the Stamp Act got all they expected, though they had not got authority to do business without Stamps. It was therefore resolved by the business community to do all in their power to cause the Act to be repealed. They were much encouraged in this movement, for about the time the General Court was prorogued, several vessels arrived from England, bringing intelligence that a great part of the people of that country were against the Act.

Nov. 5.

The people had now pretty generally come to the conclusion that they would defeat the operation of the Stamp Act by refusing to make any use of stamped paper; that a suspension of all business would necessarily follow, for a time, in which stamps were required, was also expected.

At the same time the merchants and traders in and near Boston formed an agreement to recall all unconditional English orders, except for sea-coal, and a few other bulky articles, and to order none, except upon the condition that the Stamp Act was repealed. All who did not come into this agreement were looked upon as enemies to the Country. In addition to this, all merchants, who were getting vessels ready for sea, took out their papers before the first of November, although they did not expect to use them for a month or more after that; thereby avoiding stamped clearances. Hence five or six weeks passed without any business being done or required to be done at the Custom-house. It was the same in the Courts of Law. No wills were proved nor administrations granted; no deeds nor bonds were executed, or any other business done, where stamped papers were required to make the transaction legal. This was indeed a great inconvenience, and to many a serious grievance.

While affairs were in this state, the Rulers must have seen that fearful troubles might well be expected, and at no very distant day; but their hands were tied as well as those of the people; and when a gentleman of the Liberty Party complained, to some of the officers of Government, that things were in such a condition, he was told that "he had raised the Devil, and now could not lay him." Such an answer may have discovered the feelings of the Official, but its effect naturally was to irritate the Liberty Men.

In the midst of the stirring scenes now opened, the Patriots lost one of their substantial supporters. This was Joseph Green, Esq., a mer-

chant, who has been before noticed in these pages. He died on the first day of July, in the sixty-second year of his age.*

CHAPTER LXX.

Anti-Stamp Demonstrations. — Grenville and Huske burnt in Effigy. — A Caricature. — Powder-plot Celebration. — Union of the North and South End Pageants. — Scriptural Account of the Stamp Act. — Vessels sail without Stamped Clearances. — Business at a Stand. — News from England favorable. — Mr. Oliver called upon to make a public Resignation. — Resigns at Liberty Tree. — The Town memorialize the General Court. — No Redress. — Hutchinson resigns Office of Judge of Probate. — Population of Town and Province. — Boston in Rebellion proclaimed in Parliament. — A Stamp described. — Liberty Tree pruned. — Grenville and Bute burnt in Effigy. — Case of Capt. Thacher. — Ceremony of Burning a Stamp. — Case of Capt. Kirkwood.



WARREN.†

Nov. 1. BUT the Liberty Party were determined to make a demonstration on the day on which the Stamp Act was to have taken effect; more, perhaps, to overawe the authorities, and cause them to abandon any hope they might have of an acquiescence or submission to that Act, than for any other purpose. Accordingly, that morning, it being Friday, was "ushered in by the tolling of bells, and the vessels in the harbor displayed their colors at half mast." The authorities feared there would be some outbreak, and had

* He was son of the Rev. Joseph Green, of Salem Village, and was born 12 Dec. 1703; m. Anna Pierce, of Portsmouth, N. H. His portrait, by Copley, is in possession of Dr. Joshua Green, of Groton, a descendant. Gov. Shirley commissioned him a Magistrate in 1755, and Gov. Bernard in 1761. A large estate in Hanover-street, on which now stands the American House, was purchased by him in 1734, of Gov. Belcher, for £3,600. He was of the well-known firm of Green & Walker of that day. Mr. Walker's name was Isaac. Their sons, Joseph Green and Edward Walker, also merchants and co-partners, kept, in 1761, "at the north corner of Queen-street, near the Town-house." Joseph Green, Esq., had many children, sons and daughters. All the sons died childless except Joshua, H. C. 1749. His eldest daughter, Anna, m. Joshua Winslow of Marshfield; another, Susanna, m. Francis Green, her cousin, son of Benj. Green, of Halifax; another, Elizabeth, m. Mr. Ebenezer Storer (H. C. 1747). See *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vol. vi. 275. George, son of Joseph Green, Esq., m. Catherine Aspinwall, of Brookline. He was a merchant, and his shop was at the corner of Williams Court in 1770. Some time after this he went to England, and died there.

† The Arms of Warren, here presented, are copied from the magnificent (privately printed) work entitled "Genealogy of Warren, with some Historical Sketches; by John C. Warren, M.D., Emeritus Professor of Harvard University," printed in Boston, in 1854. The immediate family of Gen. Joseph Warren is descended from Peter Warren, of Boston, who, March 8th, 1659, purchased land of Theodore Atkinson, "situated on the south side of Boston, next the water-side, opposite and against Dorchester Neck." South Boston was formerly Dorchester Neck. He died 1704. By his wife Sarah, daughter of Robert Tucker, of Dorchester, he had, besides other children, Joseph Warren, of Roxbury, who died in 1729. By his wife Deborah, daughter of Sam'l Williams, of Deerfield, Joseph of Roxbury had, beside others, Joseph, also of Roxbury, who died in October, 1775. This Joseph m. Mary, daughter of Samuel Stevens, of Roxbury, 29 May, 1740, and had Joseph, who fell at Bunker's Hill, and left issue Samuel, of Roxbury, who died unmarried; Ebenezer, of Foxborough, Mass., and John, of Salem and

taken precautionary measures to prevent the repetition of similar scenes to those of the fourteenth and twenty-sixth of August.* However, on the morning of the first of November, the Great Tree at Essex-street, now well known as Liberty Tree, was "adorned" with the effigies of George Grenville and John Huske; † the former had been a principal in bringing about the Stamp Act, and the latter had, it was said, been the first to advise it.

Those Images remained hanging upon the tree until about three o'clock in the afternoon, nobody presuming to interfere. Meanwhile, the avenues to the tree were crowded by several thousands of people, of all ranks and conditions, and in their presence the Figures were cut down and placed in a cart, with great solemnity, and amidst deafening acclamations of the surrounding multitude. As the cart moved from the tree down Newbury-street, the people followed it in perfect order and in regular ranks. The procession marched directly to the Court-house, where the Assembly or General Court was in session; thence to the North End; thence up Middle-street; thence back through the town to the gallows on the Neck. Here the Effigies were again suspended, and, after remaining a short time, were cut down, and treated with such indignities as were thought necessary to show the detestation in which the characters of those were held whom they represented. They were fiercely torn limb from limb, and the several parts tossed in the air.

When this was finished, three cheers were given, and the multitude were requested to go quietly to their homes; which every one did in a very orderly manner, and the following night was entirely free from noise, to the happy astonishment of many, who had shuddered under fearful apprehensions of a far different termination.

The above is the substance of the Massachusetts Gazette account ‡ of a memorable event in the history of Boston, which is thus closed: "The fears of many were great lest it should prove another 26th of

Boston, who died Apr. 4, 1815. The last-named gentleman was an eminent surgeon, a biography of whom is contained in Dr. Thacher's Medical Biography and several other works. He married (in 1777) Abigail, daughter of Gov. John Collins, of Newport, R. I. She died in 1832. These are the parents of the present Dr. John Collins Warren, of Boston, before named. — *Genealogy of Warren*, and Loring's *Hundred Orators*, p. 45.

* On the last day of October, "*The Massachusetts Gazette Extraordinary*" was issued. It contained an article with this heading:

Boston, November first, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five.

O, fatal! From and After!

'Jove fixed it certain, that whatever day
Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away!'
Pope's Homer.

The *Gazette* then goes on to give an account of the Effigies on Liberty Tree, as though the affair had then happened.

† In a speech, which Huske made not long after in the House of Commons, he referred to his being hung in effigy in Boston, and in a facetious and exulting manner called upon Mr. Grenville in these words: "So, my Lord, I perceive I have the honor to be hung in effigy alongside your Lordship in America." — See page 598 for some account of Mr. Huske, and p. 680.

‡ Published Nov. 7, which is marked No. 0. The *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston News-Letter* ended (under that title) October 31st, preceding. But it was resumed afterwards, namely, May 22d, 1766. In 1768 they were published separately, but in 1769 they were again published together, on a whole sheet.

August; for the horrid violence of which night we hope the good order of this will in some measure atone, as it is a proof that such conduct was not agreeable to the sentiments of the Town, but was only the lawless ravages of some foreign villains, who took advantage of the overheated temper of a very few people of this place, and drew them in to commit such violence and disorders as they shuddered at with horror in their cooler hours." *

On the morning of the same day, November the first, Nathaniel Hurd, "near the Town-house," issued an extraordinary caricature, designed to increase the contempt in which the Stamp Act and its promoters were held.†

Nov. 5. The Tuesday following was the anniversary of the Powder Plot. "When the day arrived the morning was all quietness. About noon the Pageantry, representing the Pope, Devil, and several other Effigies, signifying Tyranny, Oppression, Slavery, etc., were brought on stages from the North, and South, and met in King-st., where the Union, ‡ previously entered into by the leaders, was established in a very ceremonial manner, and, having given three huzzas, they interchanged ground; the South [men] marched to the North, and the North [men] to the South, parading through the streets until they again met near the Court-house. The whole then proceeded to the Tree of Liberty, under the shadow of which they refreshed themselves for a while, and then retreated to the northward, agreeably to their plan. They reached Copp's Hill before six o'clock, where they halted, and having enkindled a fire, the whole Pageantry was committed to the flames and consumed. This being finished, every person was requested to retire to their respective houses. And it must be noticed, to the honor of all those concerned in this business, that everything was conducted in a most regular manner, and such order observed as could hardly be expected among a concourse of several thousand people. All seemed to be joined agreeably to their principal motto, 'Lovely Unity.' The leaders, Mr. McIntosh, § from the South, and

* "The Government party inferred that this was an evidence of an influence the mob was under, and that they might be let loose or kept up, just as their leaders thought fit." —*Hutchinson.*

† I have never met with a copy of this caricature, and do not know that a copy exists. It is described at length in the Gazette of Nov. 7th. The description closes thus: "On the other side [on the other hand of the picture] is a Gallows with this inscription, 'Fit entertainment for St[am]p M[e]n.' A number of these gentlemen, with labels, expressing various sentiments on the occasion. At the bottom is a Coat of Arms proper for the Stamp Man."

‡ Deploring the bad effects of former celebrations of Pope Days, many of the better sort of inhabitants had, by their prudent intercession with the Chiefs or Leaders, brought about a union, as mentioned in the text. Those Chiefs met on the day of the Stamp-Act demonstration, namely, Nov. 1st, "and conducted that affair in a very orderly manner. In the evening the Commander of the South entered into a treaty with the Commander of the North, and, after making several overtures, they reciprocally engaged in a UNION, the former distinctions to subside. At the same time the Chiefs with their assistants engaged, upon their honor, no mischiefs should arise by their means, and that they would prevent any disorders on the fifth." — *Mass. Gaz. 7 Nov.* 1765. Tudor, in his *Life of Otis* (whose date is followed *ante*, p. 663), is probably wrong as to the time when this pageant ceased, or the two parties united in one.

§ The same person mentioned before, probably.

Mr. Swift, from the North, appeared in military habits, with small canes resting on their left arms, having music in front and flank; their assistants appeared also distinguished with small reeds. Then the respective corps followed; among whom were a great number of persons in rank. These, with the spectators, filled the streets. Not a club was seen among the whole, nor was any Negro allowed to approach near the stages. After the conflagration the people retired, and the Town remained the whole night in better order than it had ever been on this occasion. Many gentlemen, seeing the affair so well conducted, contributed to make up a handsome purse to entertain those that carried it out."

"This union," the writer in the Gazette adds, "and one other more extensive,* may be looked upon as the (perhaps the only) happy effects arising from the Stamp Act."

About this time there was published in London, and not long after republished in Boston, an ingenious account of the proceedings which had grown out of the Stamp Act. It was in Scripture style, and consisted of ninety-one verses, and was divided into three chapters. The commencement of the second runs thus: "Now tidings came to the men of America that the decree had gone forth for them to pay the Stamp tribute. 2. And they were greatly amazed thereat, and they cried with a loud voice, saying, 3. Now is fulfilled that which was spoken of the Prophet; America shall howl; on all their heads shall be baldness, and every beard cut off. 4. In their streets they shall gird themselves with sackcloth; on the tops of their houses, and in their streets, every one shall howl, weeping abundantly.

"5. And many of the men of America waxed exceeding wroth, and they took unto them garments and stuffed them with stuffing, yea, with filthy rags did they stuff them, and they fashioned them till they did represent men. 6. And they called them the representations of Stamp Masters, and they hung them upon trees and gallowses, and they were mocked by men until evening, when they were taken down and burned with fire. 7. And they burned also a Jack Boot, but what they meant by that is unknown at this day. 8. Yea, and they made likewise a stuffed figure with horns to represent Satan; for they said, 'Go to, for surely Satan himself was the deviser of this tribute.' 9. And in like manner did they act all over the whole land." †

The whole was of this tenor, which showed that the Stamp Act found adversaries at home as well as elsewhere.

Nov. 8. On the eighth of November, Gov. Bernard prorogued the General Court to the fifteenth of January. This gave much dis-

* Whether the writer had reference to the unanimity of the Colonies in resisting the Stamp Act, or to the non-importation agreement entered into in Boston, is left to conjecture.

† I have seen but one copy of this curious document, for the use of which I am indebted to my friend, JOHN W. PARKER, ESQ., of Roxbury, whose collection of old papers, consisting of ballads, hand-bills, and newspapers, is probably superior to any private collection in this vicinity.

satisfaction to the inhabitants, who had been looking to that body for some relief from the distresses which surrounded them. But, as has been before detailed, the Assembly was prorogued while the Bill intended for their relief was in the hands of a Committee. Soon after this several vessels went to sea without stamped clearances; the Custom-house Officers giving the Masters certificates that no Stamps could be procured in their jurisdiction. The first ship to venture under such circumstances, was the Boston Packet, Capt. John Marshall,* owned and sent out by John Hancock, Esquire. She was bound for London, where she safely arrived, and passed the Custom-house without her certificate being questioned.†

But, in general, business was at a stand. A Town-meeting was called to see what could be done. It was appointed to take place on the eighteenth of December. In the mean time, new arrivals from England brought further advices of the opposition to the Stamp Act in that country. This gave the "Sons of Liberty" ‡ new courage, and caused them to give the Government a further proof of their firmness in the cause they had espoused. They were determined to compel Mr. Oliver to make a new and public declaration that he would not act as Stamp Distributor under any circumstances. And it is surprising that a high-minded and honorable man, as Mr. Oliver certainly was, should ever have submitted to the gross indignity.§ However, he thought it best to yield to the demands of the people; considerably influenced, no doubt, by the news from England, that the Ministry had been turned out, chiefly because they had, by their imprudence, caused measures to be adopted which could not be carried out.

However, a few days before the Town-meeting just adverted to, a report was industriously circulated, that Mr. Oliver was using his endeavors to be reïnstated in the office of Stamp Master. This report, though under the circumstances it was very unlikely to be true, yet was the ground of the present demand upon him. He, therefore, published in the newspapers an unequivocal denial of any intention to obtain or to act in the office of Distributor of Stamps. This, for reasons not mentioned, was deemed unsatisfactory by the Sons of Liberty, and another letter was sent to him, which was left at his house "just as he was going to bed," requiring his appearance the next day, at twelve o'clock, under Liberty Tree, there to make a public resignation. The letter acquainted him, also, that a non-appearance would bring upon him the displeasure of the "True-born Sons of Liberty." With which request, also, Mr. Oliver thought it best to comply; nor did he consult his

* The same, probably, who died of a surfeit, and was buried on the 13th of May, 1768, aged but 32. His death was much lamented. The vessels in the harbor displayed their colors at half-mast. I shall again have occasion to mention Capt. Marshall.

† *Massachusetts Gazette*, 25 April, 1766.

‡ Col. Barré is said to be the first who thus denominated the Liberty Men of Boston. He made use of the *title* in one of his early speeches in Parliament in favor of America.

§ He was the third officer in the Colonial Government, in respect to the dignity of office.

friends as to the propriety of such compliance. The consequence was the disapprobation of some of them. But that gentleman well knew the inability of the Government to protect him, and that his immediate friends were far less able to do so than the Government. He, therefore,
Dec. 17. took the only course he could take, and made his appearance at Liberty Tree. But, before he went, he got a friend, an influential "tradesman," to intercede with the Sons of Liberty that he might be allowed to make the required public Declaration at the Town-house; but the tradesman soon returned with the unwelcome intelligence that his request could not be granted; but it was promised that, if he readily complied, he should be treated handsomely; and that promise was scrupulously kept.

Affairs being thus arranged, early on the morning of the seventeenth, advertisements were found posted up about the Town, inviting the Sons of Liberty to assemble at the Tree at twelve o'clock, "to hear the resignation of Andrew Oliver, Esq., Distributor of Stamps." It happened to be a rainy and tempestuous day, and Mr. Oliver was obliged to march through the streets exposed to the weather. But what added, probably, not a little to his mortification, Mr. Mackintosh, a chief leader among the Liberty Party, attended him at his right hand to the Tree, at the head of an immense multitude. Opposite Liberty Tree was the house of Richard Dana, Esq. In that house were assembled the Selectmen* of the town, "and many other persons of condition." Thus, in the presence of above two thousand persons, Mr. Dana administered an oath to Secretary Oliver, to the purport that "he had never taken any measures to act in the office, and that he never would do so, directly nor indirectly." Three cheers were then given, after which Mr. Oliver made a brief speech, in which he said "he had an utter detestation of the Stamp Act, and would do all that lay in his power to serve this Town or Province, and desired that he might no longer be considered an enemy, but as another man."† Three cheers were again given, and here the affair ended, and the throng soon after quietly dispersed.‡

Dec. 18. The next day was the Town-meeting, according to appointment, in which an unanimous vote was passed appointing a Committee to sign and present a Memorial, which was adopted, to His Ex-

* They were Joshua Henshaw, Joseph Jackson, Benj. Austin, Samuel Sewall, Nathaniel Thwing, John Ruddock, and John Hancock. The Assessors were Wm. Fairfield, John Keeland, Benj. Church, Belcher Noyes, Sam'l. Downe, Wm. Torrey, and John Greenough. Mr. Thwing resigned his place of Selectman, and, on the 14th of May, the Hon. Thomas Flucker was chosen in his stead.

† Comparing this compulsory conduct of Secretary Oliver with his course afterwards, our writers have unsparingly branded him as a malignant Traitor to his Country; and cite the famous "Hutchinson and Oliver Letters," intercepted by Franklin in 1773, in proof of the charge. But I must own, that, under the circumstances, I cannot see anything very terrible in those letters. They explain the state of the opposition to Government, in tolerably plain language, in the *political* style of those days. A serious game was commenced, which in time became a desperate one; life and death were the stakes, and many found themselves compelled to do what they gladly would have avoided.

‡ The Gazette account says Hanover Square was cleared in ten minutes after the last cheers.

cellency the Governor in Council.* The Memorial set forth that the Courts of Law had been shut up, for which "no just and legal reason could be assigned." For this and other causes the Memorialists "humbly" requested, "that His Excellency, in Council, with whom the executive power was constitutionally lodged, would give directions to the several Courts and their Officers, so that under no pretence whatever they might any longer be deprived of that invaluable blessing." They also requested to be heard "by their Counsel, learned in the Law."

In reply to the Memorialists, it was said that the people of the Town had brought the state of things, of which they complained, upon themselves. The Courts could not proceed without the lawfully stamped papers, and those papers were not to be had, because the Officers appointed to distribute them had been terrified into a resignation, and no other persons dared to take the office. It was, therefore, determined by the Governor, in Council, that, as it was a doubt whether the proceedings of Courts without Stamps could be justified, inasmuch as the violence of the people had been the cause complained of, that, therefore, the matter rested upon a point of law. However, they proposed to refer the subject to the Judges of the Courts.

The Town-meeting was adjourned for two days, to await the action of the Governor and Council. At the reässembling, and the result being known, it was voted that it was "unsatisfactory."

Such votes became common in the Town-meetings, "and had greater effect than can well be imagined." † So that the final result was, that the Courts did proceed without Stamps, excepting the Probate Court of Boston, of which Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson was Judge, and ships went to sea as usual.‡ But it was soon made apparent to Mr. Hutchinson, that he run quite a serious risk, if he much longer refused to suffer his Court to go on. He therefore saw but one way to extricate himself, and that was to resign, and he resigned accordingly. Governor Bernard did not think it prudent to fill the office with any other but a person who would comply with the requirements of the Town, and agreeably to that suggestion, Foster Hutchinson, Esq., was appointed.§

* The committee consisted of Samuel Adams, John Rowe, Thomas Cushing, John Ruddock, Samuel Sewall, John Hancock, Joshua Henshaw, Benjamin Kent, and Arnold Welles; and they were authorized to employ, as Counsel, Jeremy Gridley, James Otis, and John Adams, to appear in support of the memorial.

† Hutchinson.

‡ In the Mass. Gazette of Dec. 19th, is this notice: — "The Custom-house in this Town is now open for the clearing out of vessels, a certificate being given that Stamp Papers are not to be had."

§ The same, I suppose, H. C. 1721, brother of the Lieut. Governor. — See p. 227. The last time the Lieut. Governor officiated as Judge of Probate was on Oct. 25th, 1765; and the first time his successor acted in that capacity was on the 6th of Jan. following. Hence the interval or interruption from want of Stamps is seen. The last instrument proved before the Lt. Governor, was the Inventory of the Estate of the Hon. Benjamin Prat, of New York, exhibited by his widow, Isabella, taken by Samuel Swift, Samuel Quincy, and William Spurr. Oxenbridge Thacher was one of Mr. Prat's executors. His Inventory of Estate

At the pass to which things had now arrived, it is not strange, as Governor Hutchinson says, that timidity pervaded both legislative and that executive powers; every measure which forwarded the determined design of compelling, at all events, all Officers within the Province to pay no regard to the Stamp Act, succeeded.

When the ability of the Country to carry out its determination to nullify the laws of England is considered, that determination is truly a matter of surprise. Boston then had but about 15,000 inhabitants. These were contained in 2,000 families, and the number of houses was but 1,676. The whole colony did not contain much, if any, above 240,000 souls. Boston did not contain so many inhabitants this year as it did in 1752, — thirteen years before; there were then, — 1752, — 15,731, of which 1,541 were Negroes, or persons of color; and ten years earlier the population was still greater, — 16,582.

Nov. 27. On Wednesday, the twenty-seventh of November, Colonel Francis Brinley died at Roxbury, at the age of seventy-five years; a gentleman distinguished for his manly virtues and acknowledged moral worth. On the following Saturday his remains were deposited in the family tomb in the King's Chapel burying-ground.

1766. The conduct of the Bostonians was the cause of the opposition to the Stamp Act in the other Colonies; accounts of which had for some time crowded the London papers. The current of public opinion was too strong for the British Ministry, and nothing could be done to allay the excitement, now reäcting upon the people of England, but the establishment of a Ministry that were with the people, and would repeal that Act. These consequences made the Prime Minister furious; and in his last struggles he declared the people of Boston Rebels, and recommended the sending over at once an army to bring them to obedience.* The King, in a late speech to Parliament, in referring to the disturbances, gave them the mild appellation of "late occurrences;" consequently Mr. Grenville's epithets caused quite a sensation, and several members cried out, "To the Tower! To the Tower!" These proceedings were about the middle of December last. An eminent merchant of New York, then in London, wrote home: "Our friends seem apprehensive that George Grenville, the proposer of the Act, who is determined to support it with all his

amounted to £2785, 14*s.* 6*d.* His autograph,



here introduced, shows that he spelt his name with but one *t*, while others often wrote it with two. The date of Inventory is July 8th, 1763. He had a mansion and farm in Milton. See *ante*, page 669.

* This was uttered by Earl Bute, probably under the smart he may have felt from that answer of Dr. Franklin to a question before the House of Commons, as to whether he did not think the Stamp Act could be enforced by an army. "Never," was his reply; and to the question, "Why not?" he said, "An armed force would not find a rebellion, but they might make one." — Franklin's *Miscellanies*, London, 1779, p. 276.

power, would have a party in the House strong enough for that purpose, and Lord [George] Townsend was reckoned one of his supporters." However, a postscript to the same letter put a different face on the affair: — "Nine at night. This moment returned from the House of Commons, where I had the pleasure to see Mr. Grenville sink under, and withdraw the motion he made, of inserting in the Address of the King, that the disturbances in America were open Rebellion, owing to the opposition and powerful eloquence of Mr. Charles Townsend, Mr. Cook, Lord George Sackville, and others."

Feb. 6. On the sixth of February was taken up, in the General Court, the subject of the conduct of the Delegates to the late Congress in New York. A debate ensued; after which it was voted, that the conduct of Brigadier Ruggles, "in not signing the petitions by said Congress, and for leaving the Congress before they had completed their business," was not satisfactory to the House. But it was resolved unanimously, "that the account given by James Otis, and Oliver Partridge, Esquires," was satisfactory.

Mar. 17. Writers in the public papers became emboldened, and expressed their sentiments in strong language. They denounced the Stamp Act as unconstitutional. "Shall we not, then," wrote one in the Massachusetts Gazette, "all as one man join in opposing it, and spill the last drop of our blood, if necessary, rather than live to see it take place in America?" Another said: "Any one, after a thorough search and consideration, would, rather than lose his liberty, be bored through the centre of life with the fatal lead." A little later, the Edi-

Feb. 26. tor of the Gazette thus speaks of stamped newspapers, on receiving some from Halifax on the twenty-sixth of February: "The Publishers having, for the first time since November commenced, received several Halifax papers, with bloody-red Stamp on each, as terrible as death to Printers; being two daggers through a crown or under it, and the points toward the word America on the top, thought not proper to harbor such unwelcome guests; therefore immediately despatched them to the Committee of the True-born Sons of Liberty, to do with them as they may judge meet."*

Agreeably to previous arrangements, Liberty Tree was pruned by sev-



Feb. 14. eral carpenters, under the direction of a gentleman well skilled in that branch of horticulture. This was in pursuance of a vote of the Sons of Liberty, who likewise ordered a plate bearing a suitable inscription to be placed conspicuously upon the Tree.

* For the copy of a Stamp here given I am indebted to my distinguished antiquarian friend, the Rev. Joseph B. Felt. There were different stamps for the different amounts from a half-pence to £6. I have seen none exactly corresponding to that described in the above extract.

Feb. 20. The plate being ready on the twentieth of the same month, was with ceremony fixed in the place designed for it. The inscription was as follows: "This Tree was planted in the year 1646, and pruned by order of the Sons of Liberty, February 14th, 1766."

The same day had been fixed upon for burning one of the stamped papers in each of the principal towns in the several Colonies. Here the affair was made great account of. The pitiful Stamp was not thought sufficient to give importance to the Day, so fine Effigies of Grenville and Bute, in full court dresses, were prepared for the sacrifice.

The ceremony commenced "with great decency and good order. After parading the principal streets to the north part of the town, with the Pageantry in a cart, they returned to Liberty Tree; there giving three cheers, proceeded to the usual place of execution on Boston Neck, and at about one o'clock committed the Effigies, Stampt paper, &c., to flames under the gallows, amidst the loud acclamations of a great number of spectators, who immediately after dispersed." It is added: "The Sons of Liberty retired to their apartment in Hanover Square, where his Majesty's health was drank, and many other loyal toasts." This, indeed, was loyalty with a vengeance! Trampling the King's laws under foot, and burning his Prime Ministers in effigy!

Before proceeding to further and subsequent details, it will be well to pause, and to contrast in the mind the park of old elms in Hanover Square with the present appearance of the same corner where they stood. The name of Hanover Square was long ago discontinued for that locality, and about the same time it became covered with buildings. Those buildings had grown old in the days of the last generation, and their site became the property of a benevolent and public-spirited gentleman, who, in 1849, erected thereon a most substantial, as well as ornamental, block of stores. In speaking of that undertaking, that gentleman himself says, "I have caused to be sculptured, in bas-relief, a representation of this celebrated tree, with appropriate inscriptions, and have inserted it on that part of the building which fronts on Washington-street, and directly over the spot where the tree itself formerly stood."*

* Communication of the Hon. David Sears to the City Government, dated 29 September, 1849; which communication he thus commences: "I have the honor to inform you that the old buildings at the corner of Essex and Washington streets have been removed, and that an extensive block of warehouses is being erected in their places, to cover the whole front of my estate on those two streets. As this site is somewhat remarkable in the history of Boston, — it having sustained, and for more than a century nourished, a splendid American Elm, known and venerated as *Liberty Tree*, — the present seems a fit occasion to bring it to your notice."

Mr. Sears *supposes* Liberty Tree to have been planted in 1646, but, as will have been seen from the inscription copied in the text, the Sons of Liberty assure us it *was* planted in that year. They probably took pains to satisfy themselves with regard to the real date. The whole of Mr. Sears' communication is of great interest, and may be seen in Mr. Robert Sears' *Pictorial Illustrations* of the United States. It was also printed as a *City Document*.

One of the flags with which Liberty Tree used to be decorated, has been preserved, and was in possession of an aged citizen at the time of his death, which happened recently, at the age of 96; a namesake, though not a relative of the Patriot, Samuel Adams. — See *Hist. and Gen. Reg.* ix. 293.

Feb. 22. On the twenty-second, Capt. Elisha Thacher arrived from Jamaica. It was immediately circulated that he had on board Stamped Clearances. Accordingly, the Sons of Liberty issued a warrant to some of their fraternity to go and demand the same, and, when obtained, to bring them into King-street, and, at one o'clock, to burn them there.* It does not appear that Captain Thacher had any others of the Stamped Clearances except that which he used.

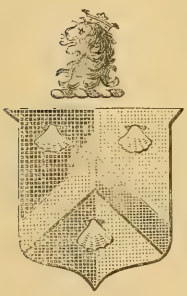
The person to whom the Warrant was directed, with such others as were deemed necessary, repaired with it to the designated vessel. On coming to it, the "officer" was told that Capt. Thacher had gone to the Custom-house, to which also proceeded the Pursuivants. Here they found the Captain, and demanded his Clearance; for which demand the above-named undoubted Warrant was produced. To this incontestable authority submission was at once granted, and the Stamped Clearance was delivered up. It was then fixed upon a pole, and solemnly taken into King-street. Here, at the lower end of the Court-house (formerly called the Town-house), were the Town Stocks. Into this engine of *justice* was put, not the *wicked* Stamped Clearance, but the pole to which it was fastened; and thus exposed the paper to public view until the time appointed for its execution. At one o'clock the Executioner read the warrant with an audible voice, and then took his *culprit* into the centre of the street. Then and there with a lighted match he set fire to one of the Stamp Acts, and with the flames issuing from it, burnt the "offspring of that hydra-headed monster," the Stamped Clearance; and, as the smoke from it was ascending, the Executioner pronounced the following memorable words: "Behold! the smoke ascends to heaven, to witness between the Isle of Britain and an injured people!" After which three cheers were given, and the multitude very quietly dispersed.

On the same day that Captain Thacher arrived, Captain James Kirkwood came in, in the ship Endeavor, from London. It was reported that he had Stamps on board. Therefore the proper Officers visited him to ascertain the foundation of the report. The Captain frankly declared he had no such article on board; and that, though that kind of freight had been offered him in London, he absolutely refused to take it. This the vigilant Officers did not think quite satisfactory; and the Captain, having offered to make oath to the truth of his assertion, was waited upon to the Court-house. There Mr. Justice Dana, who had officiated at Liberty Tree, administered the oath to Captain Kirkwood, in the presence of a great number of witnesses. The *solemnity* being finished, three cheers were given, and then the people went about their occasions.

* The *Warrant* is here given as a curiosity: "Boston, 24 Feb., 1766. To * * * * *. Monday, IX o'clock. — The Sons of Liberty being informed that a vessel has arrived here with Stamped Clearances, from Jamaica, desire that you would go and demand in their names those Marks of Creole Slavery; and when you have obtained them, commit [them] to the flames in King-street, this day at One o'clock; and for so doing this shall be your Warrant. Signed by order of the True-born SONS OF LIBERTY. M. Y., Sec."

CHAPTER LXXI.

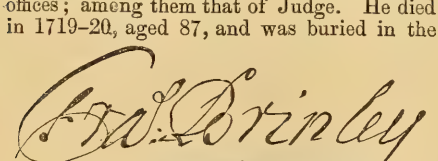
Stamp Act repealed. — Reception of the News. — Business revives. — Election. — Liberty Party Triumphant. — Case of Samuel Adams. — Celebration of the Repeal. — Obelisk on the Common. — Illuminations. — Celebrations in other Places. — Thanksgiving at the West Church. — General Thanksgiving. — Death of Dr. Mayhew — Of Zabdiel Boylston. — New Troubles in the General Court. — Its Debates opened to the Public. — Case of Mr. Hutchinson. — Fire at Mill Creek. — Anti-Slavery Movement. — Barré's Picture. — Gun House. — Neck Improvement. — Instructions to the Representatives. — Manufactures. — Brigadier Ruggles. — A Farmer's Letters. — Duck Manufacture encouraged. — Further Account of the Stamp Act Repeal Celebration. — Commissioners of Customs. — Opposition to the Revenue Laws.



BRINLEY.*

Mar. 18. ON the eighteenth of March, by the consent of the King, the Stamp Act was repealed,† and on the sixteenth of May‡ following, a copy of the Act of Repeal was received in Boston. Never before, or perhaps since, was any news received in the town which caused such enthusiastic joy among all classes. Indeed, the joy was universal throughout the British dominions; and was felt in greater sincerity and gladness than perhaps on any other occasion that can be remembered.§ This is easy to be believed, when it is considered that ships lay rotting at the wharves, and thousands of industrious people had been driven into idleness. From such a state to life and activity in a moment, as it were, was indeed ample cause for the ebullitions of joy which ensued. The newspapers were filled with

* *Arms* — Per chev. or and sa. Three escallop shells counterchanged. *Crest* — A lion's head az., crowned, or. The note on page 626, *ante*, should conform in its facts to this which follows. Col. Francis Brinley was born in London, 1690, and educated at Eton. He was the only son of Thomas, the only surviving child of Francis, of Newport, R. I., who was son of Thomas, Auditor General to Charles First and Second. Francis Brinley, of Newport, went to that town in 1652, about 14 years after its settlement, and held various offices; among them that of Judge. He died in 1719–20, aged 87, and was buried in the



King's Chapel burial-ground in Boston. His son Thomas resided in Boston, and was one of the founders of King's Chapel. He went to England in 1684, and married Catharine, dau. of John Page, of London. He died in that city in 1693, leaving a widow and two children, Elizabeth and Francis. These three, on invitation of Francis Brinley, of Newport, came to this country. Elizabeth married William Hutchinson, Esq., a grad. H. C. 1702. Francis was the Col. Brinley who died in 1765, first named above. His residence was in Roxbury, as mentioned on page 626, but there Datchet was misprinted *Dutchet*. His mansion was named Datchet from the house at that place in England.

† *Mass. Gazette and News-Letter*, 22 May, 1766.

‡ Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, iii., p. 147.

§ *Annual Register* for 1766, p. 46. "When the King went to the House of Peers to give the Royal assent, there was such a vast concourse of people huzzaing, clapping of hands, &c., that it was several hours before his Majesty could reach the House." — *Letter from London*. "In the evening a number of houses in London were illuminated, one in particular had 108 candles; that being the number of

advertisements of valuable wares, while notices of bankruptcies nearly ceased. Ships were promptly freighted, every one found advantageous employment, and the consequence was contentment and prosperity. The General Court was forward to show its confidence in the permanence of the state of things now commencing; as a proof of which the Manufactory House was ordered to be sold. It was described as "that large and beautiful building, with the land thereunto belonging, situate in Boston, opposite the public Granary, which, for several years past, has been improved in carrying on the Linen and Stocking business, and may with little expense be converted to some other public use; but as the Stamp Act is repealed, there will not be that occasion for it." But this was rather premature, as will hereafter be seen. The building was not sold, probably for want of a purchaser.

May 6. On the sixth of May was the annual election of Representatives; which resulted to the entire satisfaction of the "Sons of Liberty," who had now got everything their own way. The gentlemen chosen were James Otis, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and John Rowe. Samuel Adams had the greatest number of votes. Out of 746, the whole number cast, he had all but 55. Mr. Cushing had the next highest, Mr. Otis next, and Mr. Hancock next. And here it will be proper to remark respecting an imputation upon Samuel Adams made by Governor Hutchinson, namely, that Mr. Adams' conduct had not hitherto been honorable towards the Town in the office of Collector of Taxes. Whether the Historian made that insinuation out of malice, or upon some slight ground,* is safely left for the judgment of the reader; while he may consider that no charge of dishonesty was ever brought against Mr. Adams by the Town, but on the contrary he was continually advanced in office, until he was elevated to the highest station in the Commonwealth; and that at the very time he is said to be a defaulter, he was the most popular man in the Town, as by its voters has been shown.† The Land Bank affair had soured Mr. Hutchinson seriously with the father of Mr. Adams, and, on the death of the father, the son, in the course of his duties as his executor, fell under the same displeasure. Add to this that Mr. Adams was a leader in the political party opposed to the Government, of which Mr. Hutchinson was an important member.

Mr. Adams was one of the Collectors of Taxes in 1763 and 1764. In

the first majority in the House of Commons for the Repeal." — *Ibid.*

* There appears frequently upon the Town Records notice to the effect that the amounts given out for collecting to the officers performing the duty of Collectors, were not paid into the Treasury; and almost uniformly the reasons for such deficit were the inability of the Collectors to collect the dues assessed upon certain individuals. The same occurs at this day. Consequently the Collectors of that day frequently asked for more time to enable them to show lenity to poor tax-payers. This was Mr. Adams' case, and the amount of his *offence*.

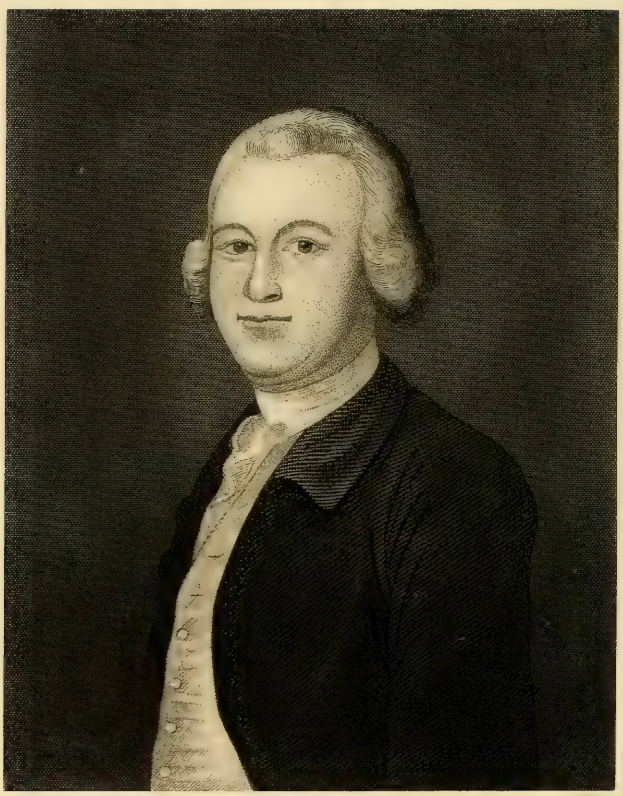
† Mr. Hutchinson may have taken his hint of a slur on Mr. Adams' reputation from some remarks contained in a series of grossly libellous letters written anonymously in Boston in 1774, in which every patriot opposed to the arbitrary government then exercised over the Colonies is slandered in the hottest fire of malignity. See pp. 9, 112—20, and elsewhere.

1765, a Committee reported respecting the state of the outstanding taxes; from which report it appeared that none of the five Collectors had settled up with the Treasurer. It was known that Mr. Adams was embarrassed in his affairs, and yet the Town chose him again this year (1765) a Collector, but he prudently declined the office. This was on the 27th of May. On the eighth of July Mr. Oxenbridge Thacher died, and a Representative was to be chosen in his place. A Town-meeting was called for the purpose on the 27th of September. There were four candidates, gentlemen of acknowledged worth and influence; Mr. Adams was elected. Then, at the annual election of Representatives on the sixth of the following May, he was rechosen, having a greater number of votes than either of the others, — even larger than Mr. Cushing, then considered the most popular man in Town.

At the Town-meeting in March, 1767, a vote was obtained to commence a suit against three of the Collectors, among whom was Mr. Adams; but at a subsequent meeting another vote was passed staying proceedings against him. And when an attempt was made to reconsider that vote, so well were the people satisfied that Mr. Adams' inability to meet his engagements arose from no dishonorable intention, that motion to reconsider was voted down by "a very great majority." Such were the grounds upon which Mr. Hutchinson made the injurious insinuation against a man he could in no other way injure. This kind of retaliation has been resorted to at all times, but it is a mode of warfare in which the party who employs it is, in the end, the sufferer. He who takes advantage of such misfortunes in his fellow-man is to be pitied for the malignity of his disposition.*

It is very true that Mr. Adams' concern was so great in public affairs, and so many duties of a public nature were imposed upon him, that he

* The scurrilous letters before referred to seem not to have been known to writers of later times; or, if known, they have been totally neglected by everybody except Mr. Hutchinson, and he did not venture to cite them as authority; being well aware that such authority would destroy his own. A few extracts from these letters may amuse the reader. Their extravagance defeats any harm which their writer might have intended, and renders them unworthy even of indignation. "A person who enlists with the Faction, though formerly a Tory, a Knave, or Atheist, instantly becomes a Whig, an honest man, and a Saint."—P. 9. "The merchants, not only of London, but over all the British dominions, strenuously exerted all their interest to obtain a repeal of the Stamp Act. To this they were principally excited by the piteous complaints of the Bostonians, who held forth to them fallacious views of emolument. Unhappily, their exertions were successful."—P. 37. "The Saints professing loyalty and godliness at Boston, send us, by every vessel from their port, accumulated proofs of their treasons and rebellions. That mighty wise patriot, Mr. John Hancock, from the Old South meeting-house, has lately repeated a hash of abusive treasonable stuff, composed for him by the joint efforts of the Rev. Divine Samuel Cooper, that Rose of Sharon, and by the very honest Samuel Adams, Clerk, Psalm-singer, purloiner, and curer of bacon. This great and honorable master Hancock is very well known in London to many; indeed, unfortunately for them, too well known. When he was in London about twelve years ago, he was the laughing-stock and the contempt of all his acquaintances." — "He kept sneaking about the Kitchen of his uncle's correspondent; drank tea every day with the housemaid, and on Sundays escorted her to White Conduit House," &c.— "The temper and abilities of the rebellious Saints in Boston are easily discoverable in Hancock's Oration, who, at his delivery of it, was attended by most of His Majesty's Council, the majority of the House of Representatives, the Selectmen, Justices of the Peace, and the rest of the rebellious herd of Calves, Asses, Knaves and Fools, which compose the Faction."—Pp. 103, 109. Other extracts may be given in the Appendix.



James Otis

was obliged to neglect his own, or, what he considered of much greater moment, the business of the country. There was scarcely an important Committee of the Town or General Court upon which he was not appointed; and he was not one to avoid the laboring oar, in whatever company he chanced to be. If an important letter was to be drafted, to be sent to officers or gentlemen in England, Mr. Adams was put upon the Committee who had the matter in charge. If a letter was to be written to a neighboring town, he was upon the Committee to do it, and of such there were not a few. Besides, the laborious Reports of the Committees are replete with the touches of his master hand.

At the same Town-meeting * (May sixth), Mr. Otis, the Moderator, communicated a very polite letter from the Right Hon. Gen. Conway, in which that gentleman signified his kind acceptance of the Address of Thanks from this Metropolis. He also intimated his intention of favoring the Town with his portrait. Of this mention has been made. The Hon. William Pitt was mentioned in connection with Barré and Conway as the "immortal Pitt," who, before his late secession from the ranks of the old Ministry, was denounced by the Sons of Liberty in no measured terms.† But he was now with them, so far as the Stamp Act was concerned, and as to his contradictory assertion, that "Parliament had the right to bind them in all cases whatsoever," that was left entirely out of the account, as not important to be considered under present circumstances.

May 16. The greatest anxiety had prevailed in the Town, and the master of every ship from a foreign port was eagerly inquired of before he could bring his vessel to the wharf, as to the fate of the Stamp Act. At length a brigantine hove to in the inner harbor. It was soon ascertained to be the Harrison, Capt. Shubael Coffin, about six weeks from London, whose good fortune it was to be the bearer of the "important account of the Repeal of the American Stamp Act." The enthusiastic joy with which the news was received has already been mentioned. It remains now only to be narrated what was done by the people of Boston to express their joy upon this great occasion.

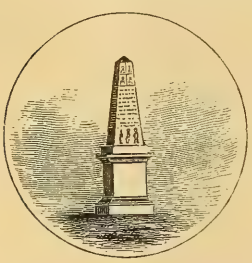
As soon as the news was spread, the bells in the different churches were set a ringing, "the ships in the harbor displayed their colors, guns were discharged in different parts of the Town, and in the evening several bonfires were kindled, and the night passed off with nothing

* Gordon gives the following humorous account of the way in which Mr. Hancock came first to be elected to the House of Representatives: "When the choice of members for Boston, to represent the Town in the next General Court, was approaching, Mr. John Rowe, a merchant, who had been active on the side of Liberty in matters of trade, was thought of by some influential persons. Mr. Samuel Adams artfully nominated a different one, by asking, with his eyes looking to Mr. Hancock's House, 'Is there not another John that may do better?' The hint took. Mr. John Hancock's uncle was dead, and had left him a very considerable fortune. Mr. Adams judged that the fortune would give credit and support to the cause of Liberty; the popularity would please the possessor; and that he might be easily secured by prudent management, and might make a conspicuous figure in the band of Patriots."

† In his own country, the great Statesman received the name of Mr. "*Turnover*" Pitt. At least, so Thomas Hollis styles him in a letter to the Rev. Andrew Eliot. — *Copies of MS. letters kindly loaned me by* Mr. John F. Eliot, of Boston, who possesses the originals, with other ante Revolutionary relics.

to mar the pleasures of the day. On the same day, in the afternoon, the Selectmen met in Faneuil Hall, and appointed Monday the 19th following for a day of general rejoicing. And in the mean while there were busy hands employed to produce a spectacle in a conspicuous place worthy of the event, and equally busy heads were at work to prepare devices suited to the handiwork.

May 19. The booming of cannon and ringing of bells broke the early stillness of the morning, and many of the houses in the Town, as well as the ships in the harbor, were set out with colors. The dawn of day was too tardy on this occasion, and the sound of the one o'clock bell had scarcely died on the air, when the bell of the Rev. Doctor Byles' Church, that being the nearest to Liberty Tree, began to ring. This was soon answered by the bells of Christ Church at the North End, and in a few minutes all the other bells in the Town were in motion. As soon as it was light enough to see, Hollis-street steeple was hung with banners, and Liberty Tree was decorated with flags and streamers, and the very tops of houses exhibited the same kind of plumage. Before two in the morning, music was played in the streets, drums were beat and guns fired. There were, at this time, many persons confined in jail for debt. The liberal-spirited Sons of Liberty were determined that they should share in the general joy ; they therefore paid the debts of the poor prisoners, and they were all set at liberty.* At one o'clock the guns of Castle William were fired, and that salute was immediately answered by the North and South batteries of the Town and also by those in Charlestown, the train of Artillery in Boston, and the ships in the Harbor.



As the evening closed in, the Town presented a most beautiful appearance, by a universal illumination of the houses. Fireworks of various kinds were played off in all directions. On the Common they were exhibited beyond anything of the kind hitherto known in New England. Here had been erected an Obelisk or Pyramid, four stories in height,† which was illuminated with two hundred and eighty lamps. On its top was "fixed a round box of fireworks horizontally." About one hundred yards from the Pyramid the Sons of Liberty erected a stage for the exhibition of their fireworks, which was near the Workhouse. In the Workhouse they entertained "the gentlemen of the Town." The elegant mansion-house of John Hancock, Esq., was brilliantly illuminated ; in front of which its liberal owner had a stage erected, from which fireworks were exhibited at his own expense, and which answered those of the

* This was done by a subscription commenced in the morning, said to have been set on foot by "a fair Boston Nymph." I should be very glad to know her name.

† So it appears in a print then published, but its dimensions in "long measure" I have not found stated. The only copy of the print ever heard of by the writer, belongs to his friend, Mr. John F. Eliot, which, with other curious matters relating to this period, he has kindly put into his hands. The small engraving above shows the Pyramid reduced.

Sons of Liberty on the Common, in front of the Workhouse. At the same time Mr. Hancock entertained in his house "the genteel part of the Town." He also treated the populace with a pipe of Madeira wine; and Mr. Otis, and some other gentlemen, who lived near the Common, kept open houses throughout the exhibition.

When the dusk of the evening began to be perceptible, the night's entertainment commenced with the projection of eleven rockets from each stage. The fireworks, thus begun, were kept up till eleven o'clock, and consisted of an extensive variety. The air was filled with rockets; the ground was covered with beehives and serpents, and the two stages with fire-wheels of various kinds. Precisely at eleven a signal was given to set in motion the crowning pyrotechny of the evening, which was the firing of the horizontal wheel upon the top of the Pyramid. The signal was a grand discharge of twenty-one rockets. When the brilliant wheel had nearly spent itself, it suddenly disappeared, taking the form of "sixteen dozen fiery serpents," which flew into the air in every direction.

How Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Oliver, and their immediate friends enjoyed this celebration, does not appear; but Governor Bernard invited his Council to meet him at the Province House on the afternoon of that day, and there they drunk His Majesty's health, and "many other loyal toasts;" after which they walked on the Common with the people, and expressed themselves highly gratified with the exhibition.* About midnight there was a signal given on the Common, and the beating of a drum was heard; whereupon the people at once retired to their own dwellings, the lights were extinguished, and the Town immediately became hushed "in an unusual silence."

It should be particularly stated that Liberty Tree did not bear its flags and streamers that night in the dark; and that, though the Pyramid on the Common was the great point of attraction, the Tree was not forgotten; but why it was particularly assigned to Mr. John Wilkes, is to be explained only by inference. However, lanterns to the memorable number FORTY-FIVE illuminated it for that time. Yet the next day the matter was reconsidered; it being thought, probably, that that glorious Tree had been treated unjustly; therefore it was determined to make it amends on the following night. Accordingly there were suspended throughout its wide-spread branches at evening one hundred and eight lamps; after the example, probably, of the house in London, before noticed. It is said that all the gentlemen in the Town contrib-

* To the credit of Mr. Bernard, it should be remembered, that he was always opposed to the Stamp Act, and strongly urged its repeal; and he was probably the only one among the Colonial Governors who did not advocate its enforcement. In a discussion with Lord Mansfield, Lord Camden made the following remarks respecting the Governor: — "That this great, good, and sensible man, of all the Governors on the Continent, had pointed out the inconvenience of the Stamp Act; that he had done his duty like a friend to his Country, and he should ever respect him." But a King's Governor in America was henceforth doomed to be an uncomfortable man; because there was a fixed determination to be dissatisfied with him, which had taken too deep root ever to be eradicated.

uted lanterns on this occasion,* and that the Tree was so full that it could hold no more. In some of the windows in the houses in that vicinity were suspended elegant transparencies, representing the King, "the immortal Pitt," Camden, Barré, and others.†



The Pyramid or Obelisk erected on the Common was only temporarily to remain there; and after the exhibition was over, it was to be removed and set up under Liberty Tree, "as a standing Monument of this glorious era;" but by some accident it took fire about one o'clock on the night of the celebration, and was consumed.‡ The four stories, or compartments, exhibited each four sides. The lower story or base was without ornaments, and is only described as "of the Doric order." The next was covered with what was then called hieroglyphics; § the next with ten verses each, and the last with four portraits each.‖ It is necessary to represent only the "hieroglyphics" by engravings, which the artist has done with great exactness, and of the same size as the original plate. The small pyramid shows the form of the whole structure, which, compared with the hieroglyphic cuts, an idea of the whole is had.



* If that report is strictly true, there were but 108 gentlemen in Boston at that time. Perhaps all the gentlemen who *had lanterns* would be nearer the truth; or perhaps, rather, the Gazette statement should be taken with allowance, for partaking a little of that extravagance for which the celebration was quite remarkable, and for which all parties are excusable.

† In the front windows of Capt. Dawes' and Mr. Thomas Symmes' house, appeared the portrait of Mr. Pitt, "as large as life," with this inscription:

"Hail, Pitt! Hail, patrons! pride of George's days!
How round the globe expand your patriot rays!
And the NEW WORLD is brightened with the blaze."

‡ From the print representing the structure before mentioned, no one would suppose it to have been erected on the Common; for it is entitled, "A View of the Obelisk erected under Liberty Tree in Boston on the Rejoicings for the Repeal of the Stamp Act 1766." This shows that the original intention of the Sons was to set it under Liberty Tree for a perpetual Memorial. It shows also that the print was finished and circulated before the day of celebration. At the foot of the plate is this dedication:—"To every lover of *LIBERTY*, this plate is humbly dedicated by her true-born *SONS*, in *BOSTON* New England." It was from a copper plate, in a corner of which is "Paul Revere Sculp." Where I have omitted punctuation in this description, it is to show that it was disregarded by the engraver.

§ These are thus described on the print:—"1st, America in distress, apprehending the total loss of LIBERTY. 2d, She implores the aid of her PATRONS. 3d, She endures the conflict for a short season. 4th, And has her LIBERTY restored by the Royal hand of George the Third."

‖ The poetry may be read in the *Massachusetts Gazette* Extraordinary, of 22 May, 1766.

The repeal of the Stamp Act was celebrated with great spirit in Charlestown, Cambridge, and all this vicinity; and, indeed, throughout the whole Country, and but few accidents are found recorded, and all those at a distance from Boston.



At the request of the Representatives and Counsellors, Governor Bernard appointed the twenty-fourth of July to be kept as a Thanksgiving; but the Society of the West Church could not wait for so remote a day, and they unanimously agreed to have their Thanksgiving on the twenty-third of May, and requested Doctor Mayhew, their pastor, to deliver a Sermon upon the occasion, which he accordingly did.* But the beloved pastor enjoyed the blessings of the repeal but a very brief period; for he died on the ninth of July following, sincerely mourned by innumerable friends in every walk of life.†



July 24. The Thanksgiving appointed by the Governor was duly observed. Among the Discourses on that day, one by Doctor Chauncey, of the First Church, was published, under a well-chosen title.‡ Doctor Stillman also published a discourse on the

or more conveniently, probably, in *Dealings with the Dead*. The portraits are generally tolerably good, judging by those we see in our days of the same characters. Above the head of each are the initials of the names of the persons intended to be represented, as follows: "D Y–k, M–q–s R–m, Q C, K G IIId, G–l C–y, L–d T–n, C–l B–e, W–m P–t, L–d D–h, A–n B–r[d ?], C–s T–d, L–d G–e S–k–e, Mr. DeB–t, J–n W–s, L–d C–n." As the import of these initials may not readily be made out by every reader, they here follow: Duke of York, Marquis of Rockingham, Queen Charlotte, King George III., General Conway, Lord Townshend, Colonel Barré, William Pitt, Lord Dartmouth, Alderman Beckford, Charles Townshend, Lord George Sackville, Mr. Dennis De Berdt, John Wilkes, Lord Camden.

* The discourse which he then delivered was printed, and is held in high estimation even at this day. It was dedicated "To the Right Honorable William Pitt, Esq.," "an illustrious Patron of America." It is entitled, — "The Snare Broken. A Thanksgiving Discourse," "occasioned by the Repeal of the Stamp Act." In it he happily described the condition the people were in before the repeal, and vividly contrasted it with that now entered upon. "It has at once," he said, "in a good measure restored things to order, and composed our minds; commerce lifts up her head, adorned with golden tresses, pearls and precious stones; almost every person you meet wears the smile of contentment and joy; and even our slaves rejoice, as though they had received their manumission." P. 23.

† See pages 602, 606, where are some notices of Dr. Mayhew. His death is thus announced in the Mass. Gazt. of July 10th: "Yesterday morning died, in the 46th year of his age, the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D. D., Pastor of the West Church in this Town. His funeral is to be attended to-morrow afternoon, *precisely* at 5 o'clock. It is requested the attendance be seasonable, that the procession may begin at the above hour." In the same paper of the following week there is a very full account of that estimable man.

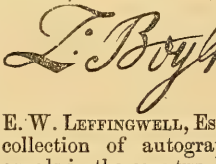
‡ A Discourse on "the Good News from a far Country."

repeal, but not on a Thanksgiving day, though it was earlier than either of the other two.

Alhough not in the order of time, it is not out of place to record the death of Dr. Zabdiel Boylston here. He was long a resident of Boston, but died in Brookline on the first day of March, at the advanced age of "near" eighty-seven years. His efforts and perseverance in the introduction of Inoculation, were only equalled by the success which attended them, and his name may, and doubtless will be, handed down to the remotest generations, as one of the greatest benefactors of the human race. A Street and a Market perpetuate his memory in the city; those monuments, however, from a knowledge of former proceedings of some in authority, may ere long be known only from the records of the past. Doctor Boylston, as was usual in his time, kept a medicine shop, was a large owner of real estate in the neighborhood of the street bearing his name. In 1724 he described it as a good and convenient garden, containing about twenty-seven acres, known by the name of Cole's Garden. The grandfather of Dr. Boylston came to New England in the year 1635, and settled in Watertown. His name was Thomas, who was son of Thomas Boylston, cloth-worker of London, who died about 1648, who had sons, John, a Doctor of Divinity, of Market Bosworth, the father of nineteen children; Thomas, who came to New England; Edward, who died unmarried, and Richard, who followed the occupation of his father.*

* Thomas Boylston, the cloth-worker of London, according to the researches of Dr. Henry Bond (in Watertown Genealogies), was son of Henry, of Litchfield, England, who had an estate at Weston in Staffordshire, and was brother of Boylston of Derbyshire. From the investigations of Mr. T. B. Wyman, Jr. (in Hist. and Gen. Reg., Watertown Genealogies), and other sources, that Thomas Boylston, the emigrant, was of Fenchurch-st., London, died at Watertown about 1653, aged about 38. He had children, Elizabeth, m. to John Fisher, who had sons Joshua and Daniel; Sarah, m. Thos. Smith, butcher of Charlestown; Thomas, chirurgeon of Muddy river, m. Mary, dau. of Thomas Gardner, and had, among others, Zabdiel, the great physician, the subject of this note. Thomas, the father, died before 16 Dec. 1696 (probate), aged about 51. Dr. Zabdiel was the 7th of 12 children. Peter, the 4th, m. Anne White; their dau. Susannah m. Deac. John Adams, father of President John Adams; another, Anne, m. Ebenezer Adams, brother of Deac. John, and was the ancestor of the late Dr. Zabdiel B. Adams, of Boston; Thomas, the 12th, and youngest brother of Dr. Zabdiel, merchant of Boston, m. Sarah Morecock, and had Thomas, also merchant of Boston, who died in London 30 Dec. 1798, whose sister Mary m. Benjamin Hallowell, and had 14 children, one of whom, Ward Nicholas, took the name of Boylston; another sister (dau. of Thomas and Sarah), Rebecca, m. Lieut. Gov. Moses Gill.

Dr. Zabdiel Boylston married, 18 Jan. 1706, Jerusha, dau. of John and Elizabeth (Breck) Minot, of Dorchester. She died at Brookline, of a cancer in her face, 15 April, 1764, in her 85th year. They had eight children; Zabdiel, H. C., 1724, died in England, unmarried; John, of Bath, England, d. there 1795, unmarried; Jerusha, m. Benj. Fitch; Thomas, physician, of Boston, m. Mary Coales; no children; Elizabeth, m. Gillum Taylor, of Boston. For a copy of the autograph of Dr. Boylston, I am indebted to E. W. Leffingwell, Esq., of New Haven, whose collection of autographs has probably few equals in the country.



The late Rev. Daniel Barber, a native of Simsbury, in Connecticut, made one of the besieging army before Boston in 1775. On attending the funeral of Adjutant Phineas Lyman Tracy (killed by a cannon-shot), who was buried in the Brookline burial-ground, he took notice of a grave with an ancient marble monument, from which he copied the following inscription: —

"Sacred to the memory of Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, Esq., physician and F. R. S., who first introduced the practice of Inoculation in America. Through a life of extensive benevolence, he was always faithful to his word, just in his dealings, affable in his manners; and after a long sickness, in which he was ex-

Notwithstanding the great joy which the repeal of the Stamp Act occasioned, there was scarcely any cessation of a kind of warfare between the heads of the two parties. And although it was well known that both Governor Bernard and Lieut. Governor Hutchinson had endeavored to bring about the Repeal; that it had been acknowledged in the highest places in England as it respected the former; and that the latter had drafted the Petition from the Council and House, in 1764, which essentially forwarded the desired measure; yet the Liberty Men would not allow that those efforts were meritorious, inasmuch as they solicited the object as a matter of favor, and not of right. In short, the whole is explained in a few words. The people said by their acts at least, "We will not have a King to rule over us." With this feeling, — and it was become almost universal, —the best Governors and Counsellors in the world, if placed in power by the King, could not have pleased them. Hence, every General Court, from this time until the King's power was finally annulled by the sword, was almost one continued scene of strife and contention.

May 28. The war in the General Court was commenced in the outset of the May session, apparently by the Governor himself; Mr. Otis, having been chosen Speaker, was negatived by him. In this he gained nothing, but lost much; for he was obliged to take one of the same party for the office, and that party retaliated by keeping Lieut. Governor Hutchinson and Secretary Oliver out of the Council. Thus the campaign was opened, but the details cannot be here entered into.

Before this session of the General Court, the debates and proceedings had not been open to the public. As great interest was felt by the people

June 12. in those proceedings, the Patriot party, taking advantage of their strength, ordered, "That the debates of this House be open, and that a gallery be erected for the accommodation of such as shall be inclined to attend them." Agreeably to this order the work was immediately commenced, and in a few days finished. This added popularity to an already popular party, and had the effect that was intended, namely, to forward the common cause of opposition to Government.

1767. Mr. Hutchinson by virtue of his office of Lieut. Governor took

Jan. 31. his seat at the Council Board, but the House were determined to expel him; and by a Resolve did expel him. The Resolve expressed, "That he, not being elected a Counsellor, had no right by the Charter to a seat" there, "with or without a voice, while the

March 5. Commander-in-Chief is in the Province." Five days after, the Council endorsed the proceedings of the House, and the Lieut. Governor submitted to the decision. This was not so much on account of ill-will to Mr. Hutchinson, though there was no lack of that,

emplary for his patience and resignation to his Maker, he quitted this mortal life, in a just expectation of a happy immortality, on the first day of March, A. D. 1766, aged eighty-seven years."

Mr. Barber made the above copy just fifty years after the death of Adj. Tracy, and published "The History of My own Times," Washington, D. C., 1827, 8vo. See Phelps' *Hist. Simsbury* for some account of the Barber family.

as it was to punish Governor Bernard for his repeated reprimands of all those who opposed his measures.

These decisions of the House and Council, however, were not submitted to by Mr. Bernard as they should have been, had he been disposed to show a magnanimity which common sense would certainly have dictated. But, instead of passing over and submitting quietly to what he knew he could not help or avoid, he directed Mr. Secretary Oliver to search the past records of the Government, to see if precedents could not be found whereby Mr. Hutchinson could be reinstated.* This had no other effect but to keep alive animosities and strengthen opposition to his own measures.

Feb. 10. About ten o'clock in the evening of February third, a fire broke out in Mr. Bray's bakehouse, adjoining Mill Creek, by which were consumed upwards of twenty houses. It passed over the Creek, taking the houses in Perraway's or Ball's alley, now Centre-street, and about seventeen of the houses burned were on the north side of the Creek.

March 16. The Representatives of the Town in the General Court had been instructed in May last to advocate the total abolition of

* As the Report made by Mr. Oliver is a document of considerable historical value, the substance of it is here given : — "I have examined the Records from the year 1692 until this time, and cannot find that more than six gentlemen have been commissioned by the Crown since the present Charter, viz., William Stoughton, Esq., Thomas Povey, Esq., William Tailer, Esq., William Dummer, Esq., Spencer Phipps, Esq., and Thomas Hutchinson, Esq. When Sir Wm. Phipps arrived with the Charter, in May, 1692, in that Charter 28 persons were appointed Counsellors or Assistants. Mr. Stoughton was not one of them. Counsellors to take the oath before the Governor, or Lieutenant or Dep. Governor, or any two of the Council authorized by the Governor. At the first Assembly, on the 8th of June, 1692, Lieut. Governor Stoughton was present in Council. The Governor appointed the Lieut. Governor, attended by the Secretary, to administer the oaths to the Representatives. Mr. Stoughton generally sat in Council that year. He was continued one of the 28 Counsellors or Assistants, by election, till his death in 1701, although Commander-in-Chief, also, the greater part of the time. In 1702 Thomas Povey succeeded Mr. Stoughton as Lieut. Governor. Mr. Povey never was elected a Counsellor. He came over with Gov. Dudley, and returned to England in 1705. He was always present in Council during his stay. In June, 1711, the Hon. Francis Nicholson, Esq., was present in Council; his name being entered next to Gov. Dudley for five successive days. There is no mention of a Lieut. Governor being in the Province after Mr. Povey left it, till 17 Oct., 1711, when William Tailer, Esq. appears as Lieut. Governor. The next day he was present in Council, without the Governor; but he was not of the Council in 1711. The next year he was chosen a Counsellor, and continued to be till 1716, when Mr. Dummer was commissioned Lieut. Governor. Nov. 7, 1716, Gov. Shute opened his Commission, and Mr. Dummer was present in Council, and generally throughout the year, though not a member. In 1717, 18, 19, and 20, Mr. Dummer was elected into the Council. In 1721 and 22, though not elected, he frequently sat in Council. Mr. Shute left in Dec., 1722, and Mr. Dummer succeeded as Commander-in-Chief, and so continued till July, 1728, when Mr. Burnet came. Mr. Dummer sat in Council but a few days after Gov. Burnet's arrival. On 30 June, 1730, Col. Tailer opened the Session of the Gen. Court. In Aug. Gov. Belcher arrived, after which Mr. Tailer sat in Council a few days only, and died in the latter end of 1731, or beginning of 1732. He was succeeded by Spencer Phipps, Esq., as Lieut. Governor. Mr. Phipps died in April, 1757, and was succeeded by Mr. Hutchinson the same year, in which he has ever since continued, and was then of the Council, and has ever since been annually elected. It was mentioned that Gov. Belcher denied the right of a Lieut. Governor to sit in Council, and that he excluded Col. Tailer and Col. Phipps from the Board. Concerning which I am informed by Mr. Boardman, son-in-law to Mr. Phipps, that they both complained of it as a grievance; and that Mr. Phipps in particular would never afterwards make his appearance on any public occasion, as he could not do it in character." *Dated* 6 *Feb.*, 1767.

Slavery in the Province. At the Town-meeting on the sixteenth of March, the question came up, as to whether the Town would adhere to that part of its Instructions, and it passed in the affirmative.*

At the same meeting, a vote passed to illuminate Faneuil Hall on the eighteenth of March, in commemoration of the repeal of the Stamp Act, which the Selectmen were requested to see carried into effect, and also "to make provision for drinking the King's health."

May 8. At the May meeting of the Town, a letter was ordered to be written to Colonel Barré, informing him that his Picture had been received and placed in Faneuil Hall. Town-meetings of this period were called at nine o'clock in the morning, and the people were duly notified that "the Poll for the choice of Representatives would be closed at twelve o'clock, and a strict scrutiny would be made as to the qualification of voters." And, on the notifications was printed, "A person entitled to vote must have a freehold of forty shillings per annum, or other estate worth forty pounds sterling." Notifications were posted six days before the day of meeting.

July 13. The Gun-House on the Common was ordered to be repaired, and enlarged if necessary, "for the reception of the Artillery lately given by the Province for the use of the Boston regiment."

Sept. 10. On the tenth of September died Jeremy Gridley, Esq., the Attorney General of the Province, a preëminent lawyer. He has been mentioned before as the Editor of the Rehearsal, the instructor of James Otis in his legal studies, and as Grand Master in the Society of Free Masons. Major General Richard Gridley, distinguished at Louisbourg, was his brother. He was Colonel of the first regiment of Boston, at the time of his death, and his age was about sixty-three.

Oct. 9. Mr. Edward Payne, Benjamin Kent, Esq., Thomas Dowse, Esq., Melatiah Bourne, Esq., Jonathan Williams, Esq., Mr. John Boylston, and Col. John Hill, were a Committee "to take measures to make the entrance into the Town near the Fortifications more respectable."

Dec. 22. At the adjourned Town-meeting on the twenty-second of December, Instructions to the Representatives were reported and adopted. From these Instructions it appears that the restraint which the people had voluntarily imposed upon themselves, of abstaining from superfluities, had been entirely thrown off on the repeal of the Stamp Act. "It is with concern," say the Instructions, "we are obliged to say, that under all this difficulty our private debts to the British merchants have been increasing; and our importations, even of superfluities, as well as other articles, have been so much beyond the

* The Bostonians are thus reproached in the anonymous letters before cited: — "What! cries our good people here, 'Negro slaves in Boston! It cannot be.' It is nevertheless true. For though the Bostonians have grounded their rebellion on the 'immutable laws of nature,' yet, notwithstanding their resolves about freedom in their Town-meetings, they actually have in town 2000 Negro slaves." Page 38—9. That writer's extravagance, in stating the number of slaves in Boston in 1774, shows him to have written with but a shadow of a regard to truth. He may be right as to the move for the abolition of slavery.

bounds of prudence, that our utmost efforts, it is to be feared, will not save us from impending ruin. At the same time our trade, by which alone we are enabled to balance our accounts with Great Britain, is almost every branch of it burthened with duties and restrictions, whereby it is rendered unprofitable to us, and is, indeed, in danger of being totally obstructed and ruined. In such a deplorable situation, we warmly recommend to you, gentlemen, to exert yourselves in promoting every prudent measure which may be proposed to put a stop to that profusion of luxury, so threatening to the Country ; to encourage a spirit of industry and frugality among the people, and to establish manufactures in the Province." The Instructions also urged upon the attention of the Representatives the necessity of restraining the excessive use and consumption of spirituous liquors among the people ; "as destructive to the morals as well as the health and substance of the people." They further say, "As we have nothing more at heart than to maintain a lasting and perpetual friendship and union with the people of Great Britain, who are our fellow-subjects, we rely upon it, that you will at all times readily join in any measures tending to cultivate and establish it ; using your best endeavors to circumvent and frustrate the designs of those who would create jealousies and foment divisions between us." They were enjoined also to inspect the Acts of Parliament, to see if any such were passed binding on the Colonies, that timely measures might be adopted to remedy any inconvenience arising therefrom, "as we are not, and cannot be, represented in the Parliament which passeth such laws."

The establishment of manufactures came up in due course in the General Court, and Brig. Timothy Ruggles, of Hardwick, was the only member who voted against such establishment.* The Boston delega-
1768. tion were particularly sensitive with regard to the course of Mr
Feb. Ruggles, who handed in his reasons for his vote in writing ; and, when the question was put for entering those reasons on the Journal, it passed in the negative. The linen manufactory, which had been discontinued in the Town, was again attempted to be established.

A series of twelve interesting and able letters appeared in the vari-
March 14. ous newspapers of the day, signed "A Farmer." At the Town-meeting on the fourteenth of March, the subject of those letters was taken up. It was voted "that the thanks of the Town be given to the ingenious Author of those letters, published in Philadelphia and in this place ; wherein the rights of the American subjects are clearly stated and fully vindicated ; and Dr. Benjamin Church, John Hancock, Esq., Mr. Samuel Adams, Dr. Joseph Warren, and John Rowe, Esq., were appointed a Committee to prepare and publish

* This gentleman made himself unnecessarily obnoxious to the Liberty party. Afterwards, when the subject of sending Representatives to Parliament was debated in the General Court, while Mr. Otis was urging the inseparability of representation and taxation, Mr. Ruggles interrupted him by the sneering remark, that when Representatives were to be sent, he wished to have the privilege of recommending a merchant who would carry them to England for half what they would sell for when they got there.

a letter of thanks accordingly." It does not appear from the records, that the name of the Author of the since celebrated letters was at that time known. It proved to be John Dickinson, Esq., of Delaware, who was the Samuel Adams of the Middle States.

March 14. At the same Town-meeting, the subject of manufactures was brought forward, and a large Committee * appointed to procure subscriptions for the encouragement of the manufacturing of Duck, lately established in the Town by John Barret, Esq. Mr. Gawen Browne was encouraged to exhibit at this meeting "the frame and principal movements of a new and curious Town-clock," which he had manufactured.†

The Selectmen chosen were Joseph Jackson, Samuel Sewall, John Ruddock, John Hancock, William Phillips, Timothy Newell, and John Rowe. Sewall, Phillips, and Newell, resigned after having entered upon their duties, and Joshua Henshaw, Samuel Pemberton, and Henderson Inches, were elected in their stead.

March 18. On the eighteenth of the same month the repeal of the Stamp Act was celebrated "by a large company, who met at the British Coffee-house, and Col. Ingersoll's in King-street." In the evening a great body of people assembled, and attempted to kindle a bonfire, but were prevailed upon by some influential gentlemen to desist, and they desisted accordingly. In the morning of the same day there were found suspended on Liberty Tree two Images; one represented a certain Commissioner, and the other, one of the Inspectors. These were taken down without opposition; being done by two or three gentlemen, well-known friends of Liberty.‡

The progress of the schemes, which finally resulted in the Acts of Parliament for raising a revenue in the Colonies by imposts; the gradual and artful plans for rendering the Governments in them entirely independent of the people; the Act creating a Board of Commissioners to carry into effect the new revenue laws; and the Act for quartering troops among the people, for the evident purpose of overawing them into a submission to these arbitrary and iniquitous measures; all impor-

* The Committee consisted of Ebenezer Storer, Benj. Austin, Wm. Whitwell, Thos. Daws, Joseph Waldo, Moses Gill, Saml. Austin, Wm. Greenleaf, Wm. Gray, Saml. Partridge, Nathl. Barbour, and John Ballard. At the meeting on the 11th of May, the Committee reported that they had not met with the encouragement anticipated; had got but £150 subscribed, which was only one half of what was required. They were requested to renew their efforts, and to report at a future time.

† Mr. Browne was an inhabitant of the Town. It is said, in a description of his Clock, that "the two great wheels took near 90 lb. weight of cast brass. It was calculated for 8 days, to show the hours and minutes; to have three great dials, and a mechanic lever to preserve the motion during the winding-up. The pendulum wheel and plates to perform the dead beat." Its "mathematical pendulum" was so contrived that it could be "altered the 3500th part of an inch, while the clock is going."

‡ The Governor had heard that an Effigy demonstration was in preparation. "On the very day before," he says, "I spoke with the most knowing men I could procure, who were very positive no Effigies would be hung up, and yet late that evening I had certain advice that Effigies were prepared, but it was too late to do anything. Early the next morning the Sheriff came to me to inform me that Effigies of Mr. Paxton and Mr. Williams were hanging upon Liberty Tree." — Bernard's *Letter to Shelburne*, 19 Mar., 1768.

tant affairs for understanding the true character of the American Revolution, which was the immediate consequence of them, are the concerns of the general history of the Colonies, and cannot be fully considered, even in the most important section of them.

But as the Board of Commissioners here necessarily referred to had its head-quarters in Boston, and as the acts of those composing that Board led to serious difficulties in the Town shortly after, the following details cannot be dispensed with in this place.

Mr. Charles Paxton had left for England, for the express purpose, no doubt, of causing the commission to be located in Boston, and for being himself placed in it. He succeeded in his design.* The Board consisted of Charles Paxton, Henry Hulton, William Burch, John Temple,† and John Robinson, Esquires. The two last named were already in this country, and the other three arrived in the beginning of November, 1767. These appointments were made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a situation given him on his pledging himself to raise a revenue in America. But he did not live to see the mischief his undertaking brought upon the two countries, for he died on the fourth of September, 1767, at the early age of forty-two.

The sure effect of enforcing the new revenue laws was to revive smuggling in one quarter, and in another the non-importation system.
Oct. 28. The latter was immediately entered upon; first in a private club of gentlemen in the Town, and not long after in open Town-meeting. Thus measures were agreed upon, by which industry, economy, and manufactures, should be promoted. Committees and subscription papers were set on foot to carry out these objects.‡ At first they did not meet with the success anticipated. Many were inclined to submit to the new order of things, rather than to incur the dangers which they imagined awaited such an opposition. The repetition of the scenes of the Stamp-Act tragedies were certainly to be
Nov. 20. avoided. Besides, Mr. Otis was against the measure; and in a Town-meeting in November, 1767, spoke pointedly against it; for at that time Boston stood almost alone. However, when about two months after, it was found that Connecticut and New York

* "Mr. Paxton, thought to be the most plausible and insinuating of mankind, though not the most sincere, had free access to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Charles Townshend. It is said that he whined, cried, professed, swore, and made his will in favor of that great man; and then urged the necessity of an 'American Board of Commissioners,' and his having a seat at it." — Gordon.

† Mr. Temple, by his temperate and careful conduct, escaped the troubles which fell upon his companions in office. He was Surveyor General before made a Commissioner, and it was well known that he did not approve of a Board of that kind, but was contented with his former office.

‡ The gentlemen appointed to obtain subscriptions were John Rowe, Wm. Greenleaf, Melatiah Bourne, Samuel Austin, Edward Payne, Edmund Quincy, third, John Ruddock, Jonathan Williams, Joshua Henshaw, Henderson Inches, Solomon Davis, Joshua Winslow, and Thomas Cushing. By the terms of subscription, the subscribers were to encourage the use and consumption of all articles manufactured in any of the British American Colonies, and more especially in this Province, and after the 31st of Dec. next, not to purchase certain specified articles imported from abroad; also to adhere strictly to the late regulations respecting funerals. Copies of these terms were sent to every town in the Province, and to the principal towns in the other Provinces.

had come out in favor, and that Newport and Providence were with them, the Bostonians renewed their efforts to organize the non-importation system. They were much encouraged by letters from merchants in Philadelphia. It was said in that city, "If America is saved from its impending danger, New England will be its acknowledged guardian."

CHAPTER LXXII.

The Boston Chronicle. — Eminent Strangers. — The King's Birthday celebrated. — Frigate. — Impressment Case. — Wine Seizure. — Capt. Marshall. — Capt. Malcom. — Officers of the Customs mobbed. — Flight of Commissioners. — Town-meeting. — James Otis. — Committee wait on the Governor. — Military Forces expected. — Position of Governors and Governed. — Resistance of the People feared. — Rescinding Troubles. — Lady Frankland. — The King's Governor a Soldier of Fortune. — Troops ordered. — Convention of Towns. — A Tar-Barrel. — Inhabitants advised to arm. — Arrival of Troops.



SEARS.*

FOR above ten years there had not been any new newspaper started in Boston. There were regularly issued during that period four weekly papers, namely, the News-Letter, the Evening Post, the Gazette, and the Advertiser or Post-boy. On the 21st of December, 1767, John Mein, a bookseller, and John Fleeming, a printer, commenced the publication of a fifth paper, which they called the Boston Chronicle. It was a model paper, as to size,† being in quarto, though printed on a whole sheet demi. The publishers continued it in this form for one year,

* The immediate ancestry of the Searses in New England were of Colchester in Essex, Old England. Richard, son of John Bourchier Sears, of Colchester, arrived in Plymouth, N. E., May 8th, 1630. He married Dorothy Thacher, and was seated at Yarmouth, of which he was some time a Representative in the Old Colony Legislature; dying in 1676, leaving three sons. Knyvet, the oldest, made two voyages to England to recover his paternal estates, but, dying there in 1686, those estates were not only lost to his family, but the evidences of their right to them also. He died at the residence of his relative, Catherine Knyvet, daughter of Sir John Knyvet, who afterwards married Lord Berners. Knyvet Sears left by wife Elizabeth (Dimoke) sons Daniel and Richard. The former, born 1682, settled at Chatham, and had by wife Sarah (Hawes), Daniel, Richard and David. The two last were slain in the battle of Culloden; the former (Daniel), born 1712, inherited the estates of his father, and by his wife, Fear (Freeman), had sons Richard, David and Daniel. David, the second son, settled in Boston, became an opulent merchant of the highest respectability; married, in 1786, Anna, dau. of John Winthrop, Esq., and had one son, the present Hon. David Sears, whose liberal benefactions on various occasions would be an enviable memorial to any citizen of a Metropolis renowned for generous sons. The mansion of Mr. Sears, fronting the northerly side of the Common, built upon land once owned by John Singleton Copley, is one of great beauty, displaying a taste for permanence and comfort, rather than for show and ornament, and of which there is a good engraving.

† It is to be lamented that the taste of this age for large newspapers is so entirely destruc-

and then issued it in a crown folio size, and published it twice a week, which was the first semi-weekly paper in New England. It was a valuable and impartial paper for the first year, but the next year it lost its popularity by taking up the cause of the Mother Country, and was suspended on the 25th of June, 1770.

May 20. On the twentieth of May, came in the ship London Packet, Capt. Robert Calef, from London, with whom came passengers, Commodore Joshua Loring,* and the Rev. Samson Occum, a Mohegan Indian. Mr. Occum had been about two years in England, collecting money for the benefit of Moore's Indian Charity School, at Lebanon, in Connecticut, now under the charge of the Rev. Eleazer Wheelock. He is said to have been the first Indian preacher in Europe.†

May 26. At the meeting of the General Court the Hon. Thomas Cushing was elected Speaker, and Samuel Adams, Esq., Clerk. The Governor negatived six of the Councillors, among whom are the historical names of James Otis, John Hancock and Artemas Ward.‡

June 4. The fourth of June being the King's thirty-first birthday, it was celebrated with much spirit. At sunrise the flags were displayed at Castle William, and each of the Town Batteries, and at twelve o'clock the guns of those forts were discharged, and also those of the frigate Romney, then in the harbor. The Governor's troop of guards under Col. Phipps, the regiment of the Town, under Col. Jackson, with the train of Artillery, under Capt. Paddock, all mustered in King-street, where the troop and regiment fired three rounds, and the artillery responded with their "new pieces." §

One irritating circumstance after another transpired, and at brief

tive of their preservation. Instead of increasing their number of pages, nearly all publishers have the propensity to increase the size of their sheets; under the erroneous notion, probably, that their importance or circulation depends upon an immense broadside display. The consequence is, such papers stand hardly any chance of being preserved; and, if preserved, they are so unwieldy, they cannot be consulted except at extreme inconvenience. Almost every important paper of this day is printed upon an overgrown sheet, and hence scarcely any of them will reach another age; while the little papers, before the Revolution, will remain as sparkling pages of the history of the world. The New York Tribune, and a few others, are tolerable exceptions to the unwieldy, unpreservable papers of our age. Some of these will be preserved, and cordially greeted in other days, while the more pretending sheets will sink into oblivion from their own weight, and be known only by name.

* A son of the Commodore, Joshua Loring, Jr., Esq., was here the next year, having been appointed "permanent High Sheriff of Massachusetts." He married a Miss Lloyd, 19 Oct., 1769. The wedding was at Col. Hatch's, in Dorchester. Sir John Wentworth Loring, b. 13 Oct., 1775, was his son. Another son, Henry Lloyd, died Archdeacon of Calcutta, in 1832.

† The author of the scurrilous letters before cited has a good deal to say about Mr. Occum and his mission; also about those who accompanied him. "The money-collecting expedition of the Rev. triumvirate, the two white parsons and the black one, sooty Mr. Occum. The latter was fitted out by that wise head of the faction, Mr. Hancock, who also complimented him with the use of the cabin of one his vessels bound to England." — Page 102.

‡ Another, Mr. Jerathmeel Bowers, of Swanzey, for whom the author of the anonymous letters seems to have had a particular hatred. — See pages 112–13.

§ These "new pieces" were, I presume, the three-pounders, brought from London in the brigantine Abigail, Capt. James Harding Stevens, who arrived with them about the 1st of February. They were of brass, and had been cast for the Town, from two old cannon sent over by the General Court for that purpose. Upon them were engraved the arms of the Province.

intervals. The frigate Romney, of fifty guns, Capt. John Corner, lately arrived from Halifax, was the station-ship, at this time, which lay moored in the harbor.* Some men had been pressed from several vessels into the ship's service, by his orders, on his passage from Halifax. However, when visited by a deputation of gentlemen,† he was found so conciliatory and agreeable, that the affair passed off much more quietly than was anticipated. But the class of people from among whom the impressments were made were much incensed, and the merchants believed the Romney had been sent for by the Commissioners to compel them to submit to the revenue laws.

June 10. Soon after, a sloop belonging to John Hancock, Esq., bearing the unfortunate name of "The Liberty," arrived loaded with wine from Madeira. As she was lying at Hancock's wharf, on Friday, the tenth of June, the Tidewaiter, Thomas Kirk, went on board, and was followed by Capt. John Marshall, — who commanded Mr. Hancock's ship, the London Packet, — with five or six others. These persons confined Kirk below, and kept him some three hours; and in the mean while the wine was taken out, and no entry made of it at the Custom-house or Naval Office. The next morning, the master, Mr. Nathaniel Barnard, entered, it is said, four or five pipes of wine, and made oath that that was all he brought into port. It was therefore resolved to seize the sloop upon a charge of false entry. Accordingly, Mr. Joseph Harrison, the Collector, and Benjamin Hallowell, the Comptroller, repaired to Hancock's wharf. It was now between six and seven o'clock in the evening, and Mr. Harrison objected to making the seizure, as it was so late in the day; probably fearing some disturbance, as laboring people were just relieved from their daily employments, and had begun to be numerous in the streets.‡ However, the seizure was made, and Mr. Harrison proposed to let the sloop lie at the wharf for the night, supposing she might do so without interference, "the broad arrow" being upon her. But Mr. Hallowell, judging from his former experience that the affair might not pass without trouble, decided that it was best to move the sloop under the guns of the Romney. Signals were therefore made for the frigate's boats to come to the place. A considerable number

* When a former Commander left this station, about the 1st of Dec., 1766, the Town appointed a Committee to wait upon him with expressions of gratitude for his kindness in the discharge of his duties. The Committee was composed of Samuel Adams, John Rowe, and John Hancock. The following preamble prefaced a vote of thanks: "Whereas John Lewis Gideon, Esq., Commander of His Majesty's ship Jamaica, has, upon all occasions during his station here, for about three years past, discovered a readiness to do everything in his power for promoting the interests of the Province and Town in particular, and by his behavior and good services has given great satisfaction to the Town." Therefore voted, etc.

† Royal Tyler, Esq., one of the Council, was of the Committee; they made their report to the Town on the 16th of June. Capt. Corner gave his word that no one should be pressed belonging to, or who were married in, this Province; nor any employed in the trade along shore or neighboring Colonies.

‡ Hutchinson says that the wine taken from the vessel was carted through the streets in the night; and, though it was notorious to a great part of the Town, no officer of the Customs thought fit to attempt a seizure; nor is it probable he could have succeeded, if he had attempted it, as it was guarded by 30 or 40 stout fellows armed with bludgeons. There are some discrepancies in the accounts.

of people had by this time been attracted to the wharf, and some one among them cried out that there was no occasion for the vessel's removal, that she would be safe where she was, that no officer had any right to remove her. But the Romney's boats arrived, cut the sloop's moorings, and carried her off, though at much peril and with no little difficulty.

The gathering upon the wharf was now increased to a Mob ; many of whom, not understanding what was done, supposed there had been another impressment affair, and hence were furious ; swore vengeance and destruction to the oppressors, as nearly all connected with the Government were called. Ill-temper and a spirit of revenge once engendered are easily transferred from an imaginary object to a real one. Hence, when it became known that a vessel of a popular citizen had been seized by order of the new Commissioners, the fury of the Mob was as great as it was under the supposition before mentioned. In this state of exasperation they fell upon the officers, several of whom barely escaped with life. Among the numerous missiles thrown at Mr. Harrison was a brick or stone, which struck him on the breast ; from the effects of which he was confined to his bed. His son, Mr. Richard Acklom Harrison,* was thrown down, dragged by the hair of his head, and otherwise barbarously treated. Mr. Hallowell and Mr. Irving,† Inspectors, did not fare much better. The former was confined to his house from the wounds and bruises he received ; and the latter, besides having his sword broken, was beaten with clubs and sticks and considerably wounded. The Mob next proceeded to the house of Mr. John Williams, the Inspector General, broke his windows, and also those of the house of the Comptroller, Mr. Hallowell. They then took the Collector's boat, and dragged it to the Common, and there burnt every fragment of it. ‡ This was the end of Friday night's proceedings ; and, as Saturday and Sunday evenings were sacred, things remained quiet during those evenings.

In the mean time the community were surprised on hearing of the death of Capt. Marshall, the popular master of the London Packet, who died the same night of the riot at Hancock's wharf, and it is said his death was caused by the over-exertions which he made in removing the wine from the sloop Liberty.

The most conspicuous man on the part of the Mob was Captain Daniel Malcom, a trader in Fleet-street, who, it is said, was deeply interested in the wines attempted to be smuggled. The Revenue officers knew him well, and owed him no good-will for very *good*

* He was not one of the officers of the Revenue, but was accompanying his father in his official duties.

† His name is about as often found spelled *Irving* as *Irvine*. Governor Bernard has it both ways in his letters. He was not concerned in the seizure of the sloop.

‡ This was a pleasure-boat of Mr. Harrison, "built by himself in a particular and elegant manner." The boat-burners "got some rum, and attempted to get more ; if they had procured it in quantity God knows where this fury would have ended ! " — *Letter of Gov. Bernard.*

reasons; for some eighteen months before they undertook to search his premises for contraband goods, but were obliged to retreat before deadly weapons, without effecting their object; and, from his manner and that of those about him, the Officers did not think it safe or prudent to attempt again to renew the search. On the occasion of the seizure of the Liberty, he headed the party of men who exerted themselves to prevent her removal to the Romney.* This affair was said by the principal gentlemen of the Town to have been greatly misrepresented by the Governor, who took measures to procure *ex parte* depositions relative to it. The deponents mentioned were Stephen Greenleaf, the Sheriff of the County, William Sheaff, Deputy Collector of the Customs, and Benjamin Hallowell, Comptroller. These depositions, it was believed, were taken for the express purpose of being sent to the Ministry. Therefore a Town-meeting was called to take the matter into consideration. The Town met accordingly on the eighth of October, 1766, and appointed James Otis, Joseph Jackson, John Hancock, William Phillips, Timothy Newell, John Rowe, Samuel Adams, and Joshua Henshaw, a Committee to wait on the Governor "to desire copies" of those depositions. The Committee immediately waited upon his Excellency, and in the afternoon of the same day reported to the adjourned meeting that they were informed by him, "that by order of Council said depositions were to be kept secret; but he would comply if so ordered by said Council." Copies of the depositions were finally obtained, and measures taken to counteract their ill effect in England. †

June 13. The Commissioners had thus far escaped the resentment of the people, so freely dealt out to the officers acting under them; but, feeling no security in their own houses, they fled during the riot to those of their friends.‡ These, they soon had intimations, were very insecure retreats, and they informed the Governor early on Monday morning that they were going on board the Romney,§ and requested

* Daniel Malcom, John Matchet, Captain Hopkins, and others, said the sloop should not be taken into custody; and declared they would go on board and throw the people belonging to the Romney overboard. — *Deposition of Benj. Hallowell, Jr., before Edmund Quincy, J. P.* Gov. Bernard said of Captain Malcom, "This man was thought a fit person to be upon a Grand Jury before whom his own Riots were to be inquired into; who, having twice in a forcible manner set the laws at defiance with success, has thereby raised himself to be a Mob Captain." — *Letter to Hillsborough.* Like his friend Marshall, Malcom did not long survive these scenes. He died Oct. 23d, 1769, in his 44th year. He was by birth, I believe, an Irishman.

† At a Town-meeting on the 22 Oct., 1766, soon after the affair with Malcom, a Committee was appointed to write to the Agent of the Town in London, Dennis De Berdt, Esq., to prepare him to meet the charges contained in the Government depositions and other documents which might accompany them.

‡ In writing to the Earl of Shelburne, of date 19 March, 1768, Mr. Bernard says, on one occasion, "A number of lads, about 100, paraded the Town with a drum and horns, passed by the Council Chamber whilst I was sitting there in Council, assembled before Mr. Paxton's house, and huzzaed, and to the number of at least 60 lusty fellows invested Mr. Burch's house for some time, so that his lady and children were obliged to go out at the back door to avoid the danger which was threatened. This was, I think, on March the 4th."

§ It appears from the letters of Gov. Bernard that the Commissioners went on board the Romney on Saturday evening following the

an order from him to be received into the Castle, which his Excellency gave them; also informing them that he could not protect them. Shortly after, they were conveyed in boats to that fortress, where they remained for a long time; yet they went and came at their pleasure, and were not molested.

At the time of their escape on board the Romney, the people were assembling in different parts of the Town, apparently under some organization for further movements against the officers of the Customs, and particularly against the Commissioners, as was supposed; but, as the latter had escaped, and the others were mostly concealed, no further violence was attempted. This state of things, perhaps, induced the leaders of the people to post up notices * calling for a meeting of the Sons of Liberty the next day at ten o'clock, at Liberty Hall.†

June 14. Several thousands accordingly assembled at the time and place, but it being rainy, they chose their senior Selectman Moderator, and then adjourned to Faneuil Hall. Here it was agreed to have forthwith a legal Town-meeting, and notifications for that object signed by the Selectmen were immediately posted up for a meeting at three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day. So great was the attendance at the hour, that Faneuil Hall could not accommodate them, and they adjourned to the Old South, that being the largest house in the Town. Mr. Otis was elected Moderator. "After very cool and deliberate debates," say the Records, an Address to the Governor was unanimously agreed upon. A Committee of twenty-one gentlemen was appointed to wait upon his Excellency with the Address.‡ Mr. Rowe, Mr. Hancock, and Dr. Warren, were made a sub-committee, to wait first on his Excellency, to ascertain at what time it would be convenient for him to receive the whole Committee. They soon came into the meeting, and reported that the Chief Magistrate was at his country-seat. Whereupon it was voted that the Committee proceed to the Governor's country-seat in Roxbury. Then, after a Speech from Mr. Otis, the Moderator, the meeting was adjourned to the next day at four o'clock in the afternoon. In Mr. Otis's Speech he persuaded

riot. On June 18th he wrote: "The Commissioners and their families, and Officers, are still on board the Romney, where they proceed in their business. The Town won't hear of their return to Boston, and it is much better that they should not until the question is determined. I hear that they are to fix their residence at the Castle next Monday. The Romney is fell down, and now lies off the Castle towards the Town. There is a Sloop of War, of 16 guns, just come in, which being stationed off the other side of the Castle will complete the command of all the approaches to the Castle."

* In a letter of Governor Bernard's, dated the same day, he says: "There was found sticking upon Liberty Tree a paper inviting all the Sons of Liberty to meet at 6 o'clock, to clear the land of the vermin, etc. etc."

† Liberty Hall was the *ground* immediately about Liberty Tree. Since August last (1767), a flag-staff had been erected at Liberty Hall, which went through Liberty Tree, extending far above its topmost branches. When a flag was seen flying on this staff, it was a signal to the Sons of Liberty to be prepared for action. Their primary movements appear to have much puzzled the officials.

‡ These are the names of the Committee of *twenty-one;* James Otis, Joshua Henshaw, Joseph Jackson, John Ruddock, John Hancock, John Rowe, Saml. Pemberton, Henderson Inches, Dr. Thomas Young, Dr. Joseph Warren, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, Dr. Benj. Church, Samuel Quincy, Edward Payne, Daniel Malcom, Richard Dana, Melatiah Bourne, Benj. Kent, Royal Tyler, and Josiah Quincy.

the people to be peaceable, and to keep good order, which was the true course to obtain that which they sought for, a redress of grievances. If, by adopting that course, he said, they failed, a resistance unto blood by one and all would be justifiable before the world; but he prayed that that might never happen. The meeting then closed in good order, and all waited patiently the report of the Committee.

The influence which Mr. Otis had over the people is strikingly observable throughout his whole career. His importance in every Town-meeting has scarcely been equalled by any man's at any period in the history of the Town. When he made his appearance he was received with deafening shouts, a universal clapping of hands, and all other possible demonstrations of admiration. He could successfully put aside any wild, violent or extravagant motions without offending the movers. At the meeting now under consideration, there was a proposition that every Captain of a man-of-war who came into this Harbor should be under the command of the General Court. Another was that if any person should promote or assist the bringing of troops here, he should be deemed a disturber of the peace and a traitor to his country; but they were warded off.

Meantime the Committee of twenty-one proceeded to the Governor's country-seat at Jamaica Plains, about four miles from Town. They went in eleven chaises, and were received on their arrival by the Governor with all possible civility. On receiving the Address or Petition,* his Excellency told them he would give them an answer to it in writing the next day. Wine was then passed round, and they left highly pleased with their reception, "especially that part of them which had not been used to an interview with him."

June 15. The next day the Town met again at the Old South to hear the Report of the Committee. Mr. Otis delivered the Governor's answer, taking notice at the same time of the kind entertainment the Committee had met with at his house, and observed, that he really believed the Governor was a well-wisher to the Province. Such

* In that Address it is said, "Dutiful Petitions have been preferred to our most gracious Sovereign, which (though, to the great consternation of the people, we now learn have been cruelly and insidiously prevented reaching the Royal presence) we have waited to receive a gracious answer to, with the greatest attention to the public peace, until we find ourselves invaded with an armed force, seizing, impressing and imprisoning the persons of our fellow-subjects, contrary to express acts of Parliament. Menaces have been thrown out, fit only for barbarians, which already affect us in the most sensible manner, and threaten us with famine and desolation; as all navigation is obstructed, upon which our whole support depends; and the Town is, at this crisis, in a situation nearly such as if war was formally declared against it. To contend with our parent State is, in our idea, the most shocking and dreadful extremity; but tamely to relinquish the only security we and our posterity retain of the enjoyment of our lives and properties without one struggle, is so humiliating and base that we cannot support the reflection." They then go on to say that they hoped "in his inclination to prevent this distressed and justly incensed people from effecting too much, and from the shame and reproach of attempting too little." That the Board of Customs, having relinquished the exercise of their Commission, would never resume it, they hoped, under the conviction of its injustice and impropriety, and the inevitable destruction which would ensue from the exercise of their office. And, lastly, it was demanded that the frigate Romney should be removed out of the Harbor.

an inference at this time was a very reasonable one, for the Governor, knowing he was entirely at the mercy of the people, expressed himself in his reply in the mildest possible terms, though he did not comply with the requests in the Petition, arguing that they were not within his authority.

Governor Bernard had for some time considered himself driven to the last extremity; the people had not only got the control of the House of Representatives, but of the Council also. His negativing Councillors had no other effect than to strengthen the opposition to his measures, for in the end none were brought forward by the House but such as were known friends to its measures. Hence the Governor plainly saw there was a crisis already arrived, and his only hope was from a military power. This he had been intimating in his letters to Earl Hillsborough,* to General Gage, in New York, and to Admiral Hood, at Halifax. To anticipate events the latter had sent two ships of war to support the station-ship, which already frowned defiance in the harbor, and the former was only waiting for Governor Bernard to signify his desire, and one or more regiments of soldiers would be at once sent to his support.

It had been a long time since the people had begun to complain of encroachments upon their rights. They had seen that one encroachment was relinquished only to undertake another; and that even more oppressive than the former. They saw that every new project for raising a revenue was creating new places for the favorites of their originators. That, to carry these oppressions into effect, they were to admit amongst them a large number of people, who were to be maintained by their industry; in fact, the very tools of oppression.† But it was all according to law, and that law was sanctioned by the King. They said, and said truly, that law was one thing, and right was, at least, in their case, a very different thing. It was very clearly seen by the Colonial Government in Boston that so long as the Representatives of the people had the choosing of the Councillors, but little would eventually be left for a Governor to do but to assent to whatever bill they might pass, or to reject them. This was no desirable situation for a Governor. Hence originated an attempt to make the Council as independent of the people as the Governor himself was. This gave the people great alarm. They saw that if the Council was to be appointed by the Crown all offices were liable to the same usurpation. And they very reasonably argued that they had no security

*He was his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the American Department only. To him all communications from the Governor were addressed. He had been at the head of the Board of Trade, and when it decided to establish this new office, at the close of the last year, Hillsborough was appointed to fill it. His original name was Willis Hill.

†"When the British Ministry, embarrassed by the arrears of the Civil List (unable any longer to provide for the purposes of venality and corruption), and tired with the reiterated importunities of their dependents (for whom no adequate provisions could be made, as the advantage arising from the disposal of places was already anticipated by reversionary grants of all the most lucrative sinecures in the Kingdom), first formed the design of raising a Revenue from the Colonies." — *Samuel Adams' Letter to Hillsborough.*

against the most arbitrary designs which tyranny might think proper to exercise. It is not, therefore, strange that resistance was made when, and in the manner it was.

The people were accused of being incendiaries, breakers of the laws, and of maltreating the King's officers, as though there was no fault in the laws, or those who undertook their execution; while the people believed that he who undertook to execute a bad law was, to say the least, as bad as the law itself. In their case it was true, because they had no voice in making the laws of which they complained. Hence a resistance to laws in an elective Government, as that of the United States, is not a parallel case to that here adduced, though there are those who run such a parallel.

That there was to be a general resistance of the people by arms to the measures of Government, Mr. Bernard was well satisfied; and that immediately. For only eight days after the seizure of the sloop Liberty he wrote to Hillsborough that the men-of-war were stationed so as to defend the Castle from an attack by the people; and added, "If there was not a revolt, the leaders of the Sons of Liberty must falsify their words and change their purposes; yet I cannot think they will be so mad as to attempt to defend the Town, in its defenceless state, against the King's forces. But the lengths they have gone already are scarce short of madness."

June 18.

The Instructions given by the Town to its Representatives, the day before,* doubtless strengthened Governor Bernard in his convictions that a resistance by arms must be the consequence, and caused him to use the strong expression, that if they did not resist they "must falsify their words." The Instructions state, "It is our unalterable resolution, at all times, to assert and vindicate our dear and invaluable rights and liberties, at the utmost hazard of our lives and fortunes; and we have full and rational confidence that no designs formed against them will ever prosper."

If preparations had before this been in progress to bring troops into the Town, those preparations would not afterwards be likely to be relaxed. And after the Instructions to the Boston Representatives were read in the House on the morning of the eighteenth, a Committee was appointed in that body to inquire into the "grounds and reasons of the present apprehensions of the people that measures have been taken, or are now taking, for the execution of the late Revenue Acts by a naval or military force." Suspicions that an armed force was to be soon expected were well founded, for by the July packet from England, General Gage received orders at New York to remove one or two of the regiments at Halifax to Boston. Whatever

* That was the day (the 17th) on which they were reported and adopted in Town-meeting. The Committee to draft them was appointed at the meeting of the 15th, and consisted of seven, namely: Dr. Joseph Warren, Richard Dana, Esq., Dr. Benjamin Church, John Adams, Esq., John Rowe, Esq., Mr. Henderson Inches, and Mr. Edward Payne. The Town Records state that the instructions were accepted "unanimously."

business had been lately transacted between the Governor and the Assembly was done in a high spirit of antagonism. The Assembly had received great encouragement from the other Colonies, and the Governor had the assurance of being sustained by a military force. But he acknowledged his inability to maintain the position expected of him by his superiors, and excused himself in these words: "I will here observe that it may be suggested that I have not conducted this business with spirit; but it must be remembered to what a weakness this Government is reduced, which makes the most gentle way of doing any business the most advisable."

July 1. The Governor prorogued the General Court on the first of July amidst much confusion. He had required them in his Majesty's name to rescind the Resolutions * sent by the last House to the several Colonies on the Continent, but they refused by a very decisive majority.† Those members who were not present when the vote was taken, wrote letters to the Speaker, endorsing the action of the majority, and avowing that they should have voted against rescinding if they had been present.

The Governor and his friends now gave up all hope of anything but a shadow of authority until they should be seconded by force of arms. No General Court could be called "till the pleasure of his Majesty should be known."

On the seventh of June, the ship Juno, Capt. Constant Freeman, arrived from Bristol, in which came passenger the lady and son of the late Sir Henry Frankland.‡ He had died at Bath on the eleventh of the preceding January, as previously mentioned. She was a native of New England, a Miss Agnes Brown. At Lisbon, in 1755, at the time of the great earthquake, she escaped being buried in the ruins of that city in which her husband escaped perishing in an almost miraculous manner, after being enveloped by those ruins above an hour. She was in Boston at the commencement of hostilities in 1775, and was an eye-witness to the battle of Bunker's Hill from her own elegant mansion at the North End of the Town, which joined that of Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson. Afterwards she returned to England, and died at Chichester in 1783, aged about fifty-five years. She had a second husband, Mr. John Drew, a banker of Chichester. In 1765, in the absence of Sir Henry Frankland, his mansion-house in Town was in the care of Mr. Ralph Inman, who advertised it as being to let.§ But to return.

* See Boston Chronicle, page 125, for a copy of them. These Resolutions were dated Feb. 11th, 1768, and were a means of uniting the Colonies in opposition to the mother country. The measure was at once seen through in England, and Lord Hillsborough made the demand for rescinding in a letter to Governor Bernard, which the Governor laid before the House in his Lordship's own words.

† Ninety-one to seventeen. All the names are given in the *Boston Chronicle*, pages 279, 280, and in other papers of the day.

‡ According to Noble, *Memoirs of the House of Cromwell*, ii. 433, his whole name is Charles Henry Frankland; that he had a natural son whom he named Henry Cromwell. This son went into the navy, and was with Admiral Kempenfelt in his great action off the French coast, Nov. 14th, 1781.

§ The month of July this year was remarkable for tempests, accompanied with thunder and lightning. On the 2d a summer-house behind the Custom-house was partly demolished, and an iron spire upon it broken to

Governor Bernard had not actually applied for troops to be sent to his assistance, dreading the effects of such application if known to the people of the Town; while his complaints and insinuations amounted to the same thing. Indeed, he could do nothing without an armed force, and it was a dangerous experiment to attempt doing anything with one. He was now in the situation of a soldier of fortune, where everything depends upon the success of the cause he had chanced to espouse. It is not the business of one who enters the ranks of an army to inquire whether the cause is just, but he is bound to execute the will of his master. If he succeeds his fortune may be made, but if he fails disgrace awaits him. Thus it was with those who came here to carry out the orders of George the Third.

July 30. The Governor would have ordered troops to Boston before the end of July, but he could not obtain the advice of the Council in his favor, and he dared not do it without. He strongly recommended to Secretary Hillsborough that forces might be sent directly from England, and that the order for their being sent should originate at Westminster. Thus he hoped to throw the responsibility upon his superiors, that he might be enabled to say to the people, as he had all along, that he had ordered no troops to Boston. He received information from General Gage, on the second of July, stating that he had ordered troops to Boston from Halifax, "if they were wanted here." He returned answer to the General that he could not apply for troops; and in writing home he said, "Though I thought it improper for me to require troops, it was full as improper for me to prevent their coming if they were otherwise ordered." This certainly was a very shallow mode of proceeding on the part of the Governor.

On the night of the eighth of July occurred the following circumstance. A schooner was lying at the wharf, with some thirty hogsheads of molasses on board. The vessel and cargo had been seized for a violation of the law of entry, and was in the custody of two of the officers of the Customs. About thirty men went on board, confined the officers in the cabin, and carried off the molasses. This coming to the knowledge of the Selectmen they immediately caused it to be restored. Upon this Governor Bernard wrote to his superior: "So we are not without a government, only it is in the hands of the people of the Town, and not of those deputed by the King, or under his authority." Many had said that there was no necessity for removing the sloop Liberty, and that she would have been safe in the hands of the Custom-house officers. This affair of the molasses would have falsified that assertion, had the article not been restored. Hence the transaction demonstrated two very important points; one that the faith of the Town would be inviolate, and the other that the Selectmen held authority over the people.

pieces. Hollis Hall, at Cambridge, was struck, but the damage to it was not great, but several students and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Hon. Thomas Cushing, who happened to be there, narrowly escaped with their lives.

When the Ministry became advised concerning the Riots which followed the seizure of the sloop Liberty, they gave orders for two regiments to sail for Boston from Ireland. Although what was intended to be brought about by Governor Bernard was kept secret, yet the Town had good reason to believe that troops were at hand. Therefore a Town-meeting was summoned, which met on the 12th of
Sept. 12. September, of which, as usual, Mr. Otis was Moderator. At this meeting the following record was made: — "Whereas it hath been reported in this Town-meeting, that his Excellency the Governor has intimated* his apprehensions, that one or more regiments of his Majesty's troops are daily to be expected here, Voted, that the Hon. Thomas Cushing, Richard Dana, Samuel Adams, Dr. Joseph Warren, John Rowe, John Hancock, and Benjamin Kent, Esquires, be a Committee to wait upon the Governor, if in Town, humbly requesting that he would be pleased to communicate to the Town the grounds and assurances he may have thereof." It was voted also to petition the Governor to call "a General Assembly with the utmost speed," and another large Committee was appointed† "to take the state of our public affairs into consideration," and to report at the adjourned meeting, what, in their opinion, was "most salutary to be done in the present emergency."

Sept. 13. On the following day, the Committee to wait on the Governor reported, that his Excellency answered, with regard to the coming of troops, that his information was of a private nature, and did not come from a public source. And, as to calling a General Court, "that was now before the King, and he could do nothing in it." At the same meeting, the Committee on "the present emergency" reported; upon which it was voted, "that, as the Governor could do nothing to relieve the Town, a suitable number of persons be raised to act for them as a Committee in Convention, with such as might be sent to join them from the several towns in this Province; in order that such measures may be consulted and advised as his Majesty's service, and the peace and safety of his subjects in this Province, might require." Accordingly, James Otis, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams and John Hancock were appointed.

What had given immediate rise to these proceedings was the arrival of an officer from Halifax, whose mission was rightly judged to be to make arrangements for quartering troops in the Town. His
Sept. 10. arrival was "about the beginning" of September, and immediately after, a tar-barrel was discovered in the skillet of the

* The Governor himself says he thought it best that "the expectation of the troops should be gradually communicated;" that therefore he "took an occasion to mention to one of the Council, in the way of discourse, that I had private advice that troops were ordered hither." — *Letter to Hillsborough.*

† James Otis, Samuel Adams, John Ruddock, Thomas Cushing, John Hancock, Richard Dana, John Rowe, Samuel Quincy, Joseph Warren, Wm. Molineux, John Bradford, Dan'l Malcolm, William Greenleaf, Adino Paddock, Thomas Boylston, and Arnold Wells, were the Committee.

Beacon on Beacon Hill.* This, it was understood, was to be fired when the King's ships containing troops from Halifax should make their appearance in the bay. Construing the elevation of a tar-barrel, under such circumstances, to be a gross insult to himself, in his military capacity, the Governor summoned the Council, which was held at a gentleman's house, half way between the Governor's at Jamaica Plains and Boston. Here the tar-barrel question "was debated, and it was resolved that the Selectmen should be desired to take it down; but they would not do it." † However, Sheriff Greenleaf had private orders from the Governor and Council to remove it, using his discretion as to the proper time to do it. He, therefore, taking about a half a dozen men with him, proceeded stealthily to the Hill, just at dinner time, and effected the important object in the space of about ten minutes. This was a victory over the Sons of Liberty, gained while they were not expecting the enemy.

Sept. 11.

Sept. 13. At the adjourned Town-meeting on the 13th of September, the Selectmen were requested to write to the Selectmen of the other Towns in the Colony, communicating the vote of Boston respecting a call upon the Governor to convene the Assembly, and his refusal to comply, and to propose to them a Convention at Faneuil Hall, on the 22d of September. A Convention followed accordingly.

Sept. 15. On the 15th of September the Town met again, and apparently many expected a collision would soon take place, for a request was made that the inhabitants should "provide themselves with firearms, that they may be prepared in case of sudden danger." It was voted that application be made to the ministers to appoint a Fast on the following Tuesday. But these proceedings give a very faint idea of the consternation which now pervaded the Town. The officers thought they had ample reasons for believing that, when the troops arrived, a desperate attempt would be made to prevent their landing. They believed, also, that it was the determination of the Boston people to surprise the Castle. However, if such propositions were talked of, and they doubtless were, they were laid aside for further consideration.

The proceeding of the Town in calling a Convention was viewed by the Governor as another great offence, and the Lieutenant Governor said, that, in everything but the name, such a Convention would be a House of Representatives; and that the meeting which originated the measure had a greater tendency toward a Revolution in govern-

* Governor Bernard says it was an empty turpentine-barrel, and "was put up upon the poll [pole] of the Beacon, (which had lately been erected anew in a great hurry by the Selectmen without consulting him), which gave great alarm," &c. Matters now, he said, "exceeded all former exceedings."

† *Letter of Gov. Bernard.* — On the Town Records is this entry, Sept. 12th. "A vote of the Honorable Board respecting a tar-barrel, which was the other night placed in the skillet on Beacon Hill, by persons unknown, was committed to the Town, but not acted upon."

ment than any preceding acts in any of the Colonies.* This, considered in connection with the recommendation about fire-arms, was indeed ominous. The King's officers talked about the treasonable acts of the Selectmen, in thus summoning a Convention, and "the legal guilt of the promoters of it." Some among the people wavered; but, upon the whole, their cause gained ground; and about ninety towns sent Delegates to the Convention, many of whom had been the Representatives from those towns in the General Court.

Sept. 18. On the 18th of September, a ship, Captain Bruce, arrived direct from London; by which Governor Bernard received intelligence that the two Irish regiments, and those from Halifax, might soon be expected in Boston. Upon this, his Excellency exerted himself to provide quarters for them in the Town. The Council advised him to consult with the Selectmen; but the Selectmen would have nothing to do with it.

Meanwhile the Convention had assembled in Faneuil Hall, and this received the Governor's attention; who, relying upon the expected fleet and army, began to assume a little more authority. He sent a note to Mr. Cushing, Chairman of the Convention, directed "to the gentlemen of a Committee of Convention, assembled at Faneuil Hall," in which he observed, that their assembling was a very high offence, and they were liable to penalties; that ignorance of law might excuse them thus far, but, if they went a step further, that plea would not serve them; and added several threats of kingly vengeance. Soon after, the Convention sent an Address to the Governor; but he refused to receive it. They continued in session, however, until the 29th of September; the expected troops having arrived at

Sept. 28. Nantasket the day before.† These troops were the 14th and 29th regiments, and came in six ships of war. Of the former, Lieut. Col. William Dalrymple, and of the latter, Lieut. Col. Maurice Carr, were the commanders. In each regiment were about 500 men. Soon after, arrived a part of the 59th regiment, with a

Sept. 30. company of the Train of Artillery. On the 30th of September, the vessels of war, amounting now to about twelve, sailed into the harbor, and were ranged in a formidable manner about the north-east part of the Town, and came to anchor. The next day, in the forenoon, the men were embarked in the boats and other craft of

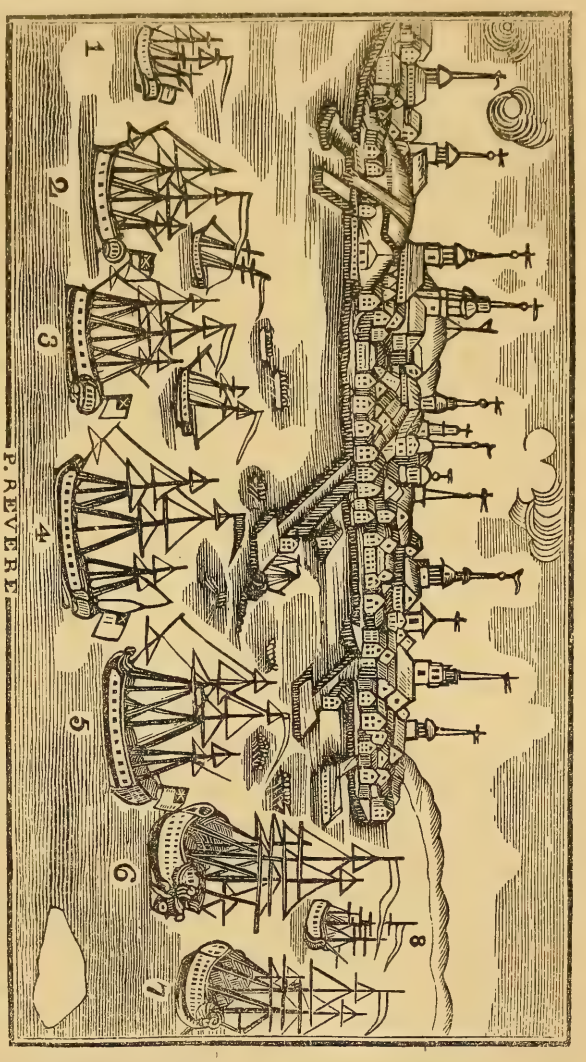
* About the same time, Robert Auchmuty, Esq., Admiralty Judge, wrote a private note to the Lieut. Governor, warning him of some plot against his person; but no conspirators are named, nor does there appear any grounds for the suspicion. Mr. Auchmuty says, "Last night I was informed by a gentleman of my acquaintance, who had his information from one intimate with, and knowing to, the infernal purposes of the Sons of Liberty, as they falsely stile themselves, that he verily believed, from the terrible threats and menaces by those Catalines against you, that your life is greatly in danger." — *Copies of Hutchinson, Oliver, and others' Letters*, p. 13. Judge Auchmuty lived in School-street.

† "On Thursday, the 29th, the boats from the fleet came up and sounded the channel all around the Town. On Friday, the ships of war came up, and anchored off the Town, extending from the North Battery to the south of the Long Wharf; their cannons loaded, and tompkins out, as if intended for a formal siege." — *Almanack.*

the squadron, and, at twelve o'clock, were landed on Long Wharf; thence they marched into King-street, and thence to the Common. Here they were joined by the Artillery about three o'clock. With these were two pieces of cannon. Here the 29th regiment encamped; but the 14th marched, in the evening, to Faneuil Hall, and, after a delay of "some hours," was admitted into it.* On Sunday night, a part of the regiment were quartered in the Court House. The detachment of the 59th, and the Train, were quartered in stores on Griffin's wharf.†

Oct. 2.

Nothing transpired bearing a show of opposition, on the part of the Town, at the landing. Such a display of troops in gaudy uniforms attracted great attention, and, in many, an indignant admiration. All ideas of resistance were stifled, and well they might be. A fleet anchored in their very presence, broadsides to the Town, with springs upon every cable, guns shotted, and matches lighted, — under that threatening aspect, something short of a thousand men, in red coats, with glittering



* "Two or three hours were spent in altercation, when, by some means or other, one of the doors was opened without violence, and they were sheltered there for that night." — *Hutchinson*, iii. 212. The same author says quarters had been demanded for them, by Lieut. Col. Dalrymple, in the Manufactory House, but that the occupiers were prepared with an answer, and refused to open the doors. — *Ibid.*

† The accompanying engraving, by Paul Revere, is very exactly copied from "*Edes and Gill's North American Almanack and Massachusetts Register for the Year* 1770;" the only copy of which, seen by the Author, is the property of Mr. John F. Eliot, and for the use of which he is indebted to the kindness of that gentleman. Above the engraving in the Almanac is this title: "Prospective View of the Town of Boston, the Capital of New England; and of the Landing of Troops in the Year 1768, in Consequence of Letters

firelocks charged, and bayonets fixed, marched through the Town, with drums beating and fifes playing.*

The order of the Governor admitting the troops into the Town House or Court House, was condemned, by some of his own party, as an unwarrantable stretch of power. The very apartment used by the merchants as their exchange was occupied with armed soldiers; and the Hall of the Representatives fared no better.† Thus was the Town unnecessarily insulted in the first instance, and the whole Colony in the second. Then the main guard was posted opposite the House, and two cannon were drawn up, unlimbered, and levelled against it.

Such a state of things was calculated to increase indignation to a point where it admitted of no control. The halls of freedom and justice were filled with armed mercenaries, and could be entered only by passing through files of guards! Thus the Town was converted into a garrison. The inhabitants could not go about their ordinary occupations without being challenged at every corner by sentinels! Sunday devotions were disturbed by the *music* of the fife and drum! All this was submitted to, happily establishing the truth of what Doctor Franklin had said before the House of Commons; namely, that troops, if sent here, would find nobody in arms to oppose them. Thus were the hopes of those who desired to find an open rebellion defeated, and their bloody project frustrated. That opposition by force was expected, there can be no doubt; for it was currently reported in England, the last August, that 10,000 armed men stood ready in Boston to oppose the landing of the King's troops. One captain of a ship, at least, from Boston, had made a deposition to that effect.

FROM GOV. BERNARD, THE COMMISSIONERS, &c., TO THE BRITISH MINISTRY."

Who the Editor of the "Almanack" of that year was, does not appear; but, whoever he may have been, he was a genuine "Son of Liberty;" and the little work embodies a better notion of the political state of things in Boston, at that time, than can be gathered out of the most voluminous publications known to the Writer. The Editor, or Author, signs himself "INCOG."; and he remains to this day, for aught there is known, "*Stat nominis umbra*," and perhaps "*Stat magni nominis umbra*."

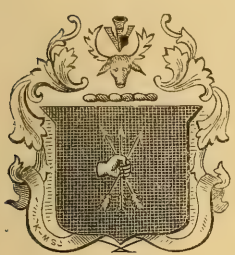
The numbers set to the ships are explained: 1, the Beaver, 14 guns; 2, the Senegal, 14; 3, the Martin, 10; 4, the Glasgow, 20; 5, Mermaid, 28; 6, Romney, 50; 7, Launaston, 40; 8, Bonetta, 10. — These, though all the engraver had room for, perhaps, were not all the fleet. And so of the Churches and wharves. The steeples represented in the picture number 13, though there were 18 places of worship. The Friends' meeting-house had no steeple, and perhaps some others.

* On the arrival of the troops, the Rev. Mather Byles perpetrated a pun, which was long remembered. He said the people had sent over to England to obtain a redress of grievances, which grievances had returned *red-dressed*. — *Diary of John Adams*. I have seen a different version of this anecdote in one of the papers of that day.

† "Gov. Bernard, without consulting the Council, having given up the State House to the troops, at their landing, they took possession of the chambers where the Representatives of the Province and the Courts of Law held their meetings, and (except the Council Chamber) of all other parts of the house; to the great annoyance of those Courts while they sat," &c. — *Narrative of the Horrid Massacre*, p. 9.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

The Town under the Army. — A Guard-House destroyed. — Anti-Tea Combinations. — Troubles in quartering the Troops. — Manufactory House Affair. — A Military Execution. — Arrival of Commodore Hood. — Pope Day. — Visit of Gen. Gage. — Address to him. — Case of Capt. Wilson, — of John Hancock. — New Jail burnt. — Town Officers. — Theatricals. — The Common. — Severe Winter. — Desertions of Soldiers. — Gov. Bernard created a Baronet. — Election Protest. — Gen. Mackay. — Stage to Marblehead. — Death of Rev. T. Foxcroft — of Rev. Dr. Sewall — of Capt. Hamock. — Committee to request the Governor to remove the Troops. — His Refusal. — His Conduct censured. — General Court adjourned to Cambridge. — Copies of Gov. Bernard's Letters received. — Massachusetts Resolves. — Gov. Bernard sails for England.



LOWELL.*

THE British soldiers had now quiet possession of the Town; but it was only such a quiet as precedes a storm. The inhabitants were, at their first arrival, dazzled by their strange equipments and equally strange manœuvres; but these were novelties, which only arrested the attention of those who had seen but little of soldiers, and which soon wore off. To this succeeded a dislike, and, at length, hatred. The soldiers were intruders, and could not be tolerated; and hence, the people being once accustomed to them, a sort of familiarity grew up between them, which resulted in mutual contempt and ill-feeling. No other result could have been anticipated. Consequently insults and injuries followed.

The King's ships commanded the entrance of the Town by sea, and his soldiers had possession of the only entrance to it by land;

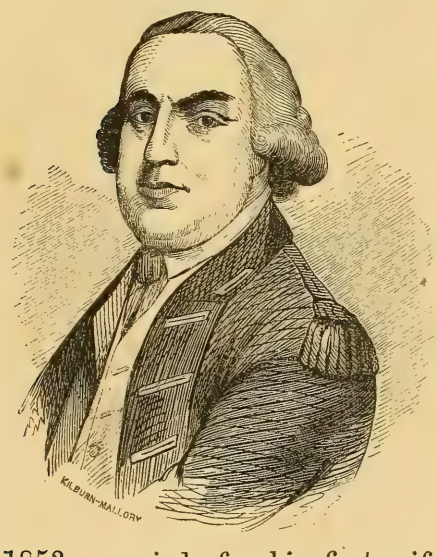
* This name, when first imported into New England, and for many years later, was written *Lowle*. John and Richard Lowle, merchants of Bristol, England, emigrated to New England in 1639, and settled in Newbury, Massachusetts. Joseph Lowle, sen., and jun., were of Boston, 1693, and perhaps earlier. Ebenezer Lowell, merchant in King-street, 1748. Michael Lowell, merchant, "at the corner shop leading to Mr. James Davenport's bakehouse, near the Sign of the Cornfields," also 1748. In 1754, the Governor appointed Mr. Michael Lowell "to be a keeper of the Powder-house in this Town," in place of Capt. Wm. Salter, deceased.

To do justice to the name of Lowell would require more than a moderate-sized volume; a name not only distinguished in literature, theology, and jurisprudence, but in all the relations of life. The family is justly honored, having derived its high position by works for the public good. The name is fixed upon monuments which can only perish in the wreck of all things. Four of the family have been of the Corporation of Harvard College, — the Hon. John Lowell; his son John, LL.D.; Charles Lowell, D.D.; and John A. Lowell, Esq. Mr. John Lowell, jun., was the founder of the Lowell Institute. John Lowell, LL.D., A.A.S., &c., was son of the Rev. John Lowell, 42 years pastor of the first Church in Newburyport. He came to Boston in 1776, and was a Delegate to the Convention which formed the Constitution of Massachusetts; was Judge of the Court of Appeals; Member of Congress; appointed, by President Washington, Judge of the District Court of this State. John Lowell, LL.D., and Francis C. Lowell, Esq., were sons of Judge Lowell; and from the latter the Town of Lowell was named. There is extant, in MS., a pedigree of Lowell, which, it is hoped, will ere long be published.

therefore the inhabitants were entirely at the mercy of those whose trade was war. Quietness under such circumstances could not be expected to last any great length of time.

Oct. 9. The first considerable offence to the soldiers happened on the ninth of October. Col. Dalrymple having ordered a large guard-house to be built near the Fortification on the Neck, some persons proceeded there in the night, pulled down the frame, and cut it to pieces. Gov. Bernard offered a reward for the discovery of the authors of the outrage; but they were not to be found; perhaps owing to the smallness of the reward, which was but twenty pounds. But the Governor would have been safe, probably, had he offered ten times that amount; that is to say, safe from being called upon to pay it.*

Oct. 15. On the 15th of October, towards evening, Gen. Thomas Gage arrived in Town from New York. He was a veteran officer; had seen hard service under Gen. Braddock; being severely wounded at the Monongahela, and carried a musket-ball in his side. He was now commander-in-chief in North America. There accompanied him Colonels Robertson and Maitland, Majors Small and Sheriff, and Captains Kemble, Mathurine, and Gamble. The troops received him under arms on the Common, and he was saluted with seventeen rounds from the artillery.



General Gage was now in the prime of life, being about forty-eight years of age. He was the second son of Thomas Viscount Gage; entered the army at an early age, and served, with considerable credit, under several distinguished commanders. By his wife, Margaret, daughter of Peter Kemble, Esq., President of the Council of New Jersey, he had eleven children, six sons and five daughters. His death occurred on the second of April, 1788; and his age was about sixty-seven.† Lord Abingdon, of Wytham, living in 1853, married, for his first wife, Emily, daughter of Gen. Gage.

* The land on which the guard-house was being erected had been hired of the Town by Mr. Robert Pierpoint for several years, and he forbid the erection of the guard-house before evidence. It was said to be nearly finished when pulled down.

† For the facts in this paragraph I am indebted to the *Georgian Era*, ii. 67–8. The accompanying autograph is copied from a letter belonging to the Author, dated New York, May 3d, 1769, and addressed to Col. Bradstreet, then at Albany, in that Province.



Her maternal grandmother was Margaret, daughter of the Hon. Stephen Van Cortlandt, of New York.*

At this period, anti-tea combinations were being formed in the country towns, agreeably to the recommendation of the Boston Patriots; and other measures were taken to render the people independent of England in respect to the importation of goods. The students of Harvard College, "with a spirit becoming Americans, came into the solemn resolution to use no more of that pernicious herb, TEA." There were but four who refused to abide the arrangement. In Boston, the number of families which had "totally" discontinued the use of tea was fifteen hundred.†

The troops quartered in Faneuil Hall, as before intimated, remained there until the third of November; in the mean time, all attempts on the part of the Authorities having failed to procure for them the Manufactory House, which belonged to the Province, but which had been let to Mr. John Brown.‡ As the defeat of Col. Dalrymple on the part of the troops, and of Gov. Bernard on the part of the civil Authorities, was an important victory on the part of the people, a brief detail of what led to it is necessary for an understanding of subsequent transactions.

After Col. Dalrymple's repulse from the Manufactory House, Gov. Bernard summoned the lessee to surrender the premises to the Sheriff. But Mr. Brown was apprised of what was intended, and kept the house securely closed up; and when the Sheriff appeared with his summons, Mr. Brown informed him that it was none of the Governor's affair; that he had hired it of the General Court, and to none but the General Court would he give it up; and as to Mr. Bernard, he did not know him in the matter. Thus the affair stood until about the 19th of October, at which time the Governor got the consent of the Council for clearing the building in dispute. Therefore the Lieut. Governor, accompanied by Sheriff Greenleaf, proceeded to the premises, which they found admitted no entrance but by force. Presently Mr. Brown appeared at a window, and demanded their business. On being told that the Council had ordered them to take possession of the house, he replied that he had had no legal notice to give it up; that, as to the authority of the Council, it did not affect his rights; and he would not surrender unless compelled by force. Whereupon Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Greenleaf retreated, to report the situation of affairs to his Excellency the Governor.

* Mrs. Sumner, the present wife of Gen. William Hyslop Sumner, of Jamaica Plains, is a daughter of Peter Kemble, Esq., and niece of Gen. Gage. Her maiden name was Mary Dickinson Kemble. In the *N. Eng. Hist. G. Reg.*, viii. 188, is a pleasant anecdote respecting a portrait of Gen. Gage, at the seat of Lord Abingdon.

† Statement in the News-Letter of 27th October, 1768. It was added, "that most of the inhabitants of Charlestown, Dedham, Weymouth, Hingham, and many other towns, had refused to use the despised article."

‡ He had hired it for about twelve years. There were several occupants besides Mr. Brown. A Mr. William Brown is mentioned.

Oct. 20. The next day, the Sheriff undertook to get possession by stratagem. Having learned by his spies that a certain aperture in the cellar wall was assailable, he, taking several of his Deputies with him, succeeded in gaining an entrance into the lower apartment. But he soon found, to his surprise, that, instead of taking possession of the house, he was himself taken prisoner; nor was he allowed to retreat, even, by the subterranean passage through which he had entered. Thus ludicrously situated, the assaulting party was harmlessly held for some time in captivity. At length, he found means to communicate with the commanding officer of the forces on the Common, who sent a guard of soldiers to relieve him. The soldiers took possession of the cellar, which they held until the fourth of November, when they evacuated it, and Mr. Brown was left in quiet possession. He afterwards brought an action against the Sheriff and those who aided him. The Sheriff called upon the Governor and Council to sustain and hold him harmless; and the matter caused considerable excitement, as well as amusement.*

Oct. 27. Finding that Mr. Brown was not to be driven from the Manufactory House, other quarters were obtained for the soldiers; and, on the 27th of October, they vacated Faneuil Hall, and went into a store on Pitts' wharf, belonging to Justice Stoddard; and, two days after, the 29th regiment left the Common, and went into a house provided for them in Green's lane, belonging to Major Green, distiller, and a house in New Boston, belonging to a Mr. Forrest. Large and commodious stores on Wheelright's wharf were hired of Mr. William Molyneaux, attorney of Mr. Apthorp, at 300 pounds sterling per annum, for the reception of the two regiments from Ireland when they should arrive.

Oct. 31. A few days after, the revolting spectacle of a military execution took place in the Town. Richard Ames, a soldier, having deserted, and being taken, was shot on the Common, and buried on the place of execution. His case was viewed as one of unnecessary severity, it being a time of peace, and this his first offence.†

Nov. 5. Pope Day was celebrated as usual. "The Pope and other Effigies were carried through the Town, as on these anniversa-

* How the suit finally terminated, I have not inquired. But a passage from Mr. Brown's Complaint may be regarded as sufficiently curious to authorize the space which it occupies: "*Suffolk*, ss. To the Worshipful Richard Dana, John Ruddock, and Joseph Williams, Esqrs., Justices of the peace in and for said County. — *Humbly shews* John Brown, of Boston, in said County, weaver, that Stephen Greenleaf, of Boston aforesaid, Esq., and Joseph Otis, of said Boston, gentlemen, together with divers other malefactors and disturbers of the peace of our Lord the King (whose names to the Complainant are not yet known), on the 20th day of October instant, with force and arms, and with strong hand, at Boston aforesaid, unlawfully and injuriously did break and enter into the dwelling-house of the said John Brown, then and there being in the possession of the said John Brown; and that the said Greenleaf and Otis, together with the said other malefactors," &c.

† Some of the first ladies of the Town interested themselves in his behalf, and petitioned the commanding General for his pardon; but it was of no avail. It was observed as remarkable, that, in the time of the French war, a greater number of troops had been here encamped, but this was the first military execution.

ries is customary, with great decency and decorum, agreeable to their resolution of 1765, which has been practised ever since."

Nov. 10. The Town being now considered under the control of the army, the obnoxious Commissioners of the Customs ventured to return and take up their residence in it, and had an office in Concert Hall, with a sentinel at the door. They had resided at the Castle since the affair of the sloop Liberty.

Nov. 14. On the fourteenth of November the Romney returned from Halifax, in which came Commodore Hood with his wife and family, proposing to spend the winter in Boston. The Commodore was the Commander-in-chief of all the men-of-war in these parts. There came also in the same ship, Lord William Campbell, Governor of Nova Scotia. Within the previous week six transports had arrived from Cork, having on board the long expected Irish regiments.* These were quartered in the Town.

Nov. 18. On the eighteenth of the same month Gen. Gage reviewed Col. Pomeroy's regiment on Fort Hill. Everything now seemed to be quiet, and the General began to prepare for his return to New York. Somewhat of a change was visible among the opposers of the measures of Government. Several who had been prominent among the Liberty party were almost entirely silenced by the scenes around them, while several others excused themselves for the part they had taken by endeavoring to lay the blame upon others; and some came out openly in favor of the King. Add to this the Council, or as many of them as were present on the 27th of October, signed a conciliatory Address to the General,† in which they remind him that the people had been misrepresented; that there had been disorders in the Town and criminal acts committed, they allowed, but these "had been magnified beyond the truth." They spoke flatteringly of "the candor, generosity and justice, that distinguished his character," and were persuaded he would counteract the misrepresentations which had been made by the enemies of the Town. They endeavored to convince him that there was no occasion for so great a number of troops in the place, and hoped he would have, at least, a part of them removed to the Castle, especially as there were more here than had been intended, as, by Lord Hillsborough's letter of July last, appeared. In reply to the Address, the General was very brief. He thanked them for the honor done him in their Address; but in reference to removing the troops from the Town he gave them no satisfaction whatever. And, on the 24th of November, he left Boston for New York, by way of Springfield, leaving Brig. Gen. Pomeroy in command of the forces.

Nov. 24.

Notwithstanding the quiet which seemed to prevail during the stay

* Namely, the 64th, Col. John Pomeroy, which were quartered in the Town; and the 65th, Col. Alexander Mackey, at Castle Island. They consisted of 500 men each.

† The signers were Harrison Gray, James Russell, John Bradbury, Royal Tyler, Samuel White, James Pitts, Samuel Dexter, Samuel Danforth, John Hill, Isaac Royal, John Erving, James Bowdoin, Gamaliel Bradford, Thomas Hubbard, and Nathaniel Sparhawk.

of Gen. Gage, there were frequent difficulties between individuals of the army and the people. There were turbulent spirits on both sides. Soldiers could not brook insults tamely, and, when they met with any injury, they would naturally seek to be revenged. This would inflame the friends of the injured, and inevitably lead to combats involving large numbers on both sides. Those who caused the troops to be quartered among the people as well understood what the consequences would be before they happened, as afterwards, or they had not the common sense and sagacity of ordinary minds. If an affray happened between the people and the soldiers, with the former the soldiers were the aggressors, and with the latter the people. That there was a disposition among the lower classes of the Town to insult the soldiers, there can be no doubt; and, in a majority of the cases of difficulties, it is more than probable that they were the injured parties in the outset.

In the end of October it was complained that several of the inhabitants had been insulted and abused by soldiers and officers; and that some had been put under guard by order of the latter on frivolous pretences, and without lawful warrants. That a physician of the Town was jostled by an officer while walking the streets, and a scuffle ensued, in which the physician was much injured. That "a tradesman, on going under the rails of the Common, on his way home," received a thrust with a bayonet from a soldier. That, on the evening of the 28th of October, "a merchant was struck down by an officer, who went into the Coffee-house; several gentlemen, following him in and expostulating with the officer there, were treated in the most ungenteel manner." At the same time, Capt. John Willson, of the fifty-ninth regiment, was accused of exciting the slaves against their masters, assuring them that the soldiers had come to procure their freedom; and that, "with their assistance, they should be able to drive the Liberty Boys to the Devil." The Selectmen * were so well assured of the alleged practices of Captain Willson, that they preferred a complaint to Justices Richard Dana and John Ruddock, who issued a warrant for his arrest. Benjamin Cudworth, the Deputy Sheriff, was charged with the execution of the warrant, but he was unable to apprehend Willson, who was not taken till the High Sheriff went "with divers Constables." Being brought to Faneuil Hall, the complaint was so well supported, that he was bound over to trial in March following, but, owing to the manœuvres of the Attorney General, the indictment was quashed, and Willson left the Province about the same time. These are but a few of the cases which might be given; nor were they all confined to the male population. Many instances were reported in which females were grossly insulted.

* They were Joshua Henshaw, Joseph Jackson, John Hancock, John Rowe, Samuel Pemberton, and Henderson Inches.

Some outrage was complained of every day, and the nights were rendered hideous by drunken brawls and revels. The regular Town-watch were insulted during their rounds, and invaded in their watch-houses in the night. Distilled spirits were so cheap that the soldiers could easily command them; and hence scenes of drunkenness and debauchery were constantly exhibited before the people, vastly to the prejudice of the morals of the young. As a remedy for such conduct, the equally demoralizing exhibition of whippings was put in practice. These were not all the bad effects of soldiers being quartered in the heart of the Town. Persons were often knocked down and robbed in the night, as they were returning from their places of business to their houses. Perhaps soldiers were not always guilty of such outrages, but they generally had the credit of them.

There was another grievance very justly complained of. Several hundreds of wretches, mostly females, the very dregs of an European population, had clustered around the troops at Halifax. These found means to follow the soldiers to Boston, and the Alms-house became filled with them; and thus the Town was burthened with a heavy addition of claims upon its charities.

While the Town was disturbed by constant tumults of this kind, the arrest of John Hancock, Esq., tended materially to irritate the minds of the people. The case of the sloop Liberty had lain dormant since her seizure; but now the presence of the army gave the officers of the Customs confidence to prosecute her owner, and those concerned with him, for the recovery of the value of the whole cargo and treble damages. Therefore, Mr. Arodi Thayer, Marshal of the Court of Admiralty for the three Provinces, on the morning of November the third, arrested Mr. Hancock on a precept for 9000 pounds, and demanded bail for 3000 more. Mr. Hancock offered ready money for security, which was refused by Mr. Thayer, according to his directions, as he reported. However, bail was finally taken. Five other gentlemen were levied upon in the same manner. Here the matter rested until the following March, when the prosecutions were dropped by order of the King's Advocate, the allegations, after many trials, not being supported by sufficient evidence.*

Nov. 8. The Superior Court met agreeably to adjournment, on the eighth of November, at their usual apartment in the Court-house. In the afternoon of the same day Mr. Otis made a motion to have the Court held in Faneuil Hall, "not only," he said, "as the stench occasioned by the troops in the Representatives' chamber may prove infectious, but as it was derogatory to the honor of the Court to administer justice at the mouths of cannon and the points of bayonets."

* *Observations on Several Acts of Parliament, etc. Published by the Merchants of Boston*, p. 19. John Adams says, *Diary*, ii. 315, "Mr. Hancock thought fit to engage me as his counsel and advocate, and a painful drudgery I had of his cause. There were few days through the whole winter when I was not summoned to attend the Court of Admiralty."

Jan. 30. On Monday night, about ten o'clock, on the 30th January, the new Jail in Queen-street was discovered to be on fire, and when observed it had made such progress that great exertions were necessary to save the lives of the prisoners; but the hurry and consternation caused the keys to be misplaced, and resort was had to axes to break through the doors, which, owing to their thickness and the iron about them, was effected with much difficulty. Hence, in some cases, the prisoners were dragged through such small apertures that their flesh was torn in a frightful manner. However, they were all taken out alive, though two of them were considerably burned, one of them badly. There was great fear of the fire's spreading; but the night, though very cold, was not attended with much wind, and no other building was burned. Two of the prisoners made their escape. On examining the others, it was found that the fire was set to their door by two of them who were confined in one room. One was a soldier and the other a young lad. Mr. Young was the keeper of the Jail.

Mar. 13. At the annual Town-meeting on the 13th of March, the former Town Clerk was reëlected. The Selectmen were the same as before, with the exception of John Rowe, Esq., who declined, and Jonathan Mason was elected in his stead. Mr. Rowe had a unanimous vote of thanks for his past services. David Jeffries was continued in the office of Treasurer.*

It having been reported that the soldiers were making preparations for the performance of plays, the subject caused much uneasiness among many of the sober inhabitants. They contended that such representations were against the law, and that the officers of the troops had no right to give leave to their men for any such entertainments.†

The public lands belonging to the Town were often subjects in the warrants for calling Town-meetings. The Selectmen were now appointed a Committee "to consider what measures may be proper to be taken for the preservation of the Common, and preventing any incumbrances being laid thereon, to inquire into the title of the lands," and to report "as soon as may be."‡ The late occupation

* The Overseers of the Poor were John Barret, Esq., Hon. Royal Tyler, Mr. Benj. Dolbeare, Mr. William Whitwell, Mr. William Greenleaf, Wm. White, Esq., Mr. Joseph Waldo, John Leverett, Esq., John Gore, Esq., Capt. Samuel Partridge, Thomas Tyler, Esq., and Capt. John Bradford. Firewards, John Scollay, Newman Greenough, John Rowe, Esq., Mr. Wm. Cooper, Mr. John Mico Wendell, Thos. Marshall, Wm. Holmes, Esqs., Mr. Joseph Tyler, Capt. Adino Paddock, Mr. James Richardson, Capt. Benj. Waldo, John Hancock, Esq., Mr. Samuel Adams, Capt. Martin Gay, Thomas Dawes, Esq., and Mr. Alex'r. Hill. Wardens, Mr. Daniel Marsh, Mr. Joseph Belknap, Mr. Thos. Handasyd Peck. Mr. Wm. Mackay, Mr. Samuel May, Mr. Wm. Powell, Mr. Joseph Turell, Mr. Thos. Walley, Mr. Benj. Goodwin, and Mr. Henry Hill.

† It was said in reply that there was an Act of Parliament for the licensing Theatrical performances throughout the King's dominions, "which entirely superseded the Act of the Province for preventing the same." That, when "a few years ago, some *hunglers*, as the means of making assignations, took upon themselves to exhibit plays at unseasonable hours, it highly incensed the sober part of the Town, as well it might; but the present have different and strictly upright motives," &c.

‡ The Selectmen were also required to see what could be done "to check the progress of

of the Common by the soldiery probably gave rise to this movement.* A vote was passed "not to rent the land on which the gun-house is erected to the officers of the train of artillery of the regiment of this Town."†

It is recorded that the winter of 1768–9 had been more severe after February commenced than in all the preceding months; that the ice having opened new passages out of town, desertions among the soldiers were more numerous than at any former period, notwithstanding the military guard which almost surrounded the Town, and the vigilance of the officers; that the practice of sending out Serjeant's parties in disguise was kept up, but, up to the 13th of February "no deserter had been brought back excepting poor Ames, whose execution was as impolitic as it was illegal."‡

Encouraging news was often brought to Town from the other Colonies; news that the non-importation system was gaining ground, and that the inhabitants were heartily sympathized with in their distresses occasioned by the quartering of troops among them. At a recent meeting in Philadelphia, held to celebrate the late successes of the brave General Paoli in attempting to free Corsica from its French oppressors, among the toasts given on the occasion were, "The Massachusetts Ninety-Two, the Town of Boston, Mr. Cushing, Mr. Otis, and Mr. Adams."§ At the same time the news from England was calculated to cause despondency; especially as some whom they had considered the chief cause of their present difficulties had been advanced in honors and places of emolument. By a letter from London, dated on the 17th of February, and received here about the first of May, it appeared that Governor Bernard had received the title of Baronet. This had no tendency to reconcile the leaders of the opposition to his course, and the attacks in the papers of the day were more virulent upon him, if possible, than before.‖

vice and immoralities now breaking upon the Town like a flood; and of some suitable methods for employing the poor, whose numbers and distresses are daily increasing, by a loss of trade and commerce," etc.

* Horse-racing on the Common by persons belonging to the army is particularly mentioned as a grievance.

† At an adjourned meeting on the 4th of April Mr. Samuel Calf, Mr. John Gore, and Mr. George Green, were added to the Clerks of the Market. Those elected at the March meeting previous, were Fitch Pool, Samuel Barret, John Singleton Copley, Francis Green, George Spooner, Benj. Andrews, Elisha Hutchinson, John Bernard, Joseph Barrell, And. Allen [Allyne] Otis, Jonathan Clarke, and Bossinger Foster.

‡ Feb. 17. "There have been within these few days a great many severe whippings; among the number chastised was one of the Negro drummers, who received 100 lashes in part of the 150 he was sentenced to receive at a Court Martial. It is said this fellow had adventured to beat time at a concert of music given at the Manufactory-house." — *Boston Evening Post.*

§ There was much sympathy also in Boston with Gen. Paoli; and there was not long before this a child baptized in one of the churches, named Paschal Paoli. Mr. Wilkes had been honored in the same way, one having been christened, in the West Church, John Wilkes. The family names of those children are not given in my authority.

‖ On the 8th of May the following appeared: "March 14th, G[overno]r B[ernar]d's picture has been lately returned to Harvard College to be *hung* up in the Library. Our American limner, Mr. Copely, by the surprising art of his pencil, has actually restored as *good a heart* as has been taken from it; though, upon a near and accurate inspection, it will be found no other than a *false one*. There may it long remain *hanging*, to show posterity the true picture of the man, who, during a weak and w[icke]d Ad[ministratio]n, was suffered to continue in the S[ea]t of G[over]n[men]t,

May 5. On the fifth of May, James Otis, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, and John Hancock, were reëlected Representatives. The late proceedings against the last named gentleman had a tendency to make him more popular than hitherto, and he received the highest number of votes; even two more than Mr. Adams, who had the next highest number. The gentlemen chosen to instruct the Representatives were Richard Dana, John Adams,* John Ruddock, Doctors Church and Warren, Joshua Henshaw, and William Mollineux.†

Before proceeding to the choice of Representatives, "the Town made an order to be entered upon their records." The Selectmen had waited upon General Mackay, and informed him that an election of Representatives was to take place on the fifth of May, and requested him to withdraw the troops from the Town, as their presence on that occasion was not in accordance with the rights of British subjects. To which the General replied that he had not the power to march the troops out of the Town, but that he would confine them to their barracks. This the Town declared, that though "a concession of the rectitude of the claim, it was by no means adequate to the extent of their constitutional rights, and they could not proceed to an election without declaring their clear and full sense that the residence of armed forces in the Town during an election of so great importance, is a high infringement of their constitutional rights; *protesting* that their proceeding to an election, under such circumstances, is wholly from necessity, and not to be considered as a precedent at any time hereafter."

May 8. At an adjourned meeting on the eighth of May, the Town took notice of the proceedings of the merchants respecting a Non-importation Agreement, voting, "That it gives high satisfaction to the Town to be informed of that Agreement; and it is hereby recommended to the inhabitants not to purchase any goods of those few persons who have imported any articles in the vessels lately arrived from Great Britain, not allowed of by said Agreement."

Not long before this, a Stage commenced running between Boston and Marblehead; but it was discontinued. The undertaker was Edward Wade; and, on the eighth of May, he gave notice that he was about to resume his trips, which would be performed twice a week; that "he might be spoken with at the widow Trefry's, opposite Mr. Barber's insurance office, in Fish-street;" and that his

a scourge to the people, until he had happily awakened a whole continent to a thorough sense of their own interest, and thereby laid the foundation of American greatness."

* Mr. Adams had become a Townsman about a year before, at the very urgent request, he says, "of my many friends in Boston." His residence was in Brattle Square, in what was called the White House, where William Bollan, Esq., had lived many years. Here, directly in front of Mr. Adams' house, Major [John] Small exercised a regiment through the whole of the succeeding fall and winter. — *Diary of John Adams*, ii. 210, 213.

† Often spelt Molyneaux and Molineux.

carriage was a handsome post-chaise, suited to carry ladies and gentlemen.

June 16. On the 16th of June, died the Rev. Thomas Foxcroft, minister of the First Church, in the seventy-third year of his age, and fifty-second of his ministry. He was son of the Hon. Francis Foxcroft, of Cambridge, who was an Episcopalian, and who designed this son for the service of the English Church. But, after his graduation at Cambridge in 1714, he was engaged in instructing a school at Roxbury, where, becoming intimate with the Rev. Mr. Nehemiah Walter, he was convinced by that Divine of the truth and excellence of the Puritan faith, which he adopted, and became an eminent supporter of that doctrine to the end of his life. Though born in Boston, he was, from early childhood, brought up in Cambridge. He was settled over the First Church, as colleague with Mr. Wadsworth, in 1717 ; and, in 1718, he married Anna, daughter of Mr. John Coney, of Boston, goldsmith, and left, at his decease, one son and five daughters.* Mr. Foxcroft was the author of a large number of works, chiefly in the pamphlet form, some of which have been duly noticed in this history.†

June 27. Only eleven days after Mr. Foxcroft died, happened the death of the Rev. Joseph Sewall, of the Second, or Old South Church, in which he had been settled about fifty-six years. He was a son of the late Chief Justice Samuel Sewall, and, at his decease, was in his eighty-first year ; of whom a contemporary said, "Scarce any one ever passed through life with a more unblemished character, or performed its various duties with more universal esteem." The University of Glasgow conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1731. He had before been offered the presidency of Harvard College, namely, in 1724, on the decease of President Leverett ; but his Church were unwilling that he should accept it. The evening following the day on which he completed his eightieth year, he preached to a large audience ; and, on the next Sunday, he was seized with paralysis, which afterwards confined him to his house. He had a large estate, which he liberally distributed to pious and charitable uses. He published a considerable number of sermons, chiefly occasional.‡ He married, in 1713, Elizabeth, daughter of Major John Walley, who died before him. A son, Samuel, was Deacon of the Old South from 1763 to 1771.§

* The Rev. Samuel Foxcroft, H.C., 1754, minister of New Gloucester, Me., was his son. He died there 2 March, 1807, aged 72. Mr. John Coney died 20 Aug., 1722, at whose funeral his son-in-law (Mr. Foxcroft) preached a sermon, which he dedicated to the widow, Mrs. Mary Coney. The Foxcrofts came originally from Foxcroft, in the county of Lancaster. The New England family descend from John, who went to reside in Halifax, in Yorkshire. The pedigree will be found in the *Hist. G. Reg.*, viii. 171–2, and 364. See also Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis*.

† A catalogue of them may be found in Emerson's *Hist. First Church*.

‡ See Wisner's *Hist. Old South*, pp. 23 and 98, Dr. Allen's *Hist. and Biog. Dict.*, and *Boston Evening Post*, 3 July, 1769, and Chauncy's *Funeral Sermon*.

§ On the 27th of June, arrived from New Providence His Excellency William Shirley, Esq., formerly Governor of this Province, and

July 12. Several other deaths occurred about this time, both in Town and country. Among them was that of Capt. John Hamock, "a noted vintner in Royal Exchange Lane." He was a large importer of wines and other liquors for above twenty years.* The same day, died, at Newburyport, Mrs. Elizabeth Greenleaf, eldest daughter of the Rev. Charles Chauncy, D.D., of Boston, and wife of Benjamin Greenleaf, Esq. And, on the 15th, died Mrs. Frances Tyler, eldest daughter of John Tyng, Esq., and wife of Mr. Joseph Tyler.

May 31. The General Court, which met on the last Wednesday of May, was stronger against Gov. Bernard than hitherto, and sharp messages passed between them. One of the principal causes of controversy was a demand upon the Province for funds to pay for quartering the troops in Boston. This was a subject calculated to cause great irritation, especially among the Boston Representatives, who argued with great effect upon the enormity which forced a standing army upon them, to the destruction of their trade and the morals of the people, and then to extort money from them to pay for it. But the first business was concerning the removal of the troops from the Town.

James Otis was made Chairman of a Committee to remonstrate with the Governor upon keeping an armed force in the Town, and to request him at once to withdraw it "by sea and land, out of this Port, and the gates of this City, during the session of the General Court." The answer to this demand was as remarkable for its brevity as it was significant of the importance the army was to his authority. "Gentlemen," he answered, "I have no authority over his Majesty's ships in this Port, or his troops in this Town; nor can I give any orders for the removal of the same."

This gave rise to a most powerful and conclusive answer from a Committee appointed for that purpose, which consisted of Major Hawley, Mr. Hancock, Mr. Adams, Mr. Preble, and Mr. James Warren. In their answer, they reminded the Governor that he was here as the King's Lieutenant and Captain-General, and Commander-in-Chief within the Province, in as ample a manner as the King's Lieutenant was in Ireland. That his Majesty the King had ordered the troops to Boston, was admitted; but that he had ordered them here owing to misrepresentations, was certain; and hence they were quartered in the Town as contrary to Act of Parliament as they were to reason and justice. Thus, they said, a brave and loyal people had been treated with insult, reproach, and contempt.

They said it was owing to the exaggerated reports of disturbances

late Governor of the Bahama Islands, and a Lieut. General in his Majesty's army. He was saluted as he passed Castle William, and many principal gentlemen waited on him with their compliments. — *Evening Post*, 3 July, 1769.

* His eldest son, Mr. John Hamock, merchant, died, "in the prime of life," 8 Jan., 1764. His second daughter, Hannah, was married to Andrew Cazneau, of Boston, attorney at law, 2 Sept., 1769. Hannah Cazneau, widow, died here, April, 1784.

that had caused the troops to be sent here, when it was well known that those disturbances bore no proportion to similar tumults in many of the best-regulated cities of Europe, and that they were "far, very far, from being carried to that atrocious and alarming length to which they had been in Britain, at the very gates of the Palace, and even in the Royal presence." But the conclusion of the address placed the Governor in a dilemma which must have caused him no little chagrin and vexation. Here was a military force, they said, not under the control of any authority in the Province; a power without any check, and therefore completely absolute. This power, having the sword constantly in its hand, may exercise a vigorous severity whenever it pleases. Thus circumstanced, "what privilege," they ask, "what security, is then left to this house, whose very existence to any purpose depends on its privilege and security?" Hence, if nothing by way of redress could be had of the King's Lieutenant, they must apply to his Majesty. The dilemma is too apparent to require explanation. Here was a Governor, a Commander-in-Chief in and over the Province, but here was a force over which he had no control! Had he been superseded? or had he been degraded? If the latter, he had degraded himself by calling in a power above him.

While the subject of the removal of the troops was under discussion, no business was done by the General Court; nor would that body proceed to business while the troops were stationed about them. This caused the Governor to take another unwise step, which was to adjourn them to Cambridge. Thus, to save himself the mortification of complying with the request to remove the troops, he removed the General Court; not reflecting, it would seem, that they could not be forced to do business there any more than in Boston, though they would not have the same excuse for delay.* And when he reproached them for sitting two weeks "without doing anything," and thereby putting the Province to the great expense of 500 pounds, they smartly retorted by comparing that sum with the tens of thousands of pounds which the troops had cost the Province, brought upon it through his means.

On the removal of the General Court from Boston to Cambridge, a circumstance occurred well calculated to widen the breach between the members and the Governor. It so happened, whether with design or not cannot now be stated, that, the very night following the removal to Cambridge, the Cannon were withdrawn from before the Court House. This was, naturally enough, turned to the disadvantage of the Chief Magistrate.

* Yet they urged, with much force, that their removal was illegal, and hence could well have justified themselves on that ground if they had still refused to act. They showed how Gov. Shute considered a removal from Boston, when, in 1721, the fatality of the small-pox required it. See *Proceedings of the Council and House of Representatives relative to the Convening at Harvard College*, p. 7. The next year, the General Court utterly refused to proceed to business at Cambridge, as will be seen in the general histories of the Province.

However, after standing out till beyond the middle of June, the House voted to proceed to business; but under a protest, strongly expressed, that it was from necessity, and that it was by no means to be taken as a precedent in future. Thus, though the Governor had gained his point, his days of rejoicing were few, for about the same time he received orders from the King to repair to England, "to lay before him the state of the Province." This he communicated to the General Court on the 28th of June, and proceeded to make arrangements for his departure. It is worthy of note, that, only the day before, namely, June 27th, the House voted a petition to the King for the Governor's removal.

June 28.

His situation had become one of intense anxiety; for it was not unknown to him that copies of his letters to the Ministry had been obtained, and he was daily expecting their arrival in Boston. But it so happened that they did not arrive until his Excellency had sailed. They were procured by Mr. Bollan, and by him forwarded by Capt. James Scott, of Mr. Hancock's ship, Boston Packet, which arrived the second week in August.*

The state of affairs now existing gave rise to the famous Resolves of the House of Representatives, in which were reiterated most of the charges against Governor Bernard, and through him against the Ministry.

The substance of those relating particularly to Boston are important in this connection. They were reported as unanimous, and are as follows: — "That Governor Bernard, by a wanton and precipitate dissolution of the last year's Assembly, and refusing to call another, though repeatedly requested by the people, acted against the spirit of a free Constitution; and, if such procedure be lawful, it may be in his power, whenever he pleases, to render himself absolute." "That the sending an armed force into this Colony, under a pretence of aiding and assisting the Civil Authority, is an attempt to establish a Standing Army here without our consent; is highly dangerous to the people; is unprecedented and unconstitutional, manifestly tending to enslave them. That whoever has represented to his Majesty's Ministers that the people of this Colony in general, or the Town of Boston in particular, were in such a state of disobedience as to require a fleet and army to support the Civil Magistrate, is an avowed enemy to this Colony, and to the Nation in general. That the misrepresentations of the state of this Colony, transmitted by Governor Bernard to his Majesty's Ministers, have been the means of procuring the military

* They were denied to Mr. Bollan, and when the Governor heard of the denial, he flattered himself that they could not be obtained; but, Members of Parliament having a right to copies of all documents laid before that body, Alderman Beckford demanded and received them, and thus Mr. Bollan became possessed of them. — See Hutchinson, iii. 226. But Mr. Hutchinson is singularly out of the way in saying they were received in Boston on the 5th of April, 1769, as will be seen by a reference to the *Boston Chronicle* of 14th August of this year. It is very possible that *some* letters of the Governor may have been received on the 5th of April, 1769; but his famous letters were not received until the time above stated.

force now quartered in the Town. That whoever gave order for quartering even common soldiers and camp women in the Court House in Boston, making a barrack of the same, placing a main guard with cannon pointed near the said house, and sentinels at the door, *designed* a high insult, and a triumphant indication that the military power was master of the whole Legislature."

These extracts may be taken as a fair specimen of the entire document, which covers nearly the whole ground of the Declaration of Independence of 1776; the sentiments are the same, and in some parts the language differs but little.

July 13. A few days after the passage of the Resolves, Commodore Samuel Hood,* who had resided in the Town for several months, sailed for Halifax, and soon after Governor Bernard sailed for England. His recall had been looked upon as certain for some time, and had been familiarly talked of by the people. He left his seat at Roxbury on the 31st of July, and went to the Castle. The next day he embarked on board his Majesty's ship Rippon, Capt. Samuel Thompson, then lying in King Road. On his leaving the fort a salute of fifteen guns was fired; and on entering the frigate the same number were discharged. There went with him his third son, Master Thomas Bernard; and among the passengers were Col. Hoar, of Nova Scotia, formerly of the Provincial service; Captain Murray, of the 14th regiment; Ensign Bertrand, of the 29th; Lieutenant Armstrong and Ensign Burton, of the 64th.

Before embarking, his Excellency delivered the Province Seal to the Lieutenant Governor, who appeared in Council, and took the oath required by Act of Parliament, and assumed the Government. As soon as the Rippon had spread her sails to a fair wind, the flag which had been flying at the head of the staff at Liberty Tree was lowered. Thus Governor Bernard not only made a timely escape from a troublesome Government, but he escaped witnessing the scenes of King-street, which soon after followed, and the more terrible scenes of Concord, Lexington and Bunker's Hill; while the people had got rid of an implacable enemy, as they believed, and had one the less to misrepresent their actions.

July 26. On the 26th of July, there was a meeting of the Merchants and Traders of Boston, to take into consideration the late movements in England relative to a reduction of Duties. The Ministry had discovered that Duties on glass, paper and colors, were "contrary to the principles of commerce," and that the Act laying them should be repealed at the next Session of Parliament. The Merchants saw through this, and declared, that such a reduction would "by no means

* Afterwards Lord Hood; was son of the Rev. Samuel Hood, of Butleigh, county of Somersett, where he was born 1724. He was long in active service; was with Rodney in the West Indies in 1781, when De Grasse was defeated; at Toulon, Corsica, &c. He married, in 1794, Miss Susanna Linzee, daughter of the Mayor of Plymouth, and died at Bath, 27th Jan., 1816, aged 92. Little is said about the Commodore during his residence in Boston.

relieve the trade from the difficulties under which it labored;" and they add, "we apprehend it is a measure intended only to quiet the manufacturers in Great Britain, and to prevent the setting up of those manufactures in the Colonies." They therefore voted to adhere strictly to the non-importation agreement entered into in August, 1768; to send for no goods contrary to that agreement; and a large Committee * was raised to procure a subscription among "the inhabitants not to purchase any goods of such persons as have or may import any goods from Great Britain, contrary to the late agreement of the merchants."

At the same meeting a Committee was appointed "To prepare a State of the Embarrassments and Difficulties the Trade labors under, by means of the late Regulations and Revenue Acts; and also a true Representation of the Conduct of the Commissioners and other Officers of the Customs, and lay the same before the Merchants at their next meeting." The gentlemen who had this in charge were Arnold Wells, Esq., Mr. Henderson Inches, Mr. William Dennie, Mr. William Mollineaux, and Mr. Isaac Smith. They accordingly drew up an account, which was accepted, and soon after printed.†

A little before this there was a Petition circulated in the Town which caused a good deal of excitement among the people. The officers of the Customs and their friends, to counteract the efforts of the Liberty men to procure the removal of the troops, addressed a Petition to the Governor, praying that the 14th or some other regiment might be detained in the Town to protect the lives and property of the King's loyal subjects. This proceeding of the Ministerial, or Royal Party, gave great offence. A Town-meeting was called, in which it was denounced in severe terms, as being a reflection upon the loyalty of the Town; as though the "laws of the land" did not make ample provision for the security of all his Majesty's subjects. It will not be very difficult for the reader to judge which party had the most to fear. But the one being supported by might and the other by right, made a difference of vast importance.

* These are the names of the persons appointed upon the Committee: — Mr. William Bowes, Mr. Jona. Amory, Capt. Saml. Partridge, Mr. Saml. Abbott, Mr. Thomas Walley, Mr. Moses Gill, Mr. Wm. Bout, Mr. Bartholomew Kneeland, Mr. Joshua Gardner, Mr. Thomas Brattle, Mr. Edwd. Church, and Mr. Saml. Salisbury.

Capt. Partridge, Capt. Dashwood, Capt. Bradford, Capt. Waldo and Capt. Matchet were a Committee to inspect the Manifests of the cargoes of vessels which might arrive from England. — *Boston Evening Post*, 31 July, 1769.

† It was a quarto pamphlet of 24 pages, very handsomely printed, a copy of which is now by me. In this it is said, that "upwards of 20 sail of men-of-war, cutters and other armed vessels, purchased by the Board of Commissioners, have been employed this year to cruise on the trade of this Province." — P. 17. The acts of some of the Commanders of these vessels were daily reported to be arbitrary and abusive in the extreme.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

Affair of the Rose Frigate. — Deaths — of James Smith, William Torrey, William Edes, James Forbes. — Non-Importation Committees. — Importers advertised. — Fourteenth of August celebrated. — Manufactures encouraged. — Affair of Otis and Robinson. — Bernard's Letters to Hillsborough. — "Appeal to the World." — Samuel Adams' Letter to Hillsborough. — Other Publications. — Free Masons. — New Map. — One tarred and feathered. — Case of John Mein. — Deaths — of the Rev. Samuel Checkley, Mr. John Knight, Mr. Samuel Kneeland. — Indictment of Gov. Bernard. — Case of the Hutchinsons. — Affair of the Wooden Head. — A Boy killed. — Ropewalk Affrays. — Fifth of March Tumults. — Mob in King-street. — Fired upon by Soldiers. — Several killed and wounded. — Troops evacuate the Town. — Funeral Ceremonies. — Proceedings of the Town.



APPLETON.*

A TRIAL of very deep interest came on in June of this year, in a special Court of Admiralty; the circumstances of which were as follows: The Rose frigate, of twenty guns, was at this time the Boston station-ship, commanded by Capt. Benjamin Caldwell, afterwards an Admiral. As this ship was cruising off Cape Ann on the morning of the 22d of April, the brigantine Pitt-packet, Thomas Power, master, was fallen in with. The frigate, being short of men, undertook to press some of Capt. Power's; accordingly, the captain of the frigate sent his Lieutenant, a Mr. Panton, with others, on board for that purpose. There were but four seamen in the brig, and they, knowing the men from the Rose to be a press-gang, retreated to the hold, and afterwards to the fore-peak. Here they made solemn asseverations that they would never be taken alive. The brigantine, or brig, as the vessel was indifferently called, was loaded with salt, and was from Cadiz, bound to Marblehead. Lieut. Panton gave the four men to understand that they were in his power, and that it was not of the least use for them to resist, and even laughed at their repeated oaths that they would never yield. One of the men, Michael Corbett, was armed with a harpoon, and the others with similar weapons. The parley was kept up for some time, and the Lieutenant continued to advance upon

* The pedigree of Appleton has been ascertained with nearly all the certainty and minuteness which can be desired. Samuel Appleton, the first of this family in New England, came from a place called Waldingfield, Co. of Suffolk, England, in 1635. John "Apulton" was living at Great Waldingfield, 1396. Samuel, the 7th in descent from that John, was born in 1586; hence he was 49 years of age when he emigrated. His son Samuel was born at Waldingfield in 1624. He was distinguished in Philip's war, and in various other important stations in the Colony. The family settled in Ipswich, in the County of Essex, Massachusetts, descendants of which have since become numerous, and spread into many of the States of the Union. The present distinguished families of Boston are the descendants of the Waldingfield emigrant, and from whom also the late Samuel Appleton, Esq., an honor and ornament to the name, was also descended. There is extant a judicious Memoir of Appleton.

the men, until one of them made a mark in the salt, and then Corbett called God to witness that if one of the gang attempted to pass it, that moment he was a dead man. At this, Panton, in the most foolhardy manner, took out his snuff-box, and, coolly tapping it, proposed to give them ten minutes to alter their minds. This had no effect, and he ordered his men to fire upon the sailors, which they did, and wounded Corbett and another ; but Corbett was not disabled, and kept his harpoon in readiness. Panton, after jocularly observing that he had seen as brave men before, and heard as high threats, proceeded to pass the line in the salt. Whereupon, true to his oath, Corbett threw his harpoon, and Panton fell dead upon the place. It struck him in the neck, severing the jugular vein.* In the mean time, a reinforcement having arrived from the frigate, the crew submitted, and the brig was taken charge of by the frigate's men, and brought round into the harbor before Boston. The next day, Gov. Bernard, Commodore Hood, Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson, Secretary Oliver, and Judge Auchmuty went on board the Rose, where the four men were in irons, to inquire into the affair.

Great fears were entertained that the sailors would not have a fair trial, as they could have no jury in a Court of Admiralty. John Adams volunteered to defend them, and he said he never took so much pains in any cause, before or after this, as he did to clear them of the charge of murder, feeling it to be one of justifiable homicide. They had, indeed, a powerful defender. He said : " I had appealed to Heaven and earth ; I had investigated all laws, human and divine ; I had searched all the authorities in the civil law, the law of nature and nations ; and I vainly felt as if I could shake the Town and the World." But Mr. Adams was prevented from making his world-shaking argument, the Court dreading its effect upon the people. And the judges, though they denied the plea of jurisdiction put in by the prisoners' counsel, and would not allow a trial by jury, which had been contended for, did not dare to go counter to the judgment of nearly the whole community, by pronouncing Corbett and his fellows guilty, and they therefore acquitted them.

The autumn of 1769 brought with it considerable sickness. There had been a number of cases of the small-pox, besides the usual complaints of the country, and many deaths occurred. Those infected with the small-pox were sent to the Province Hospital at New Boston, and flags were kept out at places where persons had been taken with it.

On the third of August Mr. James Smith died at his seat at Brush Hill, in Milton, at the age of about 81. He had been many

* I have partly followed the account in the Boston Evening Post of July 3d and July 24th 1769. It differs considerably from that in the *Boston Chronicle* of May 1st, 1769. It is said in the former paper " that the Lieutenant of the Rose was the person, who, not long since, fought a duel with an inhabitant of this Town, who generously gave him a life, which he has since sacrificed to his rashness." I have seen no other mention of such duel.

years a sugar-refiner in Boston, and his remains were brought into Town and buried from the house of James Murray, Esq., in Queen-street.* On the following morning died Mr. William Torrey, baker, one of the Assessors, and was buried on the seventh. His age was 69. The same morning, namely, August the fourth, Mr. William Edes died. He was a noted grocer and dealer in lemons. Capt. James Forbes died on the evening of the seventh, in his 70th year; and on the night of the same day Mrs. Fairfield and Mrs. Hall; the former was the wife of Mr. William Fairfield, one of the Assessors; the latter was wife of Capt. James Hall.

Aug. 11. On the eleventh of August the merchants held a meeting at Faneuil Hall, to consider what was proper to be done to carry out their Non-importation Agreement; and, being satisfied that certain gentlemen could not be prevailed upon to come into the views of the rest, a vote was passed to publish their names in the newspapers. They were accordingly published as follows: John Bernard, [son of the late Governor], Nathaniel Rogers, Theophilus Lillie, James McMasters and Company, John Mein, Thomas Hutchinson, Jun., and Elisha Hutchinson, sons of the Lieutenant Governor.† It was voted at the same meeting that Mr. Cyrus Baldwin, Mr. Gilbert Deblois, and Mr. John Avery, Jun., should prepare an Agreement

* His sugar-works occupied a part of the lot between Brattle-street Church and Wing's lane; probably the site of the present stables. I find him there as early as 1724. John Head, I think, succeeded him. See *ante*, p. 520. In an interleaved Almanac for this year, Mr. Smith is said to have been "buried from his own house at y^e^ corner of Queen-street." Mr. Murray may have been a tenant of Mr. Smith.

† In Edes & Gill's *N. Amer. Almanack*,* etc., before cited, is the following list of Importers, with their localities accompanying it: "A List of the names of *those* who AUDACIOUSLY continue to counteract the UNITED SENTIMENTS of the *Body* of Merchants throughout NORTH AMERICA, by importing British goods contrary to the Agreement.

John Bernard, in King-st., almost opposite Vernon's Head.

James McMasters, on Treat's wharf.

Patrick McMasters, opposite the sign of the Lamb.

John Mein, opposite the White Horse, and in King-st.

Nathaniel Rogers, opposite Mr. Henderson Inches' store, lower end of King-st.

William Jackson, at the Brazen Head, Cornhill, near the Town House.

Theophilus Lillie, near Mr. Pemberton's Meeting-house, North End.

John Taylor, nearly opposite the Heart and Crown, in Cornhill.

* In the imprint of this Almanac appear the words "Printed [upon paper manufactured in this Country.]"

Anne and Elizabeth Cummings, opposite the Old Brick Meeting-house."

On the 23d of January (1770) following, at an adjourned meeting of the merchants and others in Faneuil Hall, to hear the Report of a certain Committee respecting persons persisting in importing, Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson sent Sheriff Greenleaf with a letter to the Hall, directed to the Moderator, Wm. Phillips, Esq., requesting the meeting "to disperse without delay, and to forbear all such unlawful assemblies, as they could not be justified under any authority or color of law." The Meeting decided that they were doing their duty, and in a legal manner, and requested the Sheriff to inform his Honor that they should proceed in their business, and did proceed in pursuance of that determination; and among other doings, *Voted*, "That whereas John Bernard, James and Patrick McMasters & Co., Anne and Elizabeth Cummins, and John Mein, most of whom being strangers in this Country, have set themselves in open defiance of the body of Merchants and others throughout this Continent, by importing British Goods contrary to the known and united sentiments of the merchants, freeholders, and inhabitants of every Colony; therefore, they have in the most insolent manner too long affronted this people, and endeavored to undermine the liberties of this Country, to which they owe their *little* importance; and that they deserve to be driven into that obscurity from which they originated, and to *the hole of the pit from whence they were digged.*" — *Evening Post*, 29 *Jan.*, 1770.

for the Vendue Masters to sign, obliging them not to sell imported goods; and all of them signed the articles accordingly.

Aug. 14. Great preparations had been in progress for some time to celebrate the 14th of August of this year in a manner to meet the wishes of all the Sons of Liberty. Therefore, on the morning of that day, the British flag was displayed on Liberty Tree, "the day of the Union and firmly combined Association of the Sons of Liberty in this Province, without the least view of licentiousness, in a constitutional opposition to illegal, oppressive and arbitrary measures at home and from abroad. At eleven o'clock the Sons assembled at 'Liberty Tree, High-street, Great Elm, South End, Boston,' where they drank fourteen toasts."*

There was a large attendance on the occasion; many gentlemen had come from distant places, even from Pennsylvania; among them were the brother of John Dickinson, the author of the Farmer's Letters, and Joseph Reed, of Philadelphia. Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was expected, but did not, probably, come.

The meeting under Liberty Tree was adjourned to Liberty Tree Tavern, in Dorchester, known as Robinson's Tavern, "where three large pigs barbacued, and a variety of other provisions, were prepared for dinner. The company being large, about 300 in number, the tables were spread in the field under the covering of a tent, where they dined about two o'clock." During the entertainment a variety of colors were flying, music played, and, at proper intervals, cannon were fired. After dinner, toasts to the number of forty-five were given out; † "and, by order of the day, excepting the first, an indispen-

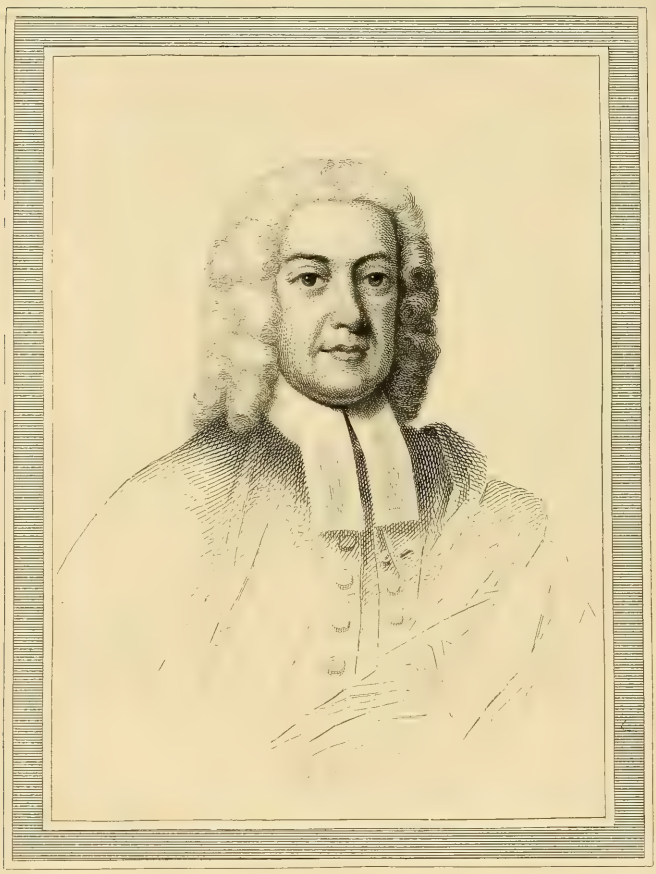
* *Boston Evening Post*, 21 Aug., 1769. The editor adds a note to the words between the single inverted commas, — "See last edition or Budget of Nettleham Epistles," — which doubtless refers to Bernard's Letters to Hillsborough, and before referred to.

Besides the King, Queen and Royal family, were toasted Alderman Wilkes, the "Glorious 92," Paoli, American manufactures, and, 14thly, "May the 14th of August be the annual Jubilee of Americans till time shall be no more."

† 3. Lord Camden. 4. Lord. Chatham. 5. Duke of Richmond. 6. Marquis of Rockingham. 7. Gen. Conway. 8. Lord Dartmouth. 9. Col. Isaac Barré. 10. Sir George Saville. 11. Sir William Meredith. 12. John Wilkes, Esq. 13. Mrs. [Catharine] Macaulay.* 14. The Farmer of Pennsylvania (*three cheers*). 15. The Massachusetts Ninety-Two (*three cheers*). 16. Mr. Bourke [Edmund Burke]. 17. Alderman Beckford. 18. Serjeant Glynn. 24. The Cantons of Switzerland. 26. The King of Prussia. 27. Paschal Paoli — shamefully neglected by every power in Europe. 28. Dr. Lucas and all other illustrious Patriots in Ireland. 30. May the detested names of the very few importers everywhere be transmitted to posterity with infamy (*discharge of cannon*). 31. May Sir Francis Bernard, of Nettleham, Baronet, the Commissioners, and others his confederates, the infamous calumniators of North America, soon meet with condign punishment (*three cheers*). 32. Annual Parliaments. 38. The speedy removal of all Task-masters, and the redress of all grievances. 43. The abolition of all craft and low cunning in Church and State. 44. A safe lodgment to all peculators, State pirates, thieves, robbers and traitors. 45. Strong halters, firm blocks, and sharp axes to all such as deserve either. (*A discharge of cannon and three cheers.*)

The article is closed with this uncivil language: "Should this account overtake the Baronet of Nettleham on this side T–b–n [Tyburn ?], he and Ld. H——h [Hillsborough] are at liberty to write seventy-seven volumes of their High Dutch and low diabolical commentaries '*about it and about it.*'"

* This lady had published a History of England, in which she favored free principles, a copy of which was just before this celebration sent over by the brother of the authoress to James Otis, Esq.



Your moſt velvetfull
Humble Servant
T Prince

sable bumper, drank as moderately as each gentleman inclined."* At five o'clock, the whole set off in their chariots, chaises, and other vehicles, and returned to Boston.† On their arrival, about six o'clock, "the whole cavalcade passed in procession through the main street, around the Town-house, and then returned to their respective dwellings; the whole having been conducted with the greatest decency and good order," "which gentlemen ever observe. All gentlemen of distinction from other Colonies, known to be in Town, had cards of invitation sent them."

In the papers of the day accounts of the celebration are given, but none of the names of the Patriots appear.‡ They were no doubt all there, from Samuel Adams to those whose names have never found their way among printers' types. John Adams was there, who says there were 350 at the dinner; that both Mr. Reed and Mr. Dickinson were "cool, reserved and guarded all day." "After dinner was over, and the toasts were drunk," he says, "we were diverted with Mr. Balch's mimicry and the Liberty Song, and a song by Dr. Church, the whole company joining in the chorus." He remarks also, "Otis and Adams are politic in promoting these festivals; for they tinge the minds of the people; they impregnate them with the sentiments of liberty; they render the people fond of their leaders in the cause, and averse and bitter against all opposers. To the honor of the Sons, I did not see one person intoxicated, or near it. I felt it my duty to be there; but am not able to conjecture of what consequence it was whether I was there or not. Jealousies arise from little causes; and many might suspect that I was not hearty in the cause, if I had been absent, whereas none of them are more sincere and steadfast than I am."

Great efforts continued to be made by the merchants to cause the establishment of home manufactures of all kinds, which in the end had the effect to render the country independent of England.§ Improved printing-presses began to be manufactured in Connecticut; and Mr. Mitchelson, of Boston, made printing-types "equal to any imported from Great Britain." But there was another manufacture, which portended not only independence, but a maintenance of independence; for the same merchants created a fund to be employed in carrying on a manufactory "of guns and small arms."

* To the above passage the editor of the Evening Post has this note: "This clearly explains a dark passage in the Nettleham codes, where there is a query made how forty-five drams can be drunk in the morning, and ninety-two in the afternoon consistently with temperance."

† "Between four and five o'clock the carriages were all got ready, and the company rode off in procession, Mr. Hancock first, in his chariot, and another chariot bringing up the rear. I took my leave of the gentlemen and turned off for Taunton." — *Diary of John Adams.*

‡ I am chiefly indebted to the *News-Letter*, *Mass. Gazette*, and *Evening Post*. The *Chronicle*, becoming a high tory paper, scarcely noticed the celebration at all.

§ "A gentleman, whom posterity will bless, has deposited 100 dollars in the hands of the Selectmen of Boston, 40 dollars to be given the person, who in the year 1771 shall have raised the greatest number of mulberry trees; 30 dollars to him who shall have the next greatest number, 20 to the next, and 10 to the next." This was to induce the manufacture of silk. — See *Ames' Almanac* for 1769.

Sept. 5. A very unfortunate affair happened, on the fifth of September, at the British Coffee-house in King-street,* which was a rencontre between James Otis and John Robinson. The latter was one of the Commissioners of the Customs, who, Mr. Otis believed, had deeply injured him by misrepresenting his motives for his political course. He believed also, and probably with good reason, that Robinson, with other Crown officers in Boston, had endeavored to have the leading Patriots, and particularly himself, prosecuted for treason, and sent to England for trial. For a long time, certainly ever since the arrival of the Commissioners, there had been no good feeling towards them among any of the Patriots; and Mr. Otis being considered the most dangerous and most formidable of the latter, it was doubtless agreeable to the Commissioners and their party to draw him into collisions and difficulties; and, knowing his impetuous temper, they succeeded in their object, without difficulty. To counteract their representations, as well as to set their characters in an odious light, as it respected veracity, Mr. Otis advertised the Commissioners and Governor Bernard. In his advertisement he stated that he had "demanded personal satisfaction, and given due warning, but could obtain no sufficient answer." † Thus the quarrel was carried into the papers of the day, and resulted in a fight, disgraceful to both parties.

Mr. Otis, it seems, went to the Coffee-house by appointment, where he met Robinson, who began the assault upon him. Others, friends of the former, joined in the assault, and Otis was severely handled; being cut in the head, and otherwise wounded. As usual in all such cases, the friends of each party made out a good case for their respective sides. Mr. Otis appears to have gone to the Coffee-house unattended by friends, while the other party was well provided by the presence of several officers of the army and navy. A young man named John Gridley ‡ happened to be passing the Coffee-house when the affair commenced, and, being a friend of Otis, he went to his assistance, but he was roughly handled and soon put out of the house.

The matter was carried into court, where it was kept for about four years. The Jury finally brought in damages in favor of Mr. Otis for 2000 pounds sterling. In the mean time Mr. Robinson had married a Boston lady, Miss Nancy Boutineau, daughter of James Boutineau, Esq., and gone to England.§ Mr. Boutineau was a lawyer, and managed the cause for his son-in-law, who, having expressed sorrow for his treatment of Mr. Otis, and confessed himself the aggressor, the fine was refused by Mr. Otis, and nothing was demanded of Robinson but the costs of Court, and the amount of Mr. Otis' surgeon's bill; altogether being about 112 pounds, lawful money.

* Now No. 66 State-street.

† *Mass. Gazette*, 14th Sept., 1769.

‡ See his deposition, *ibid.*

§ They were married on the 5th of October following the affray. On the 16th of the next March they sailed for England. It is said that Robinson left without leave of his superiors, and so secretly that only a few friends knew of his departure.—*Narrative of the Boston Massacre*, p. 39.

Oct. 4. At a Town meeting on the fourth of October, the subject of the Letters and Memorials sent to Lord Hillsborough by Governor Bernard and others was taken up, and the papers read. The thanks of the Town were voted to Mr. Bollan for having procured and transmitted them to the Selectmen. A Committee was appointed to consider them and report at the adjourned meeting.* After which the subject of a nonconformance by certain individuals to the Non-importation Agreement was acted upon, which is thus entered upon the records: — "Be it therefore SOLEMNLY *voted*, that the names of those persons, *few* indeed, to the honor of the Town," † "be entered on the record of this Town, that *posterity* may know who those persons were that preferred their little private advantage to the common interest of all the Colonies, in a point of the greatest importance; who not only deserted but opposed their Country in a struggle for the rights of the Constitution, that must ever do it honor; and who, with a design to enrich themselves, basely took advantage of the generous self-denial of their fellow-citizens for the common good."

Oct. 18. On the 18th of October the Town met according to adjournment, and the Committee to whom was referred the Letters and Memorials, with instructions "to consider what measures are proper to be taken to vindicate the character of the Town from the false and injurious representations contained in them," now reported a paper, entitled "An Appeal to the World, or a Vindication of the Town of Boston, from many false and malicious Aspersions contained" in those Letters and Memorials, and the same was ordered to be entered upon the records of the Town,‡ and to be published; which were accordingly done.§

The year 1769 was very fruitful in important works relating to the difficulties which had arisen between the people of Boston and the Government of Great Britain, on both sides of the Atlantic, as well as on both sides of the question at issue. Among them, "Boston's Appeal to the World" has been considered a work of consummate ability;

* Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, James Otis, Dr. Joseph Warren, Richard Dana, Joshua Henshaw, Joseph Jackson and Benjamin Kent, composed the Committee.

† The names are the same as those given on a previous page, and are therefore omitted here.

‡ The Appeal occupies 30 full pages of those records, which pages are of large demy size. The printed tract is now of rare occurrence.

§ This Direction was printed with the Appeal: "The following remarks upon the letters written by Gov. Bernard and others, were ordered to be published; and the Committee were directed respectfully to transmit a printed copy of the same to the following gentlemen, viz., the Hon. Col. ISAAC BARRE, Esq., Member of Parliament; His Excellency THOMAS POWNALL, Esq., late Governor of this Province, and a Member of Parliament; BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Esq., Doctor of Laws; WILLIAM BOLLAM, Esq., Agent for his Majesty's Council of this Province; DENNYS DE BERDT, Esq., Agent for the House of Representatives, and BARLOW TRECOTHIC, Esq., Alderman of the City of London, and a Member of Parliament.

WILLIAM COOPER, *Town Clerk*."

Why a copy was not ordered for Alderman William Beckford, does not appear; for Mr. Bollan was indebted to him for his success in obtaining the pernicious documents, as already stated.

In 1773 the General Court resolved to pay William Bollan, Esq., £1200 sterling for his services from 12 July, 1769, to 12 July, 1773; and Dr. Franklin, for three years, ending 31 Oct., 1773, £800 sterling. — *House Journal*, p. 25.

and its composition is almost, if not entirely, the work of Samuel Adams. He was also the author of the Letter to Earl Hillsborough, published anonymously, and doubtless many other similar productions. Edes & Gill printed the Charter of the Province, as granted by William and Mary, in their Almanac, and also the Explanatory Charter of George the First.*

The "Royal Arch Lodge" of Free Masons had its beginning in Boston this year.† It was afterwards called "St. Andrew's Royal Arch Chapter." The next year they held their meetings at the "Green Dragon," in Union-street, which was their regular place of meeting until 1805, when they removed to Mason's Hall, the north side of the Market-house.

Notwithstanding the agitations in the Town in 1769, and the difficulties and discouragements which beset it on every side, its progress was onward, and a beautiful map of it was issued by Mr. William Price, with this title: — "A New Plan of the Great Town of Boston in New England in America, with the many additional Buildings and new Streets, to the year 1769." It is dedicated to Governor Belcher, whose Arms are conspicuously delineated in the upper left hand corner.‡ Like the Map of 1722, it contains statistics of fires, times of small-pox visitations, number and time of building of the several Churches, and other matters, continued to the year of publication. It is also noted that on the Castle "are mounted about 120 cannon." The number of houses in the Town about 4,000, and inhabitants 20,000.

In a thickly settled Town, of so many inhabitants as were now in Boston, it was a move highly criminal to quarter troops, and every day they were continued difficulties increased, and it required no prophet to predict that a time was near at hand when either the peo-
Oct. 24. ple or the soldiers must be masters. There was an occurrence on the 24th of October, which greatly irritated the Revenue Offices, to redress whose grievances the soldiers were here specially stationed. It was a high offence to the former for any goods to be

* This Charter is dated August 20th, 1725, 12th Geo. I. Dr. Holmes does not mention it in his invaluable Annals.

† Its first meeting was held on the 28th of August, at which were present, the Rt. Worshipful James Brown, Master; Charles Chambers, Sen. Warden; Winthrop Gray, Jun. Warden; William McMullen, Henry Glynn, Wm. McKeen, John Woodington, Joshua Loring, D. Sec.; Samuel Sumner, Tyler. — *By-Laws, &c., of St. Andrews' R. A. Chapter, edited by* Thomas Waterman, Esq., of Boston.

‡ This leads me to the opinion that maps from the same plate were issued during Mr. Belcher's administration; copies of which are doubtless in existence, though I have not met with any, nor have I heard of such. However, this (of 1769) is the same, as to outline and scale, as that by Capt. John Bonner, described at page 566, *ante*. Mr. Price was interested with Bonner in publishing that of 1722, and he no doubt came into possession of the plate, and used it from time to time. On the map is Mr. Price's advertisement, by which it appears his sign was "The King's Head and Looking-glass," and his shop was the 2d door South of the Old Meeting-house in Cornhill, "Where is sold a large New South-east Prospect of Boston, neatly done, and a Prospect of the Colledg's in Cambridge, N. E. And great variety of Maps and Prints of all kinds, with Frames and Glasses or without. Also pictures painted in Oyle" — "Newest fashioned Looking Glasses, Tea Tables, China Ware, English and Dutch Toys, Flutes, Hautboys, Violin Strings," &c. In 1727 he published "A Draught of the Meeting-house of the Old Church in Boston, with the New Spire and Gallery."

landed without being duly entered. On the other hand, it was an equally high offence to the people for any one to inform against those who should bring in goods without paying duties. On the occasion referred to, a certain individual, not having the fear of the people before his eyes, and happening to know that "a cask or two" of wine had been brought in, in a sloop from Rhode Island, proceeded to give information of the fact to his Majesty's Commissioners. Aware that he had taken a very dubious step, that individual kept himself secreted for a time; but, in the evening of the 24th, he fell into the hands of some persons who had been on the watch for him, and who, unmolested, proceeded to substitute for his ordinary dress one of tar and feathers. Thus attired, they carted him through the streets for about three hours;* which period was ended in King-street near nine o'clock. Here "he promised better behavior for time to come, and asked pardon for his past offence." Then his clothes were returned to him, and "all peaceably dispersed."

Nov. 5. The fifth of November falling on Sunday this year, Pope Day was celebrated on Monday the sixth. Salutes were fired at the Castle and the Town Batteries. "A number of young persons exhibited some pageantry, and, after going through the principal streets of the Town, they retired to Copp's Hill, where the effigies were committed to the flames, about seven o'clock." Mr. John Mein having rendered himself obnoxious by certain publications in his Boston Chronicle, his effigy was added to the number, and labelled in a manner far beyond the bounds of decency.† He had taken the side of the Home Government, and published the names of many of the merchants as importers, who had pledged themselves not to import British goods, and who had signed the Non-importation Agreement. This he did in retaliation for the publications of the merchants before

* They proceeded first to Liberty Tree, "amidst a vast concourse of people," making him hold a large glass lantern in his hand, "that people might see the doleful condition he was in, and to deter others from such infamous practices." Under Liberty Tree they "made him swear never to be guilty of the like crime in future." As the procession was proceeding to Liberty Tree, it was fired upon from Mein & Fleeming's printing office. Upon which some of those in the crowd broke into the office; but the persons inside had escaped. They however found three guns, which they brought off.

† On one of the transparencies was exhibited this acrostic: —

"Insulting wretch, we 'll him expose,
O'er the whole world his deeds disclose;
Hell now gapes wide to take him in,
Now he is ripe, O lump of sin!
Mean is the man, M—n is his name,
Enough he 's spread his hellish fame,
Infernal Furies hurl his soul
Nine million times from Pole to Pole."

There were verses also to the "Tories," quite equal to these, of which the following are a specimen: —

"Now shake, ye Tories, I see the rogue behind,
Hung up a scarecrow, to correct mankind."
"Now we 'll be free, or bathed in honest blood,
We 'll nobly perish for our Country's good.
We 'll purge the land of the infernal crew,
And at one stroke we 'll give the Devil his due."

The Inspectors of the Customs are thus noticed: —

"Here stands the Devil for a Show,
With the I—n—rs in a row,
All bound to Hell, and that we know."

"Wilkes and Liberty, No. 45," stood at the head of some lines, in which the "Informer" suffers thus: —

"If any one now takes his part,
He 'll go to Hell without a cart."

I suppose Gov. Bernard to be referred to in these verses: —

"From ——, the veriest monster on earth,
The fell production of some baneful birth,
These ills proceed, — from him they took their birth.
If I forgive him, then forget me, Heaven,
Or like a Wilkes may I from right be driven."

mentioned. His paper had, in fact, become completely subservient to the oppressors, and he was free in impeaching the motives of the men on whom the people looked as models of excellence. This brought down the vengeance of the latter upon him, and he was attacked in the street near his own office, and obliged to fly to the soldiers for protection. This affair happened on the 28th of October, and he soon after sailed for England.

Dec. 1. The Rev. Mr. Samuel Checkley, the first minister of the New South Church, died on the 1st of December, in his 74th year, after a long and able pastorate. He was son of Col. Samuel Checkley, distinguished for his public services in the Town, and for his excellent character. Mr. Checkley was father-in-law of the

Dec. 4. distinguished patriot, Samuel Adams. And on the fourth following, an aged merchant, Mr. John Knight, died, aged 81 years. His warehouse was in the vicinity of Faneuil Hall.

On the 14th of December died Mr. Samuel Kneeland, many years a well known and highly respectable printer, in the 73d year of his age. He commenced business about 1718, and his office was in Prison lane, at the corner of Dorset's or Dassett's alley, and was used as such, by Mr. Kneeland and his successors, for eighty years. He was a native of Boston, respectably connected, and served his time with Bartholomew Green. In 1727 he commenced the publication of "The New England Journal," and four months after went into partnership with Timothy Green, — a connection which was continued twenty-five years. Kneeland and Green were engaged in printing the first Bible ever issued from the Boston Press, as has been before stated. Mr. Kneeland was many years printer to the House of Representatives.*

A very curious farce was enacted soon after the departure of Governor Bernard for England. The Grand Jury found bills of indictment against him, General Gage, the five Commissioners of the Customs, the Collector and Comptroller, "for writing certain letters to the Secretary of State, and other the King's Ministers, and therein slandering the inhabitants of the Town and Province." This was of course only to show the resentment of the people in a new light; for it was doubtless well known to the Grand Jury, that a King's Governor could not be tried in a Colonial Court. Hence there were no writs of attachment ever issued, and, after a while, a *nolle prosequi* was entered upon each case.

The Non-importation Agreement ended with the year 1769, and some of those who had been forced into it were determined to proceed in their regular business, and would pay no attention to a renewal of

* In the Journal of the House, June 6th, 1738, it is entered, — "Col. Prescott, from the Committee appointed to inquire into the matter of charge, &c., of printing the Journal of the House, made report, &c. Ordered that Mr. Samuel Kneeland, the Printer to the House, be allowed 14s. and 4d., new tenor bills, per sheet, for printing and delivering the votes of the House, as they shall be taken off from the Journal."

that Agreement. Two of the sons of Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson* were of this number. They had delivered certain goods into the custody of the Committee, or, what amounted to the same thing, they had allowed the Committee to place its padlock on the warehouse in which they were, and to keep the key. The first of January having come, the Messrs. Hutchinsons removed the lock, and, taking their goods from the warehouse, caused them to be secreted. They were immediately called upon to return them to the custody of the Committee, which they refused to do. A meeting of merchants was called, the whole body of whom proceeded to Garden Court, the residence of the Lieut. Governor, a part of whose household were those two sons. The merchants were attended by a great number of people, and it is not surprising if the Lieut. Governor was apprehensive of a repetition of the scenes of 1765; for, when the merchants made known their business, and demanded the restoration of the goods, "without sufficiently considering the consequences," he advised his sons to comply; "but had soon reason to repent; and that he felt more trouble and distress of mind from this error in his public trust, than he had done from loss and damage to his private fortune, when his house and great part of his property were destroyed;" that "he was triumphed over, and reproached for the concession, by the men who, under color of friendship, advised him to it."

The Lieut. Governor could hardly suppress his indignation, and reproached himself for doing what he did not dare to refuse to do. The merchants continued their meetings, which he pronounced treasonable, and endeavored to put a stop to, but all to no purpose. Joseph Hawley said, in the General Court, that he should like to know how the Parliament of England had acquired a right of legislation over the Colonies. And Samuel Adams said at the same time, what was reiterated afterwards in the same words in the Declaration of 1776, "Independent we are, and independent we will be." This feeling disseminated itself through all classes, and would not be controlled.† Meetings of the merchants were continued. The Lieut. Governor called upon the Council to assist him in putting a stop to them, but they refused. He next appealed to the Justices of the Peace, but they were with the people. Then he sent Sheriff Greenleaf into one of the meetings with a paper to read to those assembled, which required them, in his Majesty's name, to disperse and cease their unlawful proceedings. But his Majesty was too far off to be dreaded, though they allowed the paper to be read in his name, and then went on with their business as though nothing had happened.

July 12.

* Thomas and Elisha Hutchinson, before noticed. They went to England, and both died there. See *ante*, page 227.

† About the same time appeared, in the *Evening Post*, these expressions: — "To the Public. — It is reported that a cursed design is on foot to ruin the credit of the merchants of this Town, and enslave North America. If so, may the inhabitants behave like men and like Christians. A Freeholder."

The proscribed Importers were doomed to experience much trouble. It was too humiliating for them to submit to the dictation of the other merchants, and they had almost the whole community, on which they depended for trade, against them. Boys and others would deride and point at them as they passed by their shops. This feeling was kept up, and the affair at length ended in blood, which thus came about.

Feb. 22. On the 22d of February, "some boys and children set up a large Wooden Head, with a board faced with paper, on which were painted the figures of four of the Importers, who had violated the merchants' Agreement, in the middle of the street, before Theophilus Lillie's door." Soon after it was set up, a famous Informer, who lived but a few doors off, came along, and endeavored to persuade a countryman to drive his cart against it, but that individual had no inclination to meddle. Not long after, the Informer endeavored to get a man with a charcoal cart to break down the Image, but he declined also. The Informer became vexed at his ill-success, and the by-standers at the same time became incensed at his attempts, and he retreated towards his own house, followed by numerous boys and others. As he was retreating, he passed Mr. Edward Proctor, Mr. Thomas Knox, Captains Riordon and Skillings, at whom he cried Perjury! Perjury! Upon this, angry and insulting language followed on both sides. Missiles were thrown at the Informer by the boys, who at length compelled him to shut himself up in his house. Not satisfied with being safe there, he most unwisely undertook to revenge himself, which he did by firing a gun from his window, severely wounding a boy, Samuel Gore, son of Capt. John Gore, and mortally wounding another boy, Christopher Snider, about eleven years of age, who died on the following evening. This boy lived with "Madam Apthorp," and his father lived in Frog lane, from whose house he was buried on the 26th following, with great ceremony;* upon which Mr. Hutchinson remarked, that "a grand funeral was very proper for him. Young and old, some of all ranks and orders, attended in a solemn procession from Liberty Tree to the Town House, and then to the Common Burying-ground." The Historian also injudiciously remarked upon this funeral, that it was only for the son of a poor German. To return to the house of Ebenezer Richardson, this being the name of the Informer.

As soon as the persons above named were shot, some of the people "got into the New Brick Meeting-house and rang the bell, on which, they soon had company enough to beset Mr. Richardson's house front

* The corpse was set down under Liberty Tree, whence the procession began. About 50 schoolboys preceded, and there were "at least 2000 in the procession, of all ranks, amidst a crowd of spectators." The pall was supported by six youths, chosen by the parents of the deceased. A board was fixed upon Liberty Tree, inscribed, "Thou shalt take no satisfaction for the life of a Murderer; — he shall surely be put to death." Upon each side and at the foot of the coffin were Latin inscriptions, with interpretations well calculated to excite sympathy for the deceased, and at the same time indignation against him who occasioned his death. In the *Evening Post* of 26 Feb. is a very minute account of the affair.

and rear," and broke into it. There they found another obnoxious person, Mr. George Wilmot, from whom they took a gun, "heavily charged with powder, and crammed with 179 goose and buck shot." Whereupon Richardson and Wilmot were captured and taken before Mr. Justice Ruddock. This gentleman, not caring to act alone in the case, ordered them to Faneuil Hall. There, with the other Justices, Richard Dana, Edmund Quincy, and Samuel Pemberton, the Examination was had, "before at least a thousand people," which resulted in their committal to prison. It was remarked at the time that the people were so exasperated, that, had not some gentlemen of influence interposed their good offices, the prisoners would have been torn to pieces before they reached the jail.

On the 20th of April following, the two culprits were tried for their lives. Josiah Quincy and Sampson Salter Blowers were their Counsel; Samuel Quincy and Robert Treat Paine, of Taunton (afterwards a Signer of the Declaration of Independence), conducted the cause on the part of the Crown, the Attorney General being absent. Richardson was brought in guilty of murder, but Wilmot was cleared. Mr. Hutchinson, the Chief Justice, viewed the guilt of the former, as everybody would now, a clear case of justifiable homicide, and consequently refused to sign a warrant for his execution; and, after lying in prison two years, Richardson was, on application to the King, pardoned and set at liberty.*

The next event of much importance was an affray between the soldiers and ropemakers. The 14th and 29th regiments, it will be remembered, were the regiments now remaining in the Town. The former had their principal barracks in Brattle-street, nearly opposite a little alley (then called Boylston's alley) now the covered passage nearly in a line with Washington-street, and at the foot of Cornhill. These were called Murray's barracks, and sometimes Smith's barracks. The 29th was quartered in Water and Atkinson streets.

The merest spark has many times caused the most lamentable conflagrations. So a silly word, or a trifling action, has led to the sacrifice of many innocent lives. After the affair of the Wooden Figure at Lillie's, the officers of the regiments were strict with their men, and kept them more promptly at their posts of duty; but old grudges could not be removed by discipline. The 29th regiment being stationed in the vicinity of large ropewalks, in which were employed many young men, ill-feeling had sprung up between them and the soldiers, which ripened into a spirit for mastery. The week previous to the fifth of March, two soldiers met with a young man, probably one of the journeyman ropemakers, whom it is said they insulted, and were by him knocked down. This was near the foot of King-

* In this account of the case of Richardson and Wilmot, it must be borne in mind that it is almost entirely made up from the facts detailed by their enemies. Richardson was no doubt insulted beyond endurance, which caused his rashness; in a moment of intense excitement he fired on the Mob. These facts doubtless had their weight with the Court.

street. The soldiers were determined to be revenged. Several of them, being armed with clubs or bludgeons, and swords, proceeded, about eleven o'clock, on Friday, the third of March, to Mr. Mar. 3. John Gray's Ropewalk. The leader of the soldiers told the workmen at the Walk that he had come for satisfaction for a previous transaction, and was prepared to take it. He of course met with new insults and derision; and no one offering himself for "satisfaction," the "gentleman" soldier challenged any one to single combat. Then one of the ropemakers went out, a fight ensued, the soldier was worsted, had his sword taken from him, and was glad to retreat. He soon returned, however, with some eight or nine more, who being expected by the ropemakers, these were prepared for the emergency, and a general fight followed. The soldiers were severely beaten, and returned to their comrades for a reinforcement, which obtaining, to the number, as it was said, of 30 or 40, they returned again to the Ropewalk. Being now superior in numbers (three to one, as was reported), an unequal but desperate encounter followed; and, although none were killed, two or three of the workmen were much wounded, and many of the soldiers fared quite as hardly. As they were going to the fight, Mr. John Hill, Justice of the Peace, met them, and endeavored to divert them from their purpose; but he came near being knocked down with a club, aimed at his head, and the individual who aimed it knocked down a laborer in the Justice's presence, and beat him badly after he fell. In this affair "a tall negro drummer" was conspicuous, and led on a party sword in hand; but he had reason to regret his rashness, having his sword beat out of his hand, and was otherwise punished for his temerity.*

On the evening of the same day another large party of the soldiers proceeded to renew the attack; but Mr. Gray, the owner of the Walk to which they were going, met them, and finally succeeded in dissuading them from their purpose. But the next day, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, "three stout grenadiers," well armed, went to Mr. Archibald M'Neil's Ropewalk, and finding three young men there at work, called to them in highly offensive language. In the mean time, Mr. James Bayley came up, and being seconded by Mr. Archibald M'Neil, Jr., and a journeyman employed in Mr. Winter Calef's tan-yard, near by, the three grenadiers were soon put to flight.

The influence of these brutal affrays extended far and wide, in proportion to the number and consequence of the friends of the parties to them. That outrages were committed by the soldiers is no doubt true, but those outrages were exaggerated; and they, probably, in nine cases out of ten, were the abused party. It was their misfortune to occupy the very uncomfortable position which they now did, and

* This is very nearly in accordance with Mr. Hill's deposition, who, when the occurrence took place, happened to be at a house "on the corner of a way leading from Atkinson-st. to Mr. John Gray's ropewalks near Green's barracks." His age at this time was 69. His account favors the ropemakers.

those who sent them here deserve all the execration of posterity, and not the poor soldiers.*

Mar. 5. In the order of events, the tragedy of the fifth of March is next to be detailed. It commenced soon after nine o'clock in the evening of a bright moonlight night, and had its immediate origin in this manner. As four young men, or "youths," as they were called, named Edward Archbald, William Merchant, Francis Archbald and John Leach, Jr., came down Cornhill together, they separated at Dr. John Loring's corner. The two former went on down Cornhill, to pass through Boylston's alley, in which a sentinel was posted. When they came near him he was "brandishing a broad sword of an uncommon size," striking it against the wall, "out of which he struck fire plentifully." This he appears to have been doing by way of recreation. There was "a mean-looking Irishman" in company with the sentinel, who had in his hand a large cudgel. Archbald and Merchant attempted to pass the sentinel without answering his challenge; whereupon a scuffle ensued, in which Archbald was struck on the arm, and Merchant had his clothes pierced under his arm-pit and his skin grazed; and in turn he struck the soldier with a short stick which he brought with him. The Irishman ran to the barracks to alarm the soldiers, and immediately returned with two of them. One was armed with a pair of tongs, the other with a shovel. The man with the tongs drove Archbald back through the alley, and struck him over the head with them. By this time the noise had brought several people to the place, and John Hicks, "a young lad," knocked the soldier down. The soldiers then retreated to the barracks, followed by their assailants. Immediately after, about a dozen of the soldiers came out, armed, and the people dispersed. About the same time Samuel Atwood† came up from Dock Square, and meeting the soldiers hurrying down the alley leading to the Square, asked them if they intended to murder the people? To which some of them replied, "Yes, by God, root and branch!" and almost at the same instant one gave Atwood a blow with a club; being unarmed, he attempted to make off, but before he got out of their reach another struck him, and another cut him on the shoulder, to the bone. In the Square the soldiers inquired, "Where are the Yankee boogers? Where are the Cowards?" This being attended with much noise, many persons hurried into Dock Square, pressed upon the soldiers, and some blows were given and received. The officers, however, succeeded in causing the soldiers to

* The accounts of the Ropewalk affrays are stated with so much variation, that it is exceedingly difficult to arrive at the truth. Capt. Preston states that the ropemakers were the first aggressors, and that the trouble began while two or three soldiers were quietly going through one of the walks. But he was probably mistaken as to the beginning or origin of the troubles. Mr. Gray, the owner of the walk where the principal fights were, did not understand it so, but he was so well convinced that his men had been in fault, that he discharged one of them, after hearing Cols. Carr and Dalrymple's accounts.

† He belonged to Wellfleet, and was from a vessel then lying in the Town Dock.

return to their barracks in Brattle-street, to which they were followed by the Mob and besieged there. Then some among the assemblage cried out, "Now for the Main Guard!" * which had its quarters in King-street, opposite the south door of the State House. Upon this the mass in the Square moved for King-street; part of them running up Cornhill, some up Wilson's lane, others up Royal Exchange lane.

After the soldiers were withdrawn to their barracks, some well-disposed persons among the crowd endeavored to persuade them to go to their homes;† but little or no attention was paid to them, and many were engaged in tearing up the stalls of the Market place, probably for the purpose of a supply of such arms as those materials afforded. It appears that another party of the inhabitants from the south end were assembled at Oliver's Dock, and that they began to appear in King-street about the same time as those from Dock Square.

The sentinel at the Custom House (which stood on the lower corner of Royal Exchange lane, fronting on King-street) was the object aimed at by a part of the Mob,‡ and a boy pointed him out as one who had at some time previous knocked him down; whereupon this first party, consisting of some twenty young men of various ages, pressed upon the sentinel, some crying out, "Kill him, knock him down!" with other similar expressions. The poor sentinel retreated up the steps by which the Custom House was entered, beset by a shower of missiles, as snow-balls, pieces of ice, and sticks of wood. While thus attacked the man loaded his gun, which the Mob observing, hallooed, "Fire and be damned!" He then knocked stoutly at the door, hoping to escape into the house, but, gaining no admittance, he called upon the Main Guard, whose station was within hearing.

The Main Guard on that day was commanded by Capt. Thomas Preston of the 29th regiment, whose Lieutenant was James Bassett. As soon as the sentinel called for protection, Lieut. Bassett detached a Serjeant with a file of six men for his relief, and sent an express for Capt. Preston, who was at Concert Hall. The Captain immediately came, and, on learning that men had been sent to the Custom-House, sent six others there, and said, "I will go there myself to see they do no mischief;" and actually overtook them on the way, as their progress was necessarily slow, from the great number of people which had

* Gordon says, the cry was, "Damn the dogs, where are they now? Let us go and kill that damn'd scoundrel of a sentry, and then attack the Main Guard!"

† "The body of the Mob, when they have finished their repeated attacks upon the barracks, are addressed in the street by a tall large man in a red cloak, and white wig. After listening to what he has to offer in the space of three or four minutes, they huzza for the Main Guard, and say, 'We will do for the soldiers.'" — Gordon.

‡ "We have been entertained," says John Adams, "with a great variety of phrases to avoid calling this sort of people a Mob. Some call them shavers, some call them geniuses. The plain English is, they were, most probably, a motley rabble of saucy boys, Negroes and mulattoes, Irish teagues and outlandish jack-tars; and why we should scruple to call such a set of people a Mob, I can't conceive, unless the name is too respectable for them."— *Plea in Defence of the Soldiers.*

by this time clustered into King-street. At the same time a large number came rushing down that street from Cornhill, in the van of which was a Mulatto, named Crispus Attucks, and a number of sailors. Their object was, doubtless, the Main Guard, but when they came to the Town House, they saw the gathering at the Custom House, and immediately proceeded thither, — some of them exclaiming, "Damn the rascals, this will never do! The way to get rid of these soldiers is to attack the Main Guard. Strike at the root. This is the nest!"

The bells had been set ringing, which some supposed was for fire, and, coming out of their houses, were told that the *fire* was in King-street, in order to concentrate the people there. Somebody told Capt. Preston that it was a plan of the people, to give notice of an intended massacre of the soldiers, and that a tar-barrel was to be fired on Beacon Hill to bring in the people from the country. These rumors, whether true or false, must have given the officers great alarm.

Meanwhile the soldiers were so pressed upon and insulted, that the only way they could keep upon their feet was by presenting charged bayonets. This they did, forming a kind of half circle in front of the Custom House. Their pieces were not charged when they left the guard-house, and Capt. Preston testified that he never gave any orders for them to be charged. However, it soon appeared that they were charged, and it is not improbable that the Captain might have given orders to that effect, and, being in much trepidation, and under such excitement as not to have been conscious of the order afterwards.

The soldiers were unable to keep off the crowd, even with fixed bayonets, having their guns knocked this way and that with clubs; and Capt. Preston, at the utmost peril, stood for a time between his men and the people, using every endeavor to prevent further outrage; but all to no purpose, while some called out, "Come on, you bloody backs, you lobster scoundrels! fire if you dare! fire and be damned! we know you dare not."* Immediately after a soldier received a severe blow from a club, upon which he stepped a little on one side, levelled his piece, and fired. Capt. Preston remonstrated with him for firing, and while he was speaking he came near being knocked down by a blow from a club aimed at his head.† The noise and confusion was now so great, some calling out, "Fire, fire if you dare! Damn you, why don't you fire!" with horrid oaths and imprecations, that no one could tell whether Capt. Preston or anybody else ordered the men to fire; but fire they did, some seven or eight of them, and the pieces of two or three more were snapped, but missed fire. The Mob seeing

* It was well understood by the people, that no soldier was allowed to fire his piece under any circumstances, unless ordered to do so by the Civil Magistrate. This may account for the presumptuous conduct of the people. Gov. Hutchinson, it is said, on arriving on the ground, reproached Capt. Preston for allowing his men to fire. Preston's reply was used against him at his trial.

† Richard Palmer acknowledged a few days after, that he was the man who struck the soldier and Capt. Preston.

that the soldiers were in earnest, began to leave the ground, fearing the firing might be continued. The time occupied thus far had not exceeded half an hour. That is, from the time the attack began on the sentinel in King-street.

The result of the firing was now disclosed. Three lay dead on the ground, two others were mortally wounded, and several slightly.* On the return of some of the people to take away the dead and wounded, the soldiers, supposing them coming to renew the attack, levelled their guns to fire upon them, but the Captain struck them up with his hands, and thus prevented further bloodshed. A few minutes after, a citizen came to the Captain, and told him that there were about 5000 people assembled close at hand, who were coming to take his life and the lives of his men. He therefore disposed his men into street firings; set a guard at the entrance of King-street from Cornhill, on the south side of the State-house, and another at the east end of it, in King-street, to protect the Main Guard. The people had set up the cry, in the mean time, — "To arms! to arms! Turn out with your guns, every man!" and the drums were beating to arms. This was followed with the beating to arms in the regiments. Several companies of the 29th soon arrived at the Town-house, which were formed into street-firings also. At the same time Capt. Preston despatched a Sergeant to Col. Dalrymple, the chief officer, with an account of what had happened. As the officers were repairing to their regiments, some were knocked down by the Mob and very much hurt, and some had their swords taken from them. The Lieut. Governor and Col. Carr immediately met at the head of

* The three immediately killed were Samuel Gray, Crispus Attucks, and James Caldwell. Gray was shot in the head, the ball beating off a large portion of his skull. He was one of the Ropewalk men, and had been in fights with the soldiers. His brother, Benjamin Gray, lived in a house "on the north side of the Exchange," into which Samuel was taken, and whence he was buried. Caldwell and Attucks being strangers, were taken to Faneuil Hall. The former was "mate of Capt. Norton's" vessel. The latter was a native of Framingham, "but lately belonged to New Providence, and was here in order to go for North Carolina." He was instantly killed, two balls entering his breast. In one account he is said to have been a slave; and that he was the most insulting, fierce and outrageous of all the Mob.

Samuel Maverick was mortally wounded, and died on the following morning. He was a son of a widow, Mrs. Mary Maverick of Union-st., and about 17 years of age; was an apprentice to a joiner, a Mr. Greenwood.

Christopher Monk was badly wounded, also about 17; was an apprentice to a Mr. Walker, a shipwright. He finally recovered.

Patrick Carr's wound was mortal, but he lived about nine days after he was wounded. He was about 30 years of age, and worked with a Mr. Field, leather-breeches-maker in Queen-st. He was an Irishman.

John Clark, aged about 17, whose parents lived in Medford, was an apprentice to Capt. Samuel Howard, of Boston. His wound was severe, and it was supposed mortal, but he recovered.

Mr. Edward Payne, merchant, was shot through the right arm, as he was standing in the front door of his own house, which stood nearly opposite the east end of the Custom House in King-street. On finding himself wounded, he coolly remarked to some persons who stood near him, "Those soldiers ought to be talked to."

John Green, a tailor, received a ball in his thigh, near his hip, as he was coming up Leverett's lane. The ball was extracted.

Robert Patterson, a sailor, was shot through the arm. He was in the crowd at Richardson's in the affair of the Wooden Head, when a shot passed through his clothes.

David Parker, a lad, apprentice to "Mr. Eddy the wheelwright," received a ball in his thigh. In the *Hist. of the Massacre*, p. 11, it is said the number killed and wounded was eleven.

the 29th regiment, which was now paraded in King-street, and, through the exertions of the former, and the influence of a number of distinguished citizens, the people were persuaded to go to their homes, and the regiment returned to its barracks. This was about one o'clock at night. About 100 persons, among whom were some men of distinction, volunteered to form a Citizen's Guard for the remainder of the night, which they did, and thus ended the ever memorable FIFTH OF MARCH, 1770.

Mar. 6. Late in the night of the fifth, several Justices assembled in the Council Chamber, and warrants were issued for the arrest of Capt. Preston, and they were soon after joined by Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson, at the request of Col. Dalrymple. It was some time before the Captain could be found, but about three o'clock in the morning of the 6th he surrendered himself, and was committed to jail; and, a few hours later, the soldiers who had fired on the people, were committed also.

This did not satisfy the inhabitants, large bodies of whom were in motion early in the morning, and at eleven o'clock a Town-meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, and the affairs of the previous night were recounted by several speakers. The crowd was immense, and an adjournment to the Old South became necessary. A vote was passed, that, as it was impossible for the soldiers and people to live together in the Town, a committee should be appointed to request their immediate removal. A committee of fifteen was accordingly raised for that purpose, and the Governor and Council, being in session, were immediately waited upon by that Committee, and received answer, by the Lieut. Governor, that he had no authority to remove the soldiers, nor could it be done except by the orders of the General at New York; that the Council also desired their removal, and Col. Dalrymple had consented to take the responsibility of removing the 29th regiment to the Castle, that being the one to which the soldiers belonged who had fired on the people, and had the fights at the Ropewalks.

When this was reported to the Meeting, the answer was voted to be unsatisfactory; one individual only dissenting. Then a committee of seven was chosen out of the former committee, consisting of Samuel Adams, John Hancock, William Molineaux, William Phillips, Joseph Warren, Joshua Henshaw and Samuel Pemberton. This committee was instructed to carry the vote of the Town to the Governor and Council, which was, That their former answer "was by no means satisfactory, and that nothing less will satisfy than a total and immediate removal of the troops." Mr. Adams was Chairman, and he discharged his duties with such intrepidity, consummate ability and firmness, as not only to secure the object then demanded, but also the admiration of the world through all coming ages. The Committee were received, as before, by the Lieut. Governor, who returned a similar answer, — that he had not the power to comply. But Mr. Adams showed, conclusively, though briefly, that by the Charter he had the power. Mr. Hutchinson, not being able to meet the argument

advanced, consulted Col. Dalrymple in a whisper, and then remarked, that one of the regiments should be sent away. "At this critical moment," says Tudor, "Mr. Adams showed the most noble presence of mind. The officers, civil and military, were abashed before him. They shrank from the arrogance they had hitherto maintained, and their reliance upon standing armies forsook them, while the Speaker, seeming not to represent, but to personify the universal feeling and opinion, with unhesitating promptness and dignified firmness, replied, 'IF THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OR COLONEL DALRYMPLE, OR BOTH TOGETHER, HAVE AUTHORITY TO REMOVE ONE REGIMENT, THEY HAVE AUTHORITY TO REMOVE TWO; AND NOTHING SHORT OF THE TOTAL EVACUATION OF THE TOWN BY ALL THE REGULAR TROOPS, WILL SATISFY THE PUBLIC MIND, AND PRESERVE THE PEACE OF THE PROVINCE.'"

This had the desired effect, and Col. Dalrymple pledged his honor that the troops should be removed, and that immediately; and they were removed agreeably to promise.

Mar. 8. On Thursday following the massacre, as it is called, took place the funeral of those who were killed, for which great preparations had been made. Most of the shops were closed for the day, and the bells of the Town were effectually tolled, as were those of Charlestown and Roxbury. There was an immense assemblage; more, it was said, than had ever come together on any former occasion in the Town. The four hearses formed a junction in King-street, upon the spot where the tragedy took place; thence the procession proceeded through the main street, six deep, followed by a long train of carriages, belonging to the principal people in the Town. The four bodies were deposited in one grave, "in the middle of the ground."*

Mar. 12. The people of the Town, by a Committee duly appointed, proceeded at once to collect a full account of the affair of the fifth. Another was raised to write to Thomas Pownall, Esq., to give the earliest possible notice in England of what had happened, to prevent the effect of any adverse statements, which they had very good reason to apprehend would reach that country at the earliest possible moment. This Committee consisted of the same seven gentlemen who, with Samuel Adams at their head, had effected the removal of the troops from the Town, and they reported a letter the same day. The other Committee were James Bowdoin, Joseph Warren and Samuel Pemberton. They reported on the 19th following. Their Report and accompanying documents were afterwards printed, to which they gave this title: — "A Short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre in Boston,"† &c.

Mar. 19.

* The following verses were composed and circulated on the occasion: —

"Well-fated shades! let no unmanly tear
From Pity's eye distain your honored bier:
Lost to their view, surviving friends may mourn,
Yet o'er thy pile shall flames celestial burn;
Long as in freedom's cause the wise contend,
Dear to your country shall your fame extend,
While to the world the lettered stone shall tell
How CALDWELL, Attucks, Gray and Maverick fell."

† It consisted of about 100 pages octavo. There was a reprint of it in N. York in 1849.

APPENDIX.

NO I.

THE BOOK OF POSSESSIONS

OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON.

A MANUSCRIPT volume, bearing the above title, is in the City Clerk's office, and was compiled, probably, in pursuance of an Order of the General Court of April 1st, 1634. In an original MS. memorandum, made by Isaac Addington, that gentleman says, "When I was appointed Clerk of the County Court in 1672, I found such a book in that office, entitled on the cover, 'Possessions of the Inhabitants of Boston.'" Mr. Addington adds that while he was in office persons often came to consult the work, but he did not see its "validity."

As to the *validity* of the BOOK OF POSSESSIONS, I will suggest that, for about twenty years after Boston was settled, there had been some litigation and much confusion about estates, owing to a want of system in transfers and a regularity in recording them; such matters not then having been systematized. There was not at that time any book or books, for regularly recording transfers of real estate, of which I am aware. The first book or volume in our office appears to have been commenced about 1653, and the second, Mr. Edward Rawson says, in his own hand, was begun April 7th, 1654. Hence, in the absence of a County Registry, the BOOK OF POSSESSIONS was caused to be compiled, which stood as a basis of all after transfers, and has been regarded as a sort of *Dooms Day Book*. My friend, N. I. Bowditch, Esq., concurs with me in my estimate of the work.

The persons whose possessions are described were not *all* of them original settlers on the peninsula. There had been a constant change of occupants for the twenty years before named, and it is not easy at this day to designate the original possessors in the majority of cases. Many had died, and many had gone to other parts, and their places were filled by others.

In laying a copy of the BOOK OF POSSESSIONS before my readers it is necessary to observe that the original is preserved entire, so far as its facts, dates, names, etc., are concerned. I have omitted all tautologies, all words not necessary for a clear understanding of the matter, and abridged or abbreviated words and names which occur very frequently. The abbreviations will be generally understood at sight, and do not require a particular explanation.

Unless otherwise mentioned, the persons and property are to be considered as belonging to Boston proper.

The names of persons and places are spelled as in the original.

It may facilitate the perusal of the work to note the following abbreviations: bnd., bound or bounded; pcl., parcel; ab., about, more or less; a., acre or acres; E'ly., Easterly; E'd., Eastward, and so of the other points of the compass; gr., granted.

WINTHROP, MR. DEANE. — Farm at Pullen Pt., ab. 120 a., Mr. Pierce N, the Bay and Fisher's Cove W, Pullen Pt. S, the Sea E. — 26 (10) 1649. Bridget and William Pierce gr. Mr. Deane W. their farm at P. Pt. (join. sd. D. W.) ab. 100 a.; by deed 14 (11) 1647. Wits. Wm. Aspinwall, Jno. Evered.

BELLINGHAM, RICHARD, ESQ. — 1. House and lot, ab. ¼ a., the St. E, Christ. Stanley, Jno. Biggs, James Browne, and Alexr. Becke, S, Josha. Scotto W, Mr. Wm. Tynge N. — 2. Gard. plot, Mr. Jno. Cotton and Danl. Maude N, the Highw. E, Jno. Coggan S. — 3. Marsh, Jno. Hills and the Highw. W, the Common Marsh N, Jno. Lowe E, Hen. Symonds, Jno. Hills and the Cove S.

Fowle, Thomas. — House and gard., Walt. Sinet S, Thos. Butolph E, the High-st. W, Jacob Leger N.

Hibbins, Mr. William. — 1. House, gard. and stable, Mr. Jno. Winthrop W, Richd. Sherman and pt. of Fort-st. S, the Spring-gate N, Jno. Spoore E. — 2. At Mud. r, 6 score a. Mr. Tho. Oliver N, Edwd. Bendall, Tho. Snowe and Wm. Talmidge W, Boston Common S, Roxbury bounds SE. — 3. Also 25 a. marsh at Mud. r., bnd. by Charles r. and a creek in form of an isthmus. — 4. Also house and farm ab. 350. a. at Mud. r., Mr. Wm. Tyng S, Cambridge bounds NW, Dedham bounds SW.

Gibones, Maj. Edward. — 1. Dwell. h., other housing and garden, the St. on the W and N, Mr. Jno. Wilson E and S. — 2. House and lot, Jno. Smith E, Robt. Nash W, the St. S, the Cove or Mill-pond N. John Milom, Cooper, gr. E. G., merch., ¼ of the Water Mill or Mills and appurtenances by deed 12 (8), 1649. Wits., Jno. Davis, Jno. Mills. Ackn. bef. Wm. Aspinwall, 15 (8) 1649.

Haugh, Mr. Atherton. — 1. House and garden, the St. E and N, Arthur Perry W, Francis Lyle S. — 2. House and garden, Mr. Hibbins E, the Common W, Richd. Sherman N, the St. S.

Cotton, Mr. John. — House and garden, ab. ½ a., with an a. adjoining, Sudbury-street E, Edwd. Bendall N, Centry Hill W, Mr. Bellingham and Daniel Maude S.

Tyng, Mr. William. — 1. House, close, garden, great yard and little yard before the hall window, Mr. Richd. Bellingham and the St. that goes to the Dock S, Benj. Thwing and Wm. Wilson W, Geo. Burden, Fra. Dowse, Jer. Houtchin, Sarah Knight and Saml. Greames N, John Glover, Wm. Hudson, Jr., Geo. Burden, and Hugh Gunnison and the St. E. — 2. In the Mill-field marsh, 18 yards and 4 rods wide from the ditch, and so all the depth of the Marsh. David Phippeni on the ditch NE, the highway SE, the marsh granted to the Milne SW, Thomas Marshall and John Oliver, NW.

Keayne, Capt. Robert. — 1. House and garden, the Market-st. N, the High-st. W, Richd. Fairebanks S, Mr. Hudson E. — 2. Garden, John Spoore E, Wm. Pell N, and Robt. Rice N.

Wilson, Mr. John. — House and barn, two gardens and a yard, Water-st. S, Anth. Stoddard and Wm. Francklin E, the Cove-st. and Maj. Edwd. Gibons N, Maj. Gibons, Wm. Courser and John Coggan W.

Dunster, Mr. [Henry.] — House and yard, Thomas Hawkins W and N, and the St. E and S.

Newgate, John. — House and garden, ab. ¾ a., Henry Fane N, the New-field W and S, Anne Hunne vid. Geo. Hunne, Ed.

Maud, Daniell, — House and garden, Mr. Bellingham S and W, Mr. Cotton N, and the St. E.

Oliver, Mr. Thomas. — 1. House and garden, Richd. Fairebanks and Capt. Robt. Keayne N, Wm. Courser and the Lane E, the Spring gate S, the St. W. — 2. Also 1½ a. in the New-field, Richd. Fairebanks S, Marsh W, Richd. Carter, S. — 3. Garden plot, Robt. Scott E and W, James Pen and John Kenrick N.

Howen, Robert. — House and garden ab. ¼ a., Sudbury-st. NE, Robt. Meeres SE, Anne Hunne, vid. Geo. Hunne NW, Val. Hill SW.

Leverit, Mr. Thomas. — House and garden, Mr. John Winthrop E, St. and Robt. Scott N, marsh of Mr. Winthrop S, the Old Meetingh., Robt. Scott, Mr. Henry Weebb and Thos. Parsons W. David Selleck gr. to Mr. Thos. L. ab. 1 a., Richd. Parker and Edwd. Hutchinson W, Mr. Stoughton S, Thos. L. W, in the New-field, deed 20 (12) 1645; ackn. bef. Mr. Winthrop, Dep. Gov., 30 (1) 1646. — 7 (12) 1650. John Milom gr. Capt. John Leveret betn. 45 and 50 feet in length, near the Mill and by the Mill-creek NE, and Thos. Marshall towards the S, with liberty of ingress and egress to the Mill-creek, with vessels not prejudicing the Mill-stream, deed 27 (6) 1648.

Jackson, Edmund. — 1. House and garden, the Lane S, John Leverit E, John Mellowes N, Sudbury-st. W. — 2. Ab. 3 a. in the New field, Valentine Hill S, Robt. Meeres W, Geo. Burden N, David Sellick E. — 17 (5) 1645. John Davies gr. to Edm'd. J. 10 ft. wide 40 ft. long, which was again sold to Hez. Usher, 1 (12) 1646. — 5 (8) 1646, sd. J. Davies gr. to

sd. E. J. his dwell. h. and yard, Mr. Wilson N, Edm'd J. E, Market Place S, John Coggan W, deed 5 (8) 164[6] ; ackn. bef. John Winthrop, Gov., 6 (8) 1646, which is also sold to Hezekiah Usher, 1 (12) 1646.

Copp, William. — House and lot of ½ an a. in the Mill-field, Thos. Butolph SE, John Button NE, Marsh SW, River NW.

Mellowes, John. — 1. House and garden, Edmund Jackson S, John Leveret E, John Cole N, St. W. — 2. At Braintree 132 a., James Browne N, John Davies S, John Webb and the Rocky Common W, the mouth of Monotaquit river and the Bay E. — 3. Eight a., John Webb, Capt. James Browne and Wm. Wendell N, Monotaquit river SW. — 4. Marsh 4½ a., Jas. Browne N, Zac. Bosworth W, and Monotaquit river SE.

Goodwin, Edward. — House and lot, ab. ½ a., John Sweete SE, Thomas Buttolph NW, and SW, the Bay NE. House and garden bought of Sampson Shore ; sd. Sampson S. SE and NW, Matthew Chaffie NE, Christopher Gibson SW, with privilege of well and landing on sd. Shore's wharf ; deed 5 (11) 1648, before Wm. Aspinwall, N. Pub. — Sampson Shore gr. Edwd. Goodwin his garden, Thos. Faulconer SW, the Cove SE, Mr. John Clerk and Math. Chaffie NE, the St. NW ; deed 22 (10) 1649. — 1, (2) 1649. Sampson Shore gr. Edw. Goodwin, house and garden, bnd. SE and NW with his land, Math. Chaffie NE, Chr. Gibson SW, with privilege of well and landing ; deed 5 (11) 1648, in presence of Wm. Aspinwall, Not. Pub. This is again sold to Nathaniel Adams.

Fish, Gabriel. — House and yard, John Davies S and W, Valentine Hill N, the St. E.

Sweete, John. — House and lot, ab. 1¼ a., Edwd. Goodwin NW, Isaac Grosse SE, Christopher Stanly SW, the Bay NE. This is sold to Wm. Wicks. — 17 (1) 1648. Mark Hawes gr. J. S. the shop formerly John Milom's, and ground to'rds the sea 14 8-12 feet wide, and in length as far as sd. Milom had any right ; also that ground on the back side 16½ feet wide, and in length 26 feet, per assignment dated 7 (9) 1647. Ackn. before Wm. Aspinwall, Not. Pub. This is assigned to John Farnham.

Pease, Henry. — 1. House and garden, the Lane E, the St. S, John Leveret W, the Cove N. — 2. Farm at Braintree, the Common N and W, James Everill S and E. — 3. One and ¾ a. marsh at the Mount, compassed E, W and S by Jas. Everill's marsh, a salt bay N.

Seaberry, John. — House and garden, ab. ½ a., Isaac Grosse NW, Walter Merry SE and SW, the sea or bay NE.

Smith, John. — House and garden, the St. S, John Davies E, Maj. Edwd. Gibones W, the Cove N.

Merry, Walter. — House and lot, ab. an a., John Seaberry and Isaac Grosse NW, John Sweet SW and SE.

Davies, John. — 1. House and garden, James Johnson N, Gabriel Fish and Val. Hill E, John Smith W, the St. S. — 2. At Braintree 36 a., John Mellowes N, Zacheus Bosworth S, John Webb W, Monotaquid r. E. — 3. One a. of marsh, Zaccheus Bosworth N and W, Monotaquid r. S. — Mr. John Wilson sold to John Davies 45 ft. front to the St., and 40 ft. deep, sd. Wilson's garden N and E, the Market Stead S, John Coggan W, deeds 5 (2) 1644 and 29 (2) 1645. Ackn. before John Winthrop, Gov'r., 23 (8) 1646. In which writing John Davies is bound to make and maintain the fence between Mr. Wilson and him, and not to annoy him with any stincks or jackes. This was sold to Edmd. Jackson afterwards.

Beamsley, William. — 1. House and House lot, ab. ½ a., Anne Tuttle S and SW, the Bay E, Isaac Grosse N and NW. — 2. At Muddy river 16 a., bnd. with John Biggs E, Thos. Grubb W, Cedar Swamp S, Marsh and River N. — Wm. Phillips gr. to Wm. B. land in the Mill field, 238 ft. long (towards the SW) 80 ft. wide, and NW 60 ft., Mrs. Mary Hawkins SE, Richd. Bennet SW, my own land NW and NE ; deed 6 (5) 1650.

Johnson, James. — 1. House and garden, Thos. Hawkins NE, the St. SE and SW, Cove NW. — 2. Garden near the Common, John Leveret N, Geo. Burden S, Anthony Harker E, and the Common W. — 3. An a. in the New-field, John Biggs N, Francis Loyall W, Zacheus Bosworth S, Thos. Clarke E. — 4. Also ¾ a. of marsh and upland, the Cove N and E, John Smith W, John Davies S.

Tuttle, Anne. — 1. House and garden, Wm. Beamsley N, Nehemiah Bourne S, the Bay E. — 2. Farm at Rumney Marsh, John Coggan N, Saml. Cole S, the Sea E, highway W. — House and garden, Wm. Teft E, Thomas Foster S, Geo. Griggs W, the Mill-st. N.

Cheevers, Bartholomew. — House and garden, the St. SE, the Cove NW, Robt. Hull NE.

Bourne, Nehemiah. — House and garden, Anne Tuttle N, Capt. Hawkins S, the Bay E and N.

Arnold, John. — House and garden, Thos. Munt E, the St. S, highw. N, John Jackson W.

Hawkins, Capt. Thomas. — House and garden, Capt. Bourne N, the Bay E, Edward Bendall S. — Edwd. Bendall gr. Capt. H. land beginning 40 ft. to the N'd of that lot which was Mr. Robt. Thompson's, and so to Maj. Neh. Bourne's lot, running with a straight line according as Maj. Bourne's pales run from the seaside (towards the E) to the rails of Christ. Stanley W'd, the S'ly side running near parallel to this; deed 30 (11) 1645. Executed in pres. of Wm. Aspinwall, Not. Pub.

Jackson, John. — House and garden, John Arnold E, the St. S, Highw. N, Robert Hull W.

Savadge, Ens. Thomas. — 1. House and garden, the Bay E, Edwd. Bendall N, the Lane S, Chr. Stanley W. — 2. Farm at Braintree, in two parts; one 38¼ a. rocky ground W'd, Jas. Everill N, Ricd. Cooke S, a salt Bay E; the other, 26 a. rocky ground E'd, Wm. Werdall and Geo. Hunne W'd, Jas. Everill N, Richd. Cooke S. — 3. Also 1¾ a. of marsh, Oliver Mellowes E and N, Rich. Cooke W, Monotaquit river S.

Oliver, John. — House and garden, ab. ½ a., Val. Hill NE and SE, Jno. Pierce and Jno. Knight SW, the St. NW.

Grosse, Edmund. — House and lot, the Lane N, Saml. Cole S, Isaac Cullimer W, the Bay E.— This was sold to John Anderson.

Werdall, William. — 1. House and garden, John Milom SW, John Hill NE, the St. NW, highway SW. — 2. At Braintree 20 a., John Mellowes S, Geo. Hunne N, a rocky bottom and Monotaquit river W, Jas. Browne, Richd. Cooke and Tho. Savage E.

Cole, Samuel. — House and garden, Edmd. Grosse N, the Bay E, Isaac Cullimer SW.

Hill, John. — 1. House, Henry Symons E, Mr. Bellingham N, the St. W, Cove S. — 2. Small lot, ¼ a, Sampson Shore NE, John Milom SW, the St. NW, the Cove SE.

Clarke, Mr. Thomas. — Warehouse and house lot, the Cove and Thos. Joy S, Isaac Cullimer W, Tho. Joy NW, Isaac Cullimer NE.

Marshall, Thomas. — House and garden, ab. ½ a., the marsh SE, the St. SW and NW, John Pierce or John Knight NE. — John Milom gr. Tho. M. land near the Water-mill, Mill-creek NE, Tho. Marshall SW, the highw. NW, John Milom SE; being 76 ft. on that side next Tho. Marshall, and 74 at the Creek, 30 on the SE side, and 44 on the NW side; with liberty of egress and regress in sd. Creek with boats, lighters and other vessels. That Tho. M. shall not build any nearer the Creek than the now dwelling-house of the sd. Milom, and that he shall not hinder the mills going by any vessel in the Creek; dated 2 (3) 1648. Ackn. bef. Mr. Richd. Bellingham, 8 (6) 1848.

Joy, Thomas. — 1. House and lot, ab. ½ a., and another house adjoining Mr. Thos. Clarke NW, NE, and SE, the Cove SW. — 2. One a. between Isaac Cullimer NE, Richd. Rawlins SW, Christopher Stanley NW, Mr. Clarke SE.

Lowe, John. — House and garden, the marsh N and E, the Cove S, Mr. Bellingham W.

Rawlins, Richard. — House and garden, ab. 1¾ a., Isaac Cullimer SW, Thos. Joy NE, Mr. Clarke SE, Christ. Stanley NW.

Symons, Henry. — House and lot, Mr. Bellingham NE, John Hill W, the Cove S.

Cullimer, Isaac. — House and garden, ab. ¾ a., Richd. Rawlins NE, Chris. Stanley NW, Fra. Hudson and Barthol. Pasmer SW, the Cove SE. — 2. Another house and lot, ab. 1¼ a., Christ. Stanley, Saml. Cole, and the way NE, the Bay SE, Mr. Clarke and Richd. Rawlins SW, Chr. Stanly NW. — 12 (7) 1650. Bartholomew Palmer sold John Sweete land below the higw. next the water side; deed 1 (10).

Milom, John. — House and garden, John Hill NE, Val. Hill SW, Wm. Werdall NW, the Cove SE.

Pasmer, Bartholomew. — House and garden, ab. ¼ a., Isaac Cullimer NE, John Gallop SW, Cove SE, Fra. Hudson NW.

Phippeni, David. — House and lot, Valent. Hill NE, Cove SE, Mr. Wm. Tynge SW, John Oliver NW. — 15 (12) 1650. John Milom gr. to David P. land in length 102 ft., in breadth at the highway 9¾ ft., Barthol. Barlow SW, David Phippeni NE, highway SE; deed 7 (12) 1649, executed in pres. of John Gore.

Hudson, Francis. — House and garden, ab. ½ a., Isaac Cullamer NE, Barthol. Pasmer SE, Jno. Gallop SW, Wm. Hudson, Sen., NW.

Cole, John. — House and garden, John Mellowes S, Nathl. Chappell N, John Leveritt E, the Lane W.

Chaffie, Matthew. — House and lot, John Gallop NE, Samp. Shoare SW, Tho. Mekins NW, the Cove SE. — Mr. John Clarke, late of Newbury, now of Boston, gr. Mat. Chaffie, ship-wright, a farm ab. 400 a., between Merrimack and Newbury rivers, in Newbury, Co. Essex, with the houses, buildings, &c.; deed 29 (7) 1649. Executed in pres. of Robert Saltonsall, John Davies. Wm. Aspinwall, Not. Pub.

Chappell, Nathaniel. — House and garden, ab. ¼a., John Cole S, John Leveret E, the Cove N, the Lane W.

Gallop, John. — House and garden, Mat. Chaffie SW, Fra. Hudson NE, the Cove SE, and the Way NW.

Hawkins, James. — House and garden, Wm. Kirkby S, Richd. Sanford W'ly. — John Milom had gr. him 26 (12) 1646, which he gr. Jas. Hawkins, marsh lot NE, by a small parcel of marsh reserved for a wharf, the highway SE, Mr. Bellingham SW, a small parcel of marsh reserved for a wharf, NW, being on the NE 50 ft., on the SE 60 ft., on the SW 120 ft., on the NW 115 ft., with liberty for sd. James, his heirs, &c., to bring any vessels into sd. creek, or the branches thereof, and to land goods on sd. marsh or wharf, &c., per deed 28 (12) 1648, executed in pres. of Wm. Aspinwall, Not. Pub.

Shoare, Sampson. — House and garden, Mat. Chaffie NE, Cove SE, John Hill SW, Street NW. — Richd. Hawghton gr. Sampson Shoare, tailor, his dwellh. and gard., Mr. Thos. Clarke N, John Anderson S and E, Highw. W. Deed 27 Oct. 1651, in pres. of W. Aspinwall, Not. Pub.

Kirkby, William. — House and garden, James Hawkins N, the Lane SE, Richard Sanford W'ly.

Sanford, Richard. — House and lot, ab. one acre, Robert Meeres W, Richard Parker N, James Hawkins and Wm. Kirkby E'ly, Street W.

Meeres, Robert. — 1. House and garden, the St. NE, Edwd. Bendall SE, Robt. Howen NW, Val. Hill SW; deed 22 (7) 1648. — 2. In the New-field, 2 a., Edwd. Jackson E, Robert Turner W, Richd. Cooke S, Geo. Burden N. — 3. In the New-field ½ a., Tho. Scotto S'd, James Hawkins E'd, Mr. Richd. Parker N'd, Richd. Meeres W'd. Granted and confirmed to Robt. Meeres by James Penniman, as was also the first parcel; deed 22 (7) 1648. Sealed, &c. bef. Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.

Fanes, Henry. — House and garden, Sudbury St. E'ly, the Lane N, the New-field W, Mr. John Newgate S.

Houtchin, Jeremy. — House and garden, ab. ¼ a., Sudbury St. SW, Wm. Wilson SE, the Lane NW, Thomas Makepeace and Wm. Wilson NE.

Makepeace, Thomas. — House and garden, Jeremy Houtchin SW, Wm. Wilson S, the St. W'ly, the Lane N'ly.

Thwing, Benjamin. — House and garden, Sudbury St. SW, Wm. Wilson NW and NE, Joshua Scotto SE.

Wilson, William. — 1. House and garden, Mr. Wm. Tyng E, Thomas Makepeace and Geo. Bates N, Sudbury St. SW, Benj. Thwing S. — 2. In the New-field 2½ a., Richd. Parker E, John Ruggle W, Zac. Bosworth S, Wm. Hudson, Sen., N.

Scotto, Joshua. — 1. House and garden, abt. ½ a., Sudbury St. SW, Benj. Thwing NW, Mr.

Bellingham NE, Alex'r. Beck SE. — 2. In the New-field 2 a. — 7 (3) 1646. Mr. Rich'd Bellingham gr. Joshua S. ½ the marsh formerly gr. him by the Town, between John Lowe's and Mr. Symonds; deed 4 (4) 1644. — 30 (3) 1650. Jas. Everill, for £24, gr. Joshua S. marsh lately Mr. Bellingham's, in form of a triangle, bnd. on one angle by pt. the marsh of the sd. Everill, being 140 ft., on the other angle by land of Wm. Francklin, being 147 ft.; on the 3d angle by the back part of the house-lot of Good. Evans, with 6$\frac{1}{12}$ ft. at the lot of Joshua S., at the E end; deed 3 (3) 1650, ackn. bef. Mr. Bellingham.

Beck, Alexander. — 1. House and garden, the St. S, Jas. Browne E, Mr. Bellingham N, Josh. Scotto W. — 2. In the New-field 1 a., Tho. Munt E, the water N, Maj. Edwd. Gibons W and S. — 3. A small pcl. first gr. for a house-lot, John Leverit S, Henry Pease E, a small creek W, Cove N. Tho. Woodward gr. Alex'r. B. at Muddy r. ab. 4¼ a., Richd. Carter SE, Wm. Lamb SW, Nathl. Woodward and Robt. Root NW; deed 11 Nov. 1651. In pres. of John Angier and Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.

Biggs, John. — House and yard, James Browne W, Mr. Bellingham N, Tho. Hawkins E, Val. Hill, Tho. Buttolph, Chr. Stanley and Centry Hill-st. S.

Browne, James. — 1. House and garden, John Biggs E, Mr. Bellingham N, Alex'r. Beck W, Centry Hill-st. S. — 2. In the New-field ½ a., the Common S, Mr. Wilson's garden NE, Andw. Messinger NW. — 3. In the New-field ½ a. more, Richd. Fairebanks N, Isaac Allington E, Alex'r. Beck W, Thos. Clark S. — 4. At Braintree 26 a., Richd. Cooke N'd, John Mellowes S'd, Bay E'd, common rocky ground W'd. — 5. Also 8 a. John Webb W'd, John Mellowes S'd, Wm. Wardall W'd, Richd. Cooke N'd. — 6. Also 1 a. marsh, Monotaquit r. E, Zac. Bosworth W.

Hawkins, Thomas. — 1. House and yard, Val. Hill N, the St. E, John Biggs W, Mr. Henry Dunster and Centry Hill-st. S. — 2. A ¼ a. towards Charlestown, Jas. Johnson SW, Cove NW, John Button NE, St. SE. — 2 (7) 1648. John Pierce gr. Tho. H. his house-lot wh. he lately purchd. of Mr. Val. Hill; deed 12 (7) 1648.

Buttolph, Thomas. — 1. House and garden, Val. Hill S, the St. E, John Biggs W, Chr. Stanley N. — 2. Abt. 1½ a., (first laid out for gardens); Highw. S, a lot wh. lies common E'd, Jacob Leaguer, Walter Sinet and the Lane N'd, Mr. Fowle and Robt. Woodward W'd. — 3. In the Mill-field abt. 4½ a., the Bay NE, Nicholas Parker and Val. Hill NW, Chr. Stanley S. — 4. Abt. 1 a., compassed with Chr. Stanley's ground. — 5. Abt. ½ a., the Causew. NE, Wm. Copp NW, marsh SW. — 6. At Pulling Pt. 25 a., the Sea NE, Mr. Pierce SE, Jas. Pen NW, John Webb and John Oliver SW. — 7. Also ab. 7 a. marsh, his own upland E, River W, Edwd. Hutchinson, Jr., S, Jas. Pen N. — 8. Wm. Hudson, Sen. gr. Thos. B. 5 a. in the New-field, Richd. Cooke E, Jas. Johnson W, Wm. Wilson S, —— Davies, apothecary, N; deed 16 (4) 1646, ackn. same day bef. Winthrop, Gov.

Stanley, Christopher. — And Wm. Phillips his successor. — 26 (6) 1648. Chr. Lawson gr. Wm. Phillips in the Mill-field, abt. 2½ a., the Highw. to Charlestown NW, Causew. W, Wm. Phillips SE, Thos. Ruck and Chr. Lawson NE; deed, bef. Wm. Aspinwall and John Spoore, 23 (4) 1648; wh. sd. Phillips gr. Susan his wf. for life. — Richd. Bennet gr. Wm. Phillips 2 or 3 a., Wm. P. and Chr. Lawson NW, land of Wm. P. and land lately exchgd. with sd. Phillips SW, Wm. P. SE, the river and sund. small lots NE; deed 26 (6) 1648, bef. Wm. Aspinwall, N. P. — 10 (4) 1650. Thos. Clarke of Dorchester, merch., gr. Chr. S., tailor, land in Boston-neck, being pt. of house-lot once belong. to Wm. Weekes, contg. abt. 60 poles, Isaac Cullimer SW, Thos. Clarke NW, —— Rawlins NE, the Sea SE, thro. wh. are two highways, one towards the Mill-hill 12 ft. broad, the other 36 ft. to the lowermost highw., thence to low-water mark 30 ft.; deed 30 (2) 1644. In pres. of John Strattan and Robt. Jeoffreys. — Edwd. Bendall gr. Chr. S. land bnd. by an highway SW, Capt. Hawkins NE, Lieut. Savage's pales SE, Mr. Stanley's rails NE; deed 20 (10) 1645. Wits. Samuel Bellingham. — Edwd. Tyng gr. Mr. Stanley abt. 2 a. wh. was allotted Mr. Baulston, and sold by him to Mr. Cornewell, of whom the sd. Edwd. bo't it, and made sale thereof to Mr. Stanley, dated 26 (10) 1643.

Gunnison, Hugh. — 1. House and garden, the St. SE, Geo. Burden NE, Wm. Hudson, Jr. NW, Wm. Ting W'd. — 10 (4) 1650. Robt. Saltonstall gr. Hugh G. 50 a. in Salem, near Mr. Downing's farm, late the land of Richd. Walker of Salem; deed 25 (5) 1647. In pres. of Rich. Stileman, John Bushnell and Wm. Aspinwall.

Glover, John. — House and yard, the St. SE, Geo. Burden SW, Wm. Hudson, Jr., NW and NE.

Burden, George. — 1. House and yard, the St. S'd, Hugh Gunnison W'd, Wm. Hudson,

Jr., N'd, John Glover E'd. — 2. Garden near the Common, Jas. Johnson N, Henry Webb S, Thos. Clarke E, the Common W. — 3. In the New-field 5½ a., Richd. Fairebanks N, John Mellowes W, Edmund Jackson S, marsh E.

Hudson, William, Jr. — House and garden, Mr. Wm. Tyng SW, Saml. Greames and the Lane NE, the St. SE.

Greames, Samuel. — House and yard, the Lane NE, Wm. Hudson, Jr., SE, Mr. Wm. Tyng SW, Sarah Knight NW.

Knight, Sarah. — House and garden, Saml Greames S'd, the Lane E'd, Mr. Wm. Tyng W'd, Jeremy Houtchin N'd.

Dowse, Francis. — House and yard, the Lane E'd, Jeremy Houtchin S'd, Mr. Wm. Tyng W'd, Geo. Burden N'd.

Bates, George. — House and garden, Wm. Wilson S, Geo. Burden E, Anne Hunne N, Thos. Makepeace W.

Hunne. — Anne vid. [videlicet] George Hunne. — 1. House and garden, Georges E and S, Tho. Makepeace W, the Lane N. — 2. Abt. ½ a. in the New-field, Robt. Howen S, the St. E. — 3. At Braintree, 31 a., Tho. Savage, James Everill and Capt. Richd. Wright W, Wm. Werdall S, and N by the rock that lies common.

Button, John. — 1. Three houses, garden and yard, abt. 1 a., the Cove SE, the Lane SW, Jas. Everill NW, Nicholas Willis NE. — 2. In the Mill-field 1 a., Charles r. N'ly, marsh SW, John Shaw NE and SE.

Willis, Nicholas. — House and garden, John Button SW, the St. E, Thos. Painter N'ly, Jas. Everill W'ly.

Barrell, George. — House and lot, not ½ an a., Thos. Painter S, Nicholas Willis W, Jas. Everill N, the St. E.

Painter, Thomas. — 1. House and garden, Geo. Barrell N, Nichols. Willis SW, the St. E'd. — 2. At Mud. r. 20 a., Ralph Goultrop E, Wm. Toy W, Griffith Bowen S, John Leverit N. — 25 (1) 1649–50. Robt. Wing gr. Thos. Painter his dwell-h. both old and new built, Ralph Mason N, the High-st. E, Henry Web W, the Lane S; deed 18 (3) 1648. Wits. John Mainard, Job Judkin, Philemon Portmert [Pormort.] This is again "aliened" to Eph. Hunt. — Richd. Bellingham sold to Tho. Painter marsh next Wm. Hudson, Sen., on the W, on the S the Highw., E —— Hawkins, and Ri. Bellingham N; in breadth to the St. abt. 46 ft., in breadth to the N abt. 14 ft., same length with Wm. Hudson's pales. Also sold to Eph. Hunt.

Everill, James. — 1. House and house-lot, the St. E'ly and N'ly, the Lane SW, John Button, Nicholas Willis and Geo. Barrell SE. — 2. At Braintree, farm of 88 a., Tho. Savage, and rocky ground undisposed of S'ly, Geo. Hunne W'ly, Henry Pease and a swamp N'ly, his own marsh NE. — 3. Also 2¾ a. marsh, a salt bay NE, and partly by Henry Pease's marsh, SW by his own upland, and upland of Hen. Pease. — 4. Tho. Savage gr. Jas. E. 26 a. at Braintree, rocky ground E, Richd. Cooke S, Wm. Werdall and Geo. Hunne W, Jas. Everill N. Also 1¾ a. marsh, Monotacut SE, Richd. Cooke SW, Oliver Mellowes N; deed 15 (11) 1645; bef. Winthrop, Dep. Gov.; 19 (11) 1645. — 5. John Shaw gr. Jas. E. land at the Dock, in front on the dock abt. 40 ft., E. by Josha. Scotto, Edmd. Jackson W, the Cove S, Highway N, with the cellar-frame, &c. 25 (8) 1648. Ackn. bef. Wm. Aspinwall, Recorder.

Coggan, Mr. John. — 1. House and garden, Mr. Jno. Wilson N and E, the St. W. and S. — 2. Abt. ½ a., Mr. Bellingham N'd, Mr. Wilson S'd, burying-place E, New-field W.

Leverit, John. — House and yard, Richd Parker S and W, the St. N and E.

Francklin, William. — House and garden, the St. E and N, Mr. Jno. Wilson W, Jno. Leverit and Ant. Stoddard S.

Nash, Robert. — 1. House and yard, N and W, [?] Val. Hill S, Edwd. Bendall E. — 2. House-lot of 1 a., Maj. Edwd. Gibones E, the Lane W, the St. S, Cove N. — Wm. Phillips gr. Robt. N. land near the New Meeting-house, abt. 60 ft. wide, and 6 score ft. long, more or

less, as now staked out; NW, SW and SE on sd. Wm. Phillips, and the river NE; by deed 26 (1) 1650. — Susan P. wf. of sd. Wm. P. released to Robt. N. all her right in sd. land by deed 26 (1) 1650. It was again sold sd. Wm. P. 28 (6) 1650, by sd. Nash. Mr. Aspinwall, N. P. — 5 (8) 1650, John Milom gr. Ro. Nash ¾ his dwell-h. near the mill, with wharf and land appertaining; deed 2 (8) 1650. In pres. of Jo. Bushnell, Ri. Waite, Wm. Aspinwall.

Foxcroft, Mr. George. — House-lot, the Cove N, Edwd. Bendall E and S, Robt. Nash N.

Bendall, Edward. — 1. House and ¼ a., Mr. Foxcroft and Robt. Nash W, Mr. Hill S, the Cove N and E. — 2. House and garden, with 2 a. adj., Sudbury-st. E, Robt. Meers N, Mr. Cotton S and W. — 3. House and lot, Capt. Hawkins N, Lt. Savage S, the Bay E. This was by him sold to Anchor Ainsworth.

Tyng, Edward. — House, yard, warehouse and brewhouse, the Bay E, Valentine [Hill?] Henry Webb and pt. of the Cove N, Jas. Oliver W, the St. S. At Braintree 217½ a. upland, 9¼ a. meadow, 53¼ a. swamp, as by plot made in 1640, by Mr. John Oliver, bnd. N. by a swamp bottom ptng. betn. him and Mr. Edward Hutchinson, and also by a pond and Geo. Burden. — 18 (10) 1650, Jane Harwood and Nathl. Bishop, attorneys to Geo. Harwood, gr. Edwd. Tyng the dwell-h. of sd. George, and land, thereto belong., at the end of the land which joineth the house and land of Mr. Thos. Oliver; deed, Dec. 1650. Signed, Jane Harwood's mark and a seal and Nath. Bishop and seal. Wits. Robert Reinolds, Nathl Reinolds and Wm. Aspinwall.

Oliver, James. — House and yard, Edwd. Tyng E, Valentine Hill N, David Sellick W, the St. S.

Sellick, David. — House and garden, Jas. Oliver E, Val. Hill N, Mr. Pierce W, the St. S. — House purch'd of Christ. Lawson, formerly Henry Symonds, and a garden, the St. W'd, the common marsh tor'd the N and E, John Hill and Nathl Long tor'ds the S, together with a lane of 10 ft., leading to sd. garden; also the wharf or lane lying afore sd. house 42 ft. wide, and 56 ft. long; by grant of Gen. Court. This by deed 20 (11) 1645. Acknl. bef. Mr. Hibbins same day. — Edwd. Wells gr. David S. his house and garden, Samson Shore NE, the Cove SE, John Milom SW, John Hill's garden NW; by deed 11 (7) 1647; ackng. bef. Winthrop, Govr. 14 (7) 1647.

Pierce, William. — House and garden, David Sellick E, Isaac Grosse and St. N, Wm. Davies, Jr., and St. S, Edwd. Bendall, Val. Hill and Wm. Davies W.

Grosse, Isaac. — 1. House, Wm. Pierce S and E, Edwd. Bendall W, the Cove N. — 2. House and garden, abt. ½ a., Wm. Beamsley S, the way W, the Bay and John Sweete N'ly. — 3. House and garden, John Seaberry S, John Sweete N, Walter Merry W, and the Bay E.

Davies, William, Jr. — House, Wm. Pierce E and N, Valent. Hill W, the St. S.

Hudson, William, Sen. — 1. House and yard, the St. N, the Bay E, Mr. Winthrop S, Wm. Davies, Sen., W. — 2. In the New-field abt. 5 a., Richd. Cooke E, Mr. Tho. Clarke W. Sold to Thos. Buttolph. — 3. Garden to'rd Fort Hill, Robt. Scott E, Nathl. Eaton, Richd. Hogg and Fra. East W, Amos Richardson S, Nicholas Parker N.

Davies, William, Sen. — 1. House, Wm. Hudson, Sen., E, the St. N, Mr. Winthrop S and W. — 2. House and abt. ¾ a., the water SE, Richd. Gridley SW, NW, and NE. — 3. One a., Jacob Eliot E and S, Mr. Colbourne W, the sea N. This lies in Mr. Colbourne's field.

Scott, Robert. — House, Mr. Thos. Leverit E and S, the St. W and N. — 2. A garden, Capt. Robert Keine E, Thos. Oliver W, John Webb N. — 3. A garden, Mr. Thos. Leverit E, Henry Webb S, the St. W and N. — 4. A garden plot, Jacob Leger E, Wm. Hudson, Sen., W, Nicholas Parker and Jas. Pen N, Edwd. Bates S.

Parsons, William. — House and garden, the Lane W, Hen. Webb N, James Davies E, the Swing-gate S.

Davies, James. — House and garden, Thos. Leverit N, the marsh E, Wm. Parsons W, the Spring-gate S.

Webb, Henry. — 1. House and garden, the Market-place N, the Old Meeting-house and Lane E, the Highway S, Mr. Hudson W. — 2. Garden, John Leverit E, the Highway and Robt.

Scott N, the Lane W, Mr. Thos. Oliver S. — 3. Garden, Robt. Wing and Ralph. Mason E, the Lane S, Geo. Burden N, the Cove W.

Fairebankes, Richard. — House and garden, Capt. Keine N and E, Mr. Oliver S, and the High-st. W. — 2. Garden, Wm. Aspinwall S and E, Zac. Bosworth, John Synderland, Richd. Cooke, John Lugg and Arthur Perry N, the Common W. — 3. In the New-field 4 a., Mr. Tho. Oliver N, Geo. Burden and Hen. Pease S, Isaac Allington, Alexr. Beck and James Browne W, the River E. — 4. In the Fort-field 6 a., Mr. Hibbins NE, Robt. Turner SW, John Spoore W, the Common N, Richd. Gridley SE.

Corser, William. — House and garden, Mr. Thos. Oliver S and W, Capt. Robt. Keine N, and the Lane E. — James Everill gr. W. C. house-lot, Robt. Porter SE, the Street NE, Wm. Tyng and Evan Thomas NW; deed 22 (6) 1649, bef. Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.

Leverit, John. — House and yard, Richd. Parker S and W, the Street N and E.

Parker, Richard. — House, barn and yard, the Marketstead E, John Leverit N, Prison yard W, Richd. Truesdale and the Meeting-house S. — 18 (8) 1651. Mr. Adam Winthrop by ord. from his bro. Maj. Steph. W., gr. Mr. Richd. Parker that house in the yard that belonged to his father's dwelling-house by the Spring, SE from sd. dwell-h., with 40 ft. of ground fronting the Spring, and backward to the pales of the garden, datd. 7 Dec. 1650. Wits. Michael Powell, Valentine Hill. [Then follows an abstract of Mr. Steph. Winthrop's letter to Mr. Adam W., authorizing the sale; dated Feb. 6th, 1650.]

Truesdale, Richard. — 1. House and garden, Richd. Parker N, Val. Hill S, the Prison yard W, the Meeting-house E. — 2. In the New-field ¾ a., the Common S, Nathl. Eaton N, Zaccheus Bosworth W, Thos. Millard E.

Hill, Valentine. — House and garden, the Street E, the Meeting-house and Richd. Truesdale N, Capt. Robt. Sedgwick S, the Prison garden W. — Another house and backside, John Biggs W, Thos. Buttolph N, Thos. Hawkins S, the Street E.

Sedgwick, Maj. Robert. — House and garden, Thos. Clarke, Robt. Turner and the St. E, Mr. Hutchinson S, Valentine Hill N, Henry Messinger W.

Hutchinson, Mr. Richard. — House and garden, the Street E and S, Thos. Scotto W, Mr. Sedgwick N.

Scotto, Thomas. — 1. House and garden, the Burying-place W, Henry Messinger N, the Street S, Mr. Richd. Hutchinson E. — 2. At Muddy r. 4 a. upland, Wm. Beamsley and Thos. Grubb S, Richd. Sanford and Alexr. Beck N, the Cedar swamp W'd, and his own marsh E. — 3. Also 1 a. marsh at Muddy r., Charles r. E, Richd. Sanford, Thos. Grubb and his own upland W, Jacob Eliot S'd.

Messinger, Henry. — House and garden, the Street W'd, Richd. Crychley N, Thos. Scotto and the Burying-place S, Maj. Sedgwick E.

Croychley, Richard. — 1. House and garden, the Street N and W, Richd. Tapping E, Henry Messenger S. — 2. In Mr. Coleborne's field 2 a., Jacob Eliot E and W, Richd. Parker S, Wm. Salter N. — It is to be understood that both the house and garden, and also the 2 acres do belong [to] the wife and children of William Dinely, although they be put under the name of Richd. Croychley, who only possesseth them in the right of his wife and her former husband's children. — Nathl. Williams gr. Richd. Critchley his house and land thereto belonging, the Street N, the Prison E, Hen. Messinger S, Richd Critchley W. By deed 22 (12) 1648. — This house and land last named, being formerly the possession of Richd. Tapping, [said Tapping] did acknowlg. himself satisfied, and did release unto Nathl. Williams all his right therein, 5 (11)1649. Test. Wm. Aspinwall, Robt. Meeres.

Tapping, Richard. — House and garden, Richd. Croychley W, the Prison E, Street N, Hen. Messenger S. — Henry Bridgam gr. Richd. Tapping the house wherein sd. Richd. now lives, and half the lot as now it is marked out, Thos. Millard S, Arthur Perry W, the High-street E, sd. Henry Bridgham N, as by deed 12 (11) 1648; in pres. of Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.

Gillom, Benjamin. — House and garden, Benj. Ward W, Mr. Wm. Hibbins S, John Compton and the Cove E, the Marsh N. — Also house and lot, Wm. Deming W'd and N'd, Robt. Turner's pasture E, the Lane SE.

Ward, Benjamin. — House and abt. 1 a., Nathl. Woodward the younger W, Benj. Gillom E, Mr. Hibbins S, Edwd. Hutchinson and the Marsh N.

Compton, John. — House and garden, the Cove E, Benj. Gillom W, the Fort Hill S, Benj. Gillom N.

Woodward, Nathaniel. — House and garden, Benj. Ward and Edwd. Hutchinson E, the Marsh N and W.

Hutchinson, Edward. — House and yard, Benj. Ward E and S, Nathl. Woodward W, the Marsh N.

Sherman, Richard. — House and garden, Mr. Hibbins N and E, Mr. Atherton Haugh S, the Green W.

Spoore, John. — 1. House and garden, Mr. Hibbins W, Creek N, Marsh E, Street S. — 2. Abt. 1½ a., Richd. Fairebanks E, Robt. Turner S'd, Street N, Capt. Robt. Keine and Wm. Pell W. — Henry Bridgham gr. John S. his dwell-h. and lot as now marked out, Richd. Tapping S, Arthur Perry W, Mr. Haugh N, the High-st. E ; as by deed 13 (11) 1648 ; in pres. of Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.

Pell, William. — House and garden, John Spoore E, the Street N, Capt. Keine S, Miles Robt. Rice W.

Dinsdale, William. — House and garden, Robt. Rice E, Street N, John Kenrick W, Robt. Scot S.

Rice, Robert. — House and garden, Wm. Pell E, Wm. Dinsdale W, Capt. Keine S, the Street N.

Kenrick, John. — House and garden, Wm. Dinsdale E, James Pen W, the Street N and S.

Pen, James. — House and garden, John Kenrick E, Street N, Richd. Parker W.

Parker, Nicholas. — 1. House and garden, Jas. Pen E, the Street N, Nathl. Bishop W, Robt. Scot S. — 2. At Rumneymarsh 260 a., Jno. Newgate N and E, Mr. Bellingham and the Creek S, Charlestown bounds W. — 3. Also at Rumneymarsh abt. 20 a., Saml. Cole E and N, John Newgate W and S. — 4. In the Mill-field 2 a., Thos. Buttolph SE and SW, Val. Hill. NW, the Water NE.

Bishop, Nathaniel. — House and garden, Nicholas Parker E, Wm. Hudson, Sen., S, John Stevenson, Richd. Waite and Edwd. Fletcher W, the Street N.

Stevenson, John. — House and yard, Nathl. Bishop E, Street N, Robt. Reinolds W and S. — Richd. Parker gr. John S. land, Richd. Truesdale and the Meeting-house yard S, his own land N, E, and W ; as by deed 5 (11) 1646. Wit. Tho. Roberts. — This was again sold to Richd. Astwood. — James Everill gr. John S. a house-lot, Wm. Hayward SE, Wm. Tyng S, Robt. Porter NW, the Street NE, as pr. deed 22 (6) 1649. Before Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.

Bosworth Zaccheus. — 1. House and garden, the Street W and N, Richd. Fairebanks S, John Synderland E. — 2. In the New-field 2 a., the Common S, Richd. Truesdale E, Jane Parker W, Wm. Wilson and John Ruggle N. — 3. In the New-field 1½ a., Thos. Millard S, James Johnson N, Edmund Dennis E, Richd. Sherman W. — 4. At Braintree 51 a., rocky Common and Richd. Cooke N, John Mellowes, John Davies and Monotaquit r. S, John Mellowes and Jas. Browne W, Zac. Bosworth, John Davies and John Mellows E.

Synderland, John. — House and garden, Zacc. Bosworth W, Street N, Richd. Fairebanks S, Richd. Cooke E'ly. — 15 (6) 1650. Whereas John Gallup deceased, gr. John S. land 9 rods wide, more or less, and 20 rods long, more or less, the St. SE, the Mill-dam (where it is but 8 rods wide) NW, Francis Hudson E'ly, Mr. Coale W'ly ; also a pcl. 80 ft. long, 36 ft. wide, the St. N'd, John Sweete S'd, John Gallop W'd, John Synderland E'd, Mehetabel Gallop, wf. of sd. John, confirmed the same by deed 27 Feb. 1649.

Cooke, Richard. — 1. House and garden, John Synderland W, the St. N, Richd. Fairebanks S. John Lugg E. — 2. Garden, the Common W. Danl. Maud S, Wm. Aspinwall N, and Ephraim Pope E. — This is again sold. — 3. In the New-field a pcl., Wm. Hudson, Sen., W, Val. Hill E. — 4. At Braintree 35 a., Tho. Savage N'ds, Jas. Brown S'ds, the Bay E'ds,

rocky ground W'ds. — 5. Abt. 7 a. more, Tho. Savage N, Jas. Browne and Jno. Webb S, Wm. Werdall W. — 6. Also 1¼ a. marsh, Tho. Savage and Monotaquit r. E, Jno. Davies and Oliver Mellowes W.

Lugg, John. — House and garden, Richd. Cooke W, Richd. Fairebanks S, Arthur Perry E, the Street N.

Pery, Arthur. — House, yard and garden, John Lugg W, Richd. Fairebanks S, Street N, Mr. Haugh, Francis Loyall, Thos. Grubb and Thos. Millard E.

Lyle, Francis. — 1. House and garden, Mr. Haugh N, Street E, Arthur Perry W, Thos. Millard S. — 2. In the New-field ½ a.

Millard, Thomas. — House and garden, Fra. Lyle N, Tho. Grubb S, Arthur Perry W, Street E. — 2. In the New-field ½ a., Richd. Truesdale W, Tho. Scotto E, Nathl. Eaton N, the Common S. — 3. In the New-field 1 a., Jane Parker W, Wm. Wilson E, Zacc. Bosworth, Jno. Ruggle, and Edwd. Dennis N and S. — Zaccheus Bosworth gr. Tho. M. ab. 1 a. in Centry-field, Edwd. Hutchinson N, the Common S, Tho. Millard E, Zacc. Bosworth W; as by deed 10 Oct. 1651. In pres. of Wm. Aspinwall, N. P. and Ralph Roote.

Aspinwall, William. — 1. House and garden, Richd. and Tho. Grubb N, Common W, High-st. E, Richd. Cooke and Eph. Pope S. — 2. At Mud. r. 9 a., surrounded with the Cedar-swamp and Nathl. Woodward the elder. — 3. At Hogg Island 1 a. upland, and ¾ a. marsh, bo't of Mr. Ormsbie. — Concerning the Windmill, see the great book of Records of copies, &c. — Wm. Davies, apothecary, gr. Wm. A. abt. ½ a., the land of sd. Aspinwall S and E, Common W, Zacc. Bosworth, —— Baker, Richd. Cooke, Robt. Wright and —— Bomsted N, as by deed 11 Nov. 1652. In pres. Jno. Sanford.

Grubb, Thomas. — House and garden, Tho. Millard N, Arthur Perry W, Wm. Aspinwall S, High-st. E.

Pope, Ephraim. — House and garden, Wm. Aspinwall N, Richd. Cooke W, Edmund Dennis S, High-st. E.

Dennis, Edmund. — 1. House and garden, Eph. Pope N, Edmd Jacklin S, Street E, Richd. Cooke and Danl. Maud W. — 2. In the New-field ½ a., Jno. Ruggle E, Zac. Bosworth W, Tho. Millard S, Mr. Tho. Clark N. — 3. A small pcl., Jas. Everill E'ds, the Lane and St. SW and NW. — 4. At Braintree, ab. 20 a., Tho. Metson E, Alexr. Plimley W'ds, Val. Hill S'ds.

Jacklin, Edmund. — House and garden, Edmd. Dennis N, Wm. Townsend S, Street E, Danl. Maud W. — 22 (3) 1647. Richd. Cooke gr. Edmd. J. ½ a., Wm. Aspinwall N, Daniel Maud S, Common W, Eph. Pope E; by deed 10 (2) 1645; wits. Wm. Aspinwall, N. P. — 22 (3) 1647. Danl. Maud gr. Edmd. J. the same ½ a., Richd. Cooke N, Common W, Richd. Sherman S, Edmd. Jacklin E; by deed 13 (8) 1643. Wits. Hutavill Nutter and Edwd. Starbuck, Elders of the Ch. at Dover.

Townsend, William. — House and garden, Edmd. Jacklin N, Jane Parker S, Street E, Danl. Maud W.

Parker, Jane. — 1. House and garden, the St. E and S, Wm. Townsend N, Richd. Sherman W. — 2. In the New-field ½ a., Thos. Millard E'ds, David Sellick, Nathl. Chappell, Jacob Leger and Mr. Pope S'ds, Wm. Bamsley, Richd. Sherman and Zac. Bosworth NW. — 3. Also 40 a. at Muddy r. — Jane P. the wid. of Richd. P. intending to marry, did by deed of gift give Margaret her dau. out of her house-lot 21 ft. square in the angle at the meeting of the streets; then all her house and lot, the ½ a. in the New-field, and 40 a. at Mud. r. to her sons; viz., to John P. her eldest, half; the other half equally bet. Thomas and Noah, by deed 15 (5) 1646; same day acknolg. bef. the Governor.

Blott, Robert. — House and garden, the St. E and N, Mr. Flint S, Jno. Leverit W.

Flint, Mr. ——. — House and garden, Robt. Blot N, John Leverit W, Street E, Anthony Harker S. — House and garden, Anthony Harker N, Thos. Clarke S, Street E, Geo. Burden W.

Harker, Anthony. — House and garden, Street E, James Johnson W, Mr. Flint N, and Mr. Flint S.

Clarke, Thomas. — House and garden, Mr. Flint N, Henry Webb and Geo. Burden W, Street E, Ralph Mason S.

Mason, Ralph. — House and garden, Thos. Clarke N, Henry Webb W, Street E, Robt. Wing S. — This is sold to Thos. Painter. — 21 (12) 1645. Isaac Perry gr. Ralph M. 10 a., more or less, at Mud. r., Ralph M. S, Thomas Scotto N, Mr. Hibbins W ; by deed 20 (10) 1645, before Mr. Winthrop.

Wing, Robert. — 1. House and garden, the St. S and E, Henry Webb W, Ralph Mason N. — 2. Also ½ a. the River W, Mr. Pope S, James Everill and ——— E.

Carter, Richard. — House and garden, Mr. Oliver N, Common W, Street E, Jacob Leger S. — Wm. Parsons gr. Richd. C. abt. an a., Robert Wing and Ralph Mason E, the Lane S, Common W, Geo. Burden N ; by deed 2 (9) 1646, bef. Winthrop, Gov. — 2 (1) 1647. Wm. Aspinwall gr. Richd. C. his lot at Mud. r., abt. 9 a., Nathl. Woodward, Sen., to'rd NW, Cedar Swamp on the other side ; by deed 7 (1) 1647. — 4 (11) 1648, Richd. Gridley gr. Richd. C. his lot at Spectacle I., abt. 3 a., on the hithermost part of the Eastern Spectacle ; by deed 2 (11) 1648, in pres. Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.

Leger, Jacob. — 1. House and garden, Mr. Coleborne S, Common W, Street E, Richd. Carter N. — 2. House and garden, Mr. Thos. Fowle S, Street W, Robt. Woodward N, Thos. Buttolph E. — 3. Abt. an a., —— Chaplaine E, Richd. Parker N, Common S, Mr. Pope W.

Coleborne, Mr. William. — House and garden, the High-st. E, the Lane and Edwd. Belchar S, Jacob Leger N.

Belchar, Edward. — House and garden, Mr. Colborne E and N, the Lane S, Wm. Talmage W.

Talmage, William. — 1. House and garden, the St. S, Edwd. Belchar E, Thos. Snow N and W. — 2. Garden, Robt. Walker W, Jacob Eliot E and S, the Street N.

Walker, Robert. — 1. House and garden, Thos. Snow E, Common N, St. S, Wm. Briscoe W. — 2. Garden, Thos. Snow E, Common N, &c., bounded before. — 3. Garden, Wm. Talmage E, Street N, John Cranwell W, Jacob Eliot S.

Briscoe, William. — House and garden, Robt. Walker E, Common N, Street S, —— Flacke W. — 24 (4) 1651. Thos. Alcock of Dedham gr. Wm. B. abt. 20 a., Edmd. Grosse E, Edwd. Belchar W, half a mile from Mr. Hibbins' farm ; by deed in the year 1644.

Roote, Ralph. — House and garden, John Cranwell E, John Cranwell and Richd. Croychley S, Wm. Salter W, the Street N.

Salter, William. — 1. House and garden, Ralph Roote E, Common W, Street N, Jacob Eliot and Richd. Croychley S. — 2. In Mr. Colborne's field 1 a., Jacob Eliot S and E, the Bay W, Common N. — 3. At Mud. r. 8 a., Robt. Burden W, Wm. Briscoe E, Nathl. Woodward, Sen., N, Jacob Eliot S. Again sold Ed. Devotion.

Eliot, Jacob. — House and garden, the Highway E, the Lane N, Wm. Talmage W, Mr. Colborne's field S.

Bourne, Garret. — House and garden, Edwd. Rainsford E, the Marsh S, Street W and N.

Cranwell, John. — House and garden, Ralph Roote W, Robt. Walker E, Street N, and on the S 2 a. belonging to it ; wch. 2 a. has the garden N, Mr. Roe E, Mr. Richd. Croychley W and S.

Rainsford, Edward. — House and garden, Garret Bourne W, David Offley E, Street N, Cove S.

Offley, David. — House and garden, Edwd. Rainsford W, the Lane E, Street N, Cove S.

Roe, Mr. Owen. — House and garden, Street N, Lane W, Cove S, John Pelton E.

Pelton, John. — House and house-lot, Owen Roe, W, Street N, Cove S, the Marsh E.

Bowen, Griffith. — House and garden, the St. S and W, Miles Reading E, —— Cole N.

Cole, ——. — House and garden, Griffith Bowen S, the St. W, Miles Reading E, John Odlin N.

Odlin, John. — House and garden, the St. W, Miles Reading E, —— Cole S, Walter Sinet N. — 12 (8) 1650. John Bateman gr. Jno. O. house and lot (lately bo't of Jno. Cuddington),

sd. Jno. O. N, Grif. Bowen S, the High-st. W, Richd. Wilson E, by deed 10 (8) 1650. Test. Wm. Aspinwall, Jno. Cuddington.

Sinet, Walter. — House and garden, Jno. Odlin S, the St. W, Thos. Buttolph and Miles Reading E, Jacob Leger N.

Woodward, Robert. — House and garden, Jacob Leger S, Thos. Buttolph E, the High-st. W, the Lane N.

Wheeler, Thomas. — 1. House and garden, the Lane S, High-st. W, the Watering-place E, Wm. Blantaine N. — 2. At Mud. r. 15 a., Mr. Hibbins W, Cambridge bounds N, Robt. Hall E, Hen. Fane S.

Blantaine, William. — 1. House and garden, Thos. Wheeler S, John Hurd N, the St. W, the Watering-place E. — 2. House-lot, Jno. Serch W, Wm. Briscoe E, the St. S, Common N. — Wm. Davies, gunsmith, gr. Wm. B., carpenter, abt. ½ a., Thos. Bel W, the Mill-st. N, Geo. Griggs E, Wm. Blantaine S; by deed 2 7(4) 1646. Acknlgd. same day bef. Jno. Winthrop, Gov.

Hurd, John. — House and garden, Wm. Blantaine S, the High-st. W, Gaml. Waite E, Robt. Hull N.

Hull, Robert. — House and garden, Jno. Hurd S, the High-st. W, Job Judkin N, Gaml. Waite E.

Judkins, Job. — House and garden, Robt. Hull S, Elizabeth Purton N, the St. W, Gamaliel Waite E.

Woodward, Nathaniel (the elder). — House and garden, the Mill-lane S, the High-st. W, Jno. Palmer, Jr., E, Jno. Marshall N.

Marshall, John. — House and garden, Nathl. Woodward, Sen., S, Richd. Hogg N, Amos Richardson E, the Street W.

Hogg, Richard. — House and garden, Jno. Marshall S, Nathl. Eaton N, Amos Richardson and Wm. Hudson E, Street W. "Aliened" to Jno. Lake.

Eaton, Nathaniel. — House and garden, Richd. Hogg S, Fra. East N, Wm. Hudson, Sen., E, the St. W.

East, Francis. — House and garden, Nathl. Eaton S, Charitie and Richard Waite N, Wm. Hudson and the St. E.

White, Charity. — House and small yard, Fra. East S and E, the St. W, Richd. Waite N.

Waite, Richard. — House and garden, Charity White and Fra. East S, Edwd. Fletcher N, the St. W, Nathl. Bishop E.

Fletcher, Edward. — House and garden, Richd. Waite S, Robt. Reinolds N, the High-st. W, Nathl. Bishop E.

Reinolds, Robert. — House and garden, Edwd. Fletcher S, the High-st. W, the Fort-st. N, John Stevenson E.

Palmer, John, Jr. — House and yard, Nathl. Woodward, Sen., W, the Mill-st. S, Aaron Richardson E, John Marshall N.

Richardson, Amos. — House and garden, Jno. Palmer, Jno. Marshall and Richd. Hogg W, the Street S, Jno. Palmer, Sen., E, Wm. Hudson, Sen., and Robt. Scott N. — Francis Smith gr. Amos R. 2 a., bo't of Edmd. Jacklin and Richd. Sherman, Wm. Aspinwall N, the Common W, the St. S, Jane Parker, Wm. Townsend, Edmd. Jacklin, Edmd. Jackson and Eph. Pope E; by deed 22 (3) 1647. Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.

Palmer, John, Sen. — House and garden or house-lot, Amos Richardson W, Gaml. Waite E, Robt. Scot and young Wm. Hudson N, the Mill-st. S.

Waite, Gamaliel. — House and lot, Jno. Palmer W, Mr. Thos. Oliver N, Benj. Negoos E'ly,

the Mill-st. S. — Also, a garden plot, Richd. Hollich E, Eliz'th. Purton W, Wm. Blantaine S, the St. N.

Negoos, Benjamin. — House and lot, Gaml. Waite W, Maded Engles E, Mill-st. S, Mr. Oliver W.

Engles, Madid. — House and lot, Mr. Scott N, Benj. Negoos W'd, Wm. Deming E'd, the Millstead S'd.

Deming, William. — House and lot, Capt. Keine N, Madid Engles W, and Benj. Gillom E'ly, and the Lane SE.

Gridley, Richard. — House and lot, the Street S and W, the Bay E'ly, Jno. Harrison N'ly. — Also a lot, Robt. Turner NW, Jno. Harrison SW, the Bay SE, the Fort NE.

Harrison, John. — House and lot, Richd. Gridley S'ly, the Bay E'ly, Richd. Gridley N'ly, Robt. Turner W'ly.

Baxter, Nicholas. — House and lot, the Street or Lane N and W, Edwd. Browne and the Bay E, Matthew Jyons S'ds.

Browne, Edward. — House and garden, Nicholas Baxter N'ly and W'ly, the Bay E'ly, Matthew Jyons S'ly.

Jyons, Matthew. — House and lot, the Lane W'd, Nich. Baxter and Edwd. Browne N'd, the Bay E'd, Wm. Netherland [Letherland?] S'ds.

Letherland, William. — House and lot, the Lane W'd, the Bay E'd, Matthew Jyons N'd, Abel Porter and the Cove S'd.

Teft, William. — House and lot, the Cove S, the Lane E, the Mill-st. N, Thos. Munt and —— Tuttle W'd.

Munt, Thomas, — House and lot, Wm. Teft E and N, the Cove S, Jona. Negoos W'd.

Negoos, Jonathan. — House and lot, Thos. Munt E, Thos. Foster W, Wm. Teft N, the Cove S.

Foster, Thomas. — House and lot, Jona. Negoos E, Richd. Woodhouse W, Mrs. Tuttle N, the Cove S. — Sold to Wm. Browne. — 30 (7) 1639, Boston gr. Thos. Foster, the gunner at Castle Island, a great lot at the Mount for 6 heads, upon condition expressed for Mount Wollaston lands; being 49 a.; land of Mr. Haugh N'd, Benj. Keaine W'd, Fr. Lyall S'd, Nathl. Williams and Fra. Lyall E'd. If it be aliened from the town, they require 2 a. in 7 to be returned to the Town, or 2s. 4d. instead.

Woodhouse, Richard. — House and House-lot, Thos. Foster E, Jno. Vyall W, Geo. Griggs N, the Cove S.

Griggs, George. — House-lot, Mrs. Tuttle E, Wm. Davis W, Jno. Viall S, the Mill-st, N.

Bell, Thomas. — House and lot, Wm. Davies E, Richd. Hollich W, Wm. Blantaine S, the Street N.

Hollich, Richard. — House and lot, Thos. Bell E, Gaml. Waite W, Wm. Blantaine S, the Street N.

Lawson, Christopher. — 20 (11) 1645, Richd. Bellingham, Esq., gr. Chr. L. ½ the marsh land anciently gr. to him by the Town, between his own house wh. he bo't of Mr. Symonds and Jno. Lowes, by deed 4 (4) 1644. Wits. Saml. Bellingham, Thos. Lake. — Thos. Buttolph gr. Chr. L. abt. 4½ a. in the Mill-field, the Bay NE, Nich. Parker and Val. Hill NW, Chr. Stanley S; by deed 20 (6) 1646. Ackng. bef. Jno. Winthrop, Gov.

Nanney, Robert. — David Selleck gr. R. N. his house and garden, with 10 ft. wide for a way to sd. garden (formerly purchased of Chris. Lawson) also 10 ft. of the wharf in breadth from Jno. Hills, and in length from the Dock to his house; Jno. Hills and St. W'ly, the Marsh N'ly, the Marsh and Nathl. Long E'ly, the Cove S'ly, by deed 25 (1) 1646. Acknlg. same day bef. Winthrop, Dep. Gov. David Selleck gr. also 6 ft. more of the wharf next the former 10 ft., deed 29 (5) 1648. — Paul Allistre gr. R. N. his dwelling-h. taken in execution of a judgment agt. Richd. Straine, land of Thos. Lake SW, Arthur Perry NE,

Robt. Wing NW, the Cove SE, in breadth 31 ft., together with the land and wharf to sd. house belonging; by deed 16 (7) 1650.

Fletcher, Mr. Roger. — Jeremy Houtchin, tanner, gr. R. F., late of London, merch., his dwell-h. garden and orchard, and tan-pits, Benj. Thwing S, Jno. Ruggle and Wid. Hunne E, Sudbury-st. W, the Lane N; also a pcl. of land, Jno. Newgate SW, Mrs. Staughton NW, Highway NE, Thos. Ludkin SE; by deed 26 (4) 1646; ackng. same day bef. Mr. Richd. Bellingham.

Busbie, Nicholas. — Edmd. Jacklin gr. N. Busbie, worsted weaver, dwell-h. and garden, abt. ½ a., Edmd. Dennis N, Wm. Townsend and the High-st. E, Edmd. Jacklin W; by deed 22 (6) 1646, ackn. bef. Gov. Jno. Winthrop, Esq.

Hailestone, Willlam. — Edwd. Fletcher gr. W. Hailestone, late of Taunton, tailor, pt. his dwell-h., viz. the N end, being 13 ft. N and S, 26 ft. E and W, or thereab., with ½ his garden, Thos. Painter N, High-w. E, Nathl. Woodward and Edwd. Fletcher S, the High-st. and Edwd. Fletcher W; by deed 29 (6) 1646; ackn. bef. the Gov. same day.

Shrimpton, Henry. — 28 (7) 1646. Anth. Stoddard and Jno. Leverit sold H. Shrimpton, brazier, dwell-h. and garden, the Water-st. S, the New-st, E, Mr. Jno. Wilson W, Jno. Parker N; by deed 9 (5) 1646. Ackn. 26 (7) 1646, bef. Jno. Winthrop, Gov.

Page, Abraham. — Jno. Stevenson gr. his house and yard to A. P., Nathl. Bishop E, the Fort-st. N, Robt. Reinold S and W; by deed 22 (8) 1646. Ackn. bef. Mr. Jno. Winthrop, Gov., same day. — This is sold to Jno. Hansett.

Hansett, John. — Abra. Page gr. Jno. H., of Roxbury, house and yard in Boston, Nathl. Bishop E, the Fort-st. N, Robt. Reinold S and W; by deed 28 (8) 1646. Ackn. as above.

Usher, Hezekia. — Edmund Jackson gr. H. U. his house and garden, Mr. Jno. Wilson N and E, the Marketstead S, Jno. Coggan W; 25 ft., front on the St. 40 ft. deep; by deed 1 (12) 1646. Ackn. bef. Jno. Winthrop, Gov. 2 (12) 1646.

Wicks, William. — 12 (1) 1646. Jno. Sweete gr. Wm. W. house and garden, Thos. Ankor SE, Chr. Stanley SW and NE, by deed 25 (12) 1644. Ackn. 12 (1) 1646, bef. Gov. Winthrop.

Phippeni, Joseph. — House-plot wh. was formerly Anchor Ainsworth's, and by Hen. Rashley, attorney to sd. Anchor, sold to J. P., by deed 30 (1) 1647. Ackn. bef. Gov. Winthrop.

Jephson, John. — Jas. Oliver by virtue of will of Jno. Oliver, decsd., gr. J. J. the house and garden formerly Jno. Oliver's; Val. Hill SE and NE, the St. NW, Jno. Pierce and Jno. Knight SW; as also the lot of Thos. Marshall wh. (for 1 rod length abutteth on the SW, at the S'ly end of Jno. Knights and Joseph Pierce's lot); by deed 30 (2) 1647. Ackn. same day bef. the Gov'r.

Anderson, John. — Edwd. Grosse gr. John A., shipwright, his dwell-h., next Geo. Harlsall's, as by deed 1 (3) 1647. Ackn. bef. Gov'r. 20 (3) 1647.

Smith, Francis. — Edmd. Jacklin gr. F. S. ab. 1½ a., by him formerly purchsd of Danl. Maud and Richd. Cooke, Wm. Aspinwall N, the Common W, Richd. Sherman S, Wm. Townsend, Edmd. Jacklin, Edwd. Dennis and Eph. Pope E; by deed 22 (3) 1647; bef. Wm. Aspinwall, N. P. — Richd. Sherman gr. F. S. ¼ a., sd. Fra. Smith N, the Common W, the St. S, Isaac Parker E; by deed 22 (3) 1647; bef. W. A., N. P. — Wm. Hudson, Jr., gr. Fr. Smith his pt. in the dwell-h. of Wm. Hudson, Sen., being £46 (the whole being £130); by deed 12 (7) 1648; W. A., N. P. — John Milom, cooper, gr. F. S. his pt. in the same, £40 sterling, deed 29 (12) 1637. — Wm. Chamberlaine assignd F. S. his house and ground, formerly bo't of sd. Francis; the Lane N, High-st. E, Richd. Carter S, the Common W; assignmt. 5 (11) 1648. — 18 (2) 1651. Ambrose Leech gr. F. S. land in breadth bet. the house wh. is Joseph Wormall's and the land of sd. Francis, being at the St. 8 or 9 ft., and so according to the range by the end of sd. Wormall's house to the wharf or Cove; by deed 16 (2) 1651. Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.

Clarke, Arthur. — Henry Pease, planter, gr. A. Clarke, carpenter, land, 42½ ft. wide on front, and 8½ long on SW side, the other side 91½, and the end 38 ft.; bnd. SE by the Street, Mrs. Paine SW, his own lot NE and NW; by deed 23 (4) 1647. Ackn. bef. Mr. Nowel, 5 (5) 1647. — Wm. Tyng gives ½ his 5 rods, bet. Goodm. Fippenys and the bridge to his cousin Jno. Francknlyn, forever; dated 15 (11) 1652. — Testimony of Wm. Francklin a.

ab. 45; being by occasion at Mr. Wm. Tyngs house upon 15 (11) 1652, heard sd. Tyng say ½ the 5 rods before the highway bet. the Bridge and goodm. Fippenies he did give his cousin Jno. Francklin, and would confirm it by deed; this on oath 1 (12) 1652, before Mr. Hibbins. — This deed of gift within written by Capt. Wm. Tyng's owne hand, I Wm. Phillips, Jr., testify that it was dld. to my bro. Jno. Francklin by Mr. Wm. Tyng in my prence. Wits. my hand this 1 (12)1652.

Lippincot, Richard. — Wm. Hailestone, tailor, gr. Richd. L., barber, his house and garden, Thos. Painter N, the High-st. and Edwd. Fletcher's garden W, the Highw. E, Nathl. Woodward E, Edwd. Fletcher S; by deed 31 (5) 1647. Ackn. bef. Mr. Endecot 10 (6) 1647.

Vyall, John. — House and garden of ½ a., Richd. Woodhouse E, Highway W, Geo. Griggs N, the Marsh and Cove S.

Browne. William.— Thos. Foster gr. W. B., late of Salem, his house and garden, Jona. Negoos E, Geo. Griggs N, Richd. Woodhouse W, the Cove S; by deed 13 (8) 1647. Ackn. bef. Gov. same day.

Beamont, Thomas.— Thos. Foster gr. T. B., of London, mariner, 49 a. at Mount Wolaston, Atherton Haugh N, Benj. Keaine W, Fra. Lyle S, Nath. Williams and Fra. Lyle E; by deed 9 (8) 1647. Acknowl. bef. Gov. 29 (8) 1647. — Also he gr. a highway of 6 ft. bet. Barnab. Fawer, James Mattox, Arthur Perry and his own, at the head of the lots, 14 (1) 1648.

Chamberlaine, William. — Fra. Smith gr. Wm. C. his house and garden, with the shop and out-housing, the Lane N, the Common W, High-st. E, Richd. Carter S; by deed 30 Oct. 1647. Ackn. 9 (9) 1647, bef. Mr. Hibbins.

Fawer, Barnabas. — Val. Hill gr. B. F. house-lot, the Cove SE, the Lane NE, Jas. Mattocks SW, his own NW, by deed 23 (9) 1646. Ackn. bef. Wm. Hibbins 14 (7) 1647.

Mattox, James. — Val. Hill gr. J. M. a house-lot, Arthur Perry SW, the Cove SE, Barnabas Fawer NE, his own land NW; by deed 23 (9) 1646. Ackn. bef. Mr. Wm. Hibbins 14 (1) 1648: he also gr. a high-way of 6 ft. at the head of the lots of Bar. Fawer, Jas. Mattox and Arthur Perry, 14 (1) 1647.

Turner, Robert. — Val. Hill gr. R. Turner, shoemaker, house and garden, Thos. Buttolph N, Thos. Hawkins S, John Biggs W, the Street E; by deed 1 (10) 1644. Ackn. bef. Mr. Bellingham 10 (2) 1648.

Clarke, Christopher. — Nichls. Willis gr. C. C., mariner, his house and garden, Jno. Button SW, the Street E, Thos. Painter N'ly, Jas. Everill W'ly; by deed 12 (3) 1648. Wits. Wm. Aspinwall, Jas. Allison.

Nash, James. — John Milom gr. Jas. N., of Weymouth, marsh 40 ft. wide, front, the Mill Creek SW, the High-w. NW, Mr. Wm. Tyng NE and SE. as far as low-water mark; by deed 7 (4) 1648. Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.

Lake, John. — 14 (4) 1648. Richd. Hogg gr. J. L. his house and garden, John Marshall S, Nathl. Eaton N, Amos Richardson and Wm. Hudson E, the High-st. W; by deed 21 (8) 1645. Wit. Philemon Pormort. — Sold to Thos. Wiborne. — Thos. Wiborne gr. J. L. 11 perches, m. or l., Robt. Reinolds N and E, Edwd. Fletcher S, the High-st. W; by deed 26 (4) 1648. In pres. of Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.

Wiborne, Thomas. — John Lake gr. T. W. his dwell-h. and garden, John Marshall S, Nathl. Eaton N, Amos Richardson and Wm. Hudson E, the High-st. W; by deed 14 (4) 1648. Bef. Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.

Phillips, John.— John Milom gr. J. P. his dwell-h., shop and garden, John Hill NE, the Lane SW, Thos. Yow NW, the Cove SE, by deed 16 (4) 1648. Before Wm. Aspinwall, N. P.

Browne, Henry. — Wm. Douglas gr. H. B., of Limehouse, mariner, pt. of his house-lot, abt. 56¾ perches, in front at the sea 31 ft., in front to'rd the Street abt. 5 rod 3 ft., Joseph Baster, the River and Wm. Douglas NE, Wm. Douglas and the Street SE, Wm. Phillips and ——— SW, Joseph Baster and Thos. Anchor NW; by deed 20 (4) 1648. W. A., N. P.

Douglas, William. — Walter Merry, in behalf of self and Thos. Anchor, gr. W. D., cooper, dwell-h. bet. the lots of Jno. Sweete and Jno. Seabury, with the shop that was Thos. Anchor's, and ground thereto belong.; by deed 1 (3) 1646. Ackn. bef. Mr. Bellingham, 15

(4) 1648. Walter Merry gr. W. D. one little house with the house late in tenure of Jno. Newgrove, adjoining the former; by deed 12 (1) 1647. Ackn. bef. Mr. Bellingham 15 (4) 1648.

Baker, John. — 1 (5) 1648. Joseph Phippeni gr. Jno. B. ½ his house-lot 20 ft. wide, Thos. Savage S, Wm. Phillips W, sd. Phippeni N, the Bay E; by deed, dlvd. in pres. W. A., N. P.

Davies, William. — Val. Hill gr. Wm. Davies, apothecary, abt. 4 a. in the New-field, Jas. Pen N, Jno. Biggs and Jas. Pen W, Robt. Turner E, Thos. Buttolph S; by deed 2 (6) 1648. Wm. A., N. P.

Bennet, Richard. — Wm. Phillips and wf. Susan gr. R. B. 2 or 3 a. in the Mill-field, their own land NW, SW and NE, Richd. Bennet and Wm. Phillips SE; by deed 26 (6) 1648; bef. W. A., N. P. — Thos. Clark, merch. gr. R. B. ¼ a. in the Mill-field, the farm and barn yard of sd. Richd. NE, the St. SE, Wm. Phillip SW and NW, by deed 12 (1) 1650; bef. Wm. A., N. P.

Straine, Richard. — Val. Hill gr. R. S. abt. 1 a., Mr. Nathl. Eldred, Mr. Jno. Oliver and the High-w. SW, Arthur Perry NW and NE, the great Cove SE; by deed 27 Aug. 1648. Ackn. by Mr. Hill bf. Wm. Aspinwall, 25 (7) 1648. Wits. Henry Shrimpton, Thos. Bomsted.

Michell, George. — Joseph Phippeni gr. G. M. house and lot, Capt. Thomas Hawkins N, Jno. Baker S, the Bay E, Wm. Phillips W; deed 10 (8) 1648; bef. W. A., N, P.

Langdon, John. — Nathl. Woodward, Jr., gr. J. L. his dwell-h. and garden, Richd. Waite S, Edwd. Fletcher N, Nathl. Bishop E, the High-st. W; deed 16 (8) 1648; bef. Wm. A. and Robert Button.

Rice, Joanes. — Robert Burnam gr. Jones Rice a house-lot, Robt. Burnam S, old Rawlins N, the Highw. E, Wm. Phillips W; by deed 27 (9) 1648; bef. Wm. Aspinwall, Not. Pub.



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APPENDIX.

NO. II.

ANCIENT OBJECTS AND LOCALITIES.

To do full justice to this department of the History and Antiquities of Boston would require a volume of considerable magnitude, at the present time, and one of far greater comprehensiveness, at the end of fifty years from now, provided the spirit or *organ of destructiveness* should gather strength in time to come, as it has for some fifty years past, among those who have the power to exercise it. I refer to the continual changes of the names of Streets, Lanes, Alleys, &c. Not but what changes are *sometimes* necessary and highly proper. But reference is here made to those changes of names having no other foundation than a *whim*, for which no good reason has been or ever can be assigned. For example; what possible advantage could be expected from changing *Pudding-lane* to *Devonshire-street?* There should be a statute imposing a penalty for every such *unreasonable* proposal. It would be my decision, in the case of *Pudding-lane*, that the *culprit* should never be allowed again to taste any more pudding "during his natural life"! Such innovators do not consider that they are destroying all historical associations; that they make the task of the historian an endless one; that they insult the valuable citizen who undertakes to make correct Directories, and confound and confuse every stranger who honors the City by his presence.

Who does not take sincere pleasure in reading any portion of English history, when the scene is laid in London, to meet with the well-known names of Temple-bar, Cheapside, Threadneedle-street, Charter-lane, Old Bailey, Bolt-court, Soho, Distaff-lane, Leadenhall-street, Shadwell, Mile-End, Pall-Mall, &c. &c.? Many of these have come down from a period not reached by records, and nothing would more displease the good substantial citizens of that Metropolis than a proposition to have any of them obliterated, or others substituted in their stead. So it is hoped it will soon be in Boston.

The following list is but a meagre abstract of a MS. collection of much extent, and is all that room can possibly be spared for in this Appendix; but, as meagre as it is, it has cost great labor, and it is believed it will be found useful. My general plan was to give all the names which had gone out of use, and to show what the present names are of those places and objects once known by other names; also, to give the names now borne which were early bestowed or acquired. In many instances I have fixed the dates of origin and change. This could be done in a majority of cases, but has been only partially attempted in this brief analysis. Hence completeness must not be looked for, and exactness is only approximated throughout. It is possible I may carry out my plan at some future day, in a separate volume; but I make no promise. I may also make a supplement to this Article, at the end of my second volume, should I publish another. This will depend on the countenance of the Public, and the continuance of health.

Adams Street. — That part of Kilby-st. from Liberty sq. to Milk-st. 1806 to 1825.

Adams' Wharf. — Owned by Samuel Adams, father of Gov. Saml. Adams. On maps from 1722 to 1777. Now Tileston's wharf.

Admiral Vernon Tavern. — In King-st. In 1743, Peter Faneuil had a warehouse opposite. About this time it was kept by Richd. Smith. In 1775, it was kept by Mrs. Mary Bean. The sign was a portrait of Admiral Vernon. Its site was near highwater-mark.

Aikin's Lime-kiln. — In Lynn-st. at Lyme-alley, in 1732.

Alden's Lane. — So named from Capt. John Alden. See p. 500.

Alford's Corner. — Cor. Century and Beacon sts. 1728.

ALFORD'S WHARF. — The next N. of the foot of King-st. in 1673. Butler's in 1769.
ALLEN'S CORNER. — In Ann-st. corner of Wentworth's lane, 1732.
ALLEN'S FARM HOUSE. — Northerly end of Green-st. in 1708.
ALLEN'S WHARF. — At the South End, foot of Allen's lane, next S. of Bennet-st. 1777.
ALMSHOUSE. — The Town appointed persons to receive Capt. Keayne's legacy of £100, and Mr. Webb's of £100, with several other gifts, for erecting an Almshouse, and to agree with workmen to erect one, 31 (1) 1662. It was burnt in 1682, on what is now called Park-st. One was built in 1800, at the head of Leverett-st., and called the New Almshouse. This stood 25 years. Deer Island is now its location.
ALMSHOUSE WHARF. — Near the Almshouse at Craigie's Bridge.
AMERICAN COFFEE HOUSE. — In King-st. 1774, where the Massachusetts Bank now is.
AMORY'S WHARF. — At the East end of Castle-st., 1777, on which Amory had a still-house.
ANCHOR TAVERN. — Committees of the General Court used to meet there, 1661.
ANN STREET. — So named in honor of Queen Anne. In 1708, "from the Conduit in Union-st. over the bridge to Elliston's cor., lower end of Cross-st." Changed to North-st. in 1853.
ANSTRAM'S CORNER. — Near the Conduit, at the end of the Fish Market, 1708.
APPLE ISLAND. — Between Snake and Green Islands; 2½ miles from Long wharf.
APTHORP'S ISLAND. — A part of Calf Island.
ARMORY. — Mentioned in the Town Records 30 (3) 1659, but not located.
ASYLUM FOR INDIGENT BOYS. — Charter, cor. of Salem-st., where Gov. Phips once lived.
ATHENÆUM. — In Pearl near High-st. till 1848. It originated in 1806.
ATKINSON STREET. — So named from the ancient Atkinson family. From Cow-lane to Milk-st. in 1732. Now disgraced by the name of Congress-st., 1855.
AUCHMUTY STREET. — Part of what is now Essex-st. — See p. 693.
AUCTION HALL. — "In King-st. close by the Town-house." John Gerrish occupied it in 1769.
AUSTIN'S LONG ROOM. — In King-st. 1736. Auctions were held in it.
AVERY STREET. — Hog-alley, Sheafe's la. — See HOG ALLEY.
AVES' CORNER. — Corner of Lynn-st. and Henchman's lane.
BACK STREET. — From Stanbury's, nigh the Mill Bridge, to Mr. Gee's cor. in Prince-st. 1708. Since Salem-st.
BAKER'S SHIP-YARD. — At the North End, next N of Rucks, 1722. So 1777.
BALLANTINE'S CORNER. — Hanover-st. cor. Marshall's lane, 1732.
BALLARD'S WHARF. — Near the North Battery, 1769.
BALL'S ALLEY. — Centre-st., p. 728.
BARRETT STREET. — Wentworth's lane. In 1831, from 83 Ann to Fulton-st.
BARRETT'S WHARF. — Near the foot of Cross-st. 1769. See p. 687.
BARRILL'S CORNER. — In Newbury-st. cor. Sheafe's lane, 1732.
BARTON'S POINT. — Termination of Leverett-st. Formely Blackstone's Point.
BATH STREET. — See HORN LANE.
BATTERY ALLEY. — From Charter-st. by Mr. William Parkman's into Ship-st., nigh the North Battery, 1708. — From Parkman's Corner in Ship-st. W to North-st., 1732. Battery-street.
BATTERY MARCH. — From Hallaways [Hollowell's] Cor. by the end of Milk-st. by the Battery, to the lower end of Gibb's lane.
BAXTER'S CORNER. — Summer-st. cor. South, 1708.
BEACH STREET. — The way below Eliot's Barn in Orange-st., Eastward by the sea side, 1708.
BEACON. — In the early period of the settlement of Boston, the highest of the hills was selected for a Beacon. This gave the name of Beacon Hill. See p. 327–8.
BEACON HILL. — The State House stands upon the southern part of Beacon Hill. It was at first called Centry Hill. See page 685.
BEACON STREET. — So named from its vicinity to Beacon Hill, over the southern spur of which it passes. The name was confirmed by the Town in 1732; at which time it extended only to the present State House grounds.
BEARD'S CORNER. — High-st. cor. Long-lane, 1708.
BEER LANE. — Bridge's lane, then Richmond-st. in 1708. Shaw says it was anciently called Bur-lane; if so, it was a corruption of Beer-lane, so named, doubtless, from Beer-lane in London.
BELCHER'S LANE. — Southerly from Gibb's lane on Fort Hill, passing by Drinker's to the Rope-walk, 1708. High-st.
BELCHER'S WHARF. — Second from Long whf. N side, 1722, 1769. This was Gov. Belcher's. There was another Belcher's whf. at the North End, 1727.
BELKNAP STREET. — Belknap's lane 1797, Belknap-st. 1803, Irving-st. 1855. In 1800, betw. the late Gov. Hancock's and John Joy's to Cambridge-st.
BELKNAP'S YARD. — Between Queen and Brattle streets. Cornhill-st. was cut through it.
BELL ALLEY. — From Wadsworth's cor. in Middle-st. E to the North Ch. 1708; so in 1732. From Mrs. Barret's cor. E. to the Old North Square, 1800.
BELMONT STREET. — Gibb's lane, which see.

Bendall's Dock. — Where Quincy Market now is. So named from its principal owner, Edwd. Bendall. There was also a Bendall-st. See p. 504.

Bennet Street. — The same now. Bennet's wharf was at the foot of Bennet-st. 1777.

Berry Lane. — At Hudson's Point, from Leverett-st. to the water, 1769. Berry's Ship-yard near the same, 1769. So 1777.

Berry Street. — From the Meeting-house in Federal-st. to Atkinson-st. It bore this name till 1845. It is now Channing-st. Said to have been named *Bury*-st. by Theodore Atkinson, who came from Bury in Lancashire, England.

Bethune's Corner. — Northern termination of Newbury, cor. Summer-st. in 1732.

Bible and Dove. — Sign at N. Proctor's Bookstore, 1741.

Bible and Three Crowns. — Sign at T. Henchman's Bookstore in Ann-st. 1728.

Bible and Heart. — Heart and Crown before 1775. — See Heart and Crown.

Bill's Corner. — In Ship-st. cor. Whitebread alley, 1732.

Bird Island. — About a mile from Long wharf. A considerable island in 1630, but has disappeared. In 1794 it was dry at low tide. It was between Noddle's and Governor's Islands. See p. 183.

Bishop's Alley: — From Clark's cor. in Summer-st. NW to Brown's Cor. in Milk-st. 1732–1800. Now Hawley-st.

Black Boy and Butt. — Jonathan Williams' sign, op. the Brazen Head in Cornhill, 1733. It existed in 1760. A noted wine-store.

Black Horse Lane. — Mention is made of it in 1698. A part of what is now Prince-st. It bore the original name as late as 1765.

Blackstone's Point. — Since Barton's Point, which see. It received its original name from Wm. Blackstone, the first settler of Boston. See p. 96.

Blackstone Street. — Formerly Royal's alley, which see. The great Street now called after Blackstone, was opened about 1834.

Blind Lane. — From the New South Church at Church Green, westerly to Pond-st. 1708. So in 1732. Called Bedford-st in 1800.

Blue Anchor. — A noted tavern, for fifty years before the Revolution. Locality not ascertained. There are to this day Blue Anchor signs in London.

Blue Ball. — The sign at Josiah Franklin's shop in Hanover, cor. Union st., where it is believed Dr. Franklin was born. The building was standing in 1824.

Blue Bell. — The house of Nathaniel Bishop was so called in 1673. Perhaps in Bishop's alley.

Blue Dog and Rainbow. — Sign of James Vincent, silk-dyer, in Cambridge-st., near the Bowling Green, 1729. Vincent was from London.

Blue Gate. — See Crown and Blue Gate.

Blue Glove. — Sign of Philip Freeman's Bookstore in Union-st. 1762.

Board Alley. — Hawley-st., so called in 1792.

Bolt's Lane. — Changed to Winter-st. 1708. Paved about 1743.

Borland's Corner. — Milk-st., cor. Long-lane, 1708.

Boston Aqueduct Company. — Formed 1795, for bringing water from Jamaica Pond in Roxbury to the Town.

Boston Library. — Incorporated 1794. In Franklin-st., over the Arch.

Boston Museum. — "Feb. 28th, 1804, just opened by Philip Woods, at the large five-story building over No. 6, north side of the Market." In 1807 Mr. Woods was at No. 8 Market Square with his Museum; in 1809, No. 5 Dock Square. This Museum was discontinued in 1822. — See Columbian Museum.

Boston Pier. — Long wharf was formerly so called.

Boston Stone. — A well known point in Marshall-st. since 1737. The Stone was originally a paint-mill, and was imported from England, about 1700. It is hollow, and of a conical form, of the capacity of about two barrels. The grinder to it was for a time lost; but, being found in the neighborhood, was restored to its fellow. It is of cylindrical form, and about one and an half foot in diameter. Thus fixed it stood for about 100 years, at the end of which period its appearance was somewhat changed by the erection of the present buildings upon the site adjacent to it. It was sometimes used as a starting-point for surveyors.

Boston Theatre. — Stood at the cor. of Federal and Franklin sts., fronting the former. Built 1794, burnt Feb. 2d, 1798, re-built same year. This was Boston's first Theatre. When it was built, and for some time after, there was no building very near it, so that when it was burnt no other structure was destroyed. After other Theatres were built in the Town, this was usually called the *Federal-street* Theatre, for the sake of distinction. Its walls were of brick. A distillery occupied the site on which it was built, and the ground was all open from the rear of the Theatre to Hawley-st., and used as a pasture. It was often called by play-goers, *Old Drury*. It stood till May, 1852, when it was sold, and the ground on which it stood was immediately covered with capacious warehouses. The last play acted in "Old Drury" was on the 8th of May, 1852, having the appropriate name of *Speed the Plough*. It had been on the decline for several years, owing to the rise of other houses. It came near

being destroyed by a mob on the 19th Dec., 1825; occasioned by the imprudence of Edmund Kean. The Handel and Haydn Soc. hired and converted it into a music hall, and named it the Odeon, about 1837. See Odeon.

Bowdoin's Corner. — Corner of Southack's court and Tremont-st. 1732.

Bowe's Corner. — Union-st. cor. Salt-lane, 1708.

Bowling Green. — The space between Cambridge-st., the Mill Pond, and Sudbury-st. 1722.

Boylston Alley. — In 1770 a passage leading from Cornhill to Brattle-st. See p. 777.

Boylston Street. — Anciently Frog-lane, which see; also p. 726.

Brattle Street — Is thus described in 1708: — "The way from the middle of Wing's lane to Mr. Colman's Church, thence the two ways, viz., southerly to Queen-st. and easterly to Dock Square." In 1732: — "From Dock Square between Hutchinson's and Colson's to Brattle-st. Church, thence S to Queen-st. and N to Wing's lane." In 1800: — "Between King's Tavern and Tuckerman's store to Dr. Thacher's Church, thence N to Wing's lane."

Brazen Head, The. — See p. 650. Long a noted sign in ancient Cornhill.

Breedon's Wharf. — Capt. Thomas Breedon had a grant of a wharf, or a site on which to erect one, prior to 30 (4) 1662, for 21 years. At this date the Town granted him an additional ten years' occupancy.

Brewsters The. — Islands belonging to Hull, to which Town they were granted about 1644 by the Gen. Court. They were claimed by Boston people afterwards. Contain about 25 acres.

Brick Alley. — Crooked-lane formerly.

Bridge's Lane. — See Beer Lane.

Bridewell. — See Almshouse.

Briscoe's Corner. — Marlborough-st. cor. Rawson's lane, 1708. So in 1732.

British Coffee House. — In King-st. kept by a Mr. Ballard, 1762. P. 731.

Broad Street. — See Marlborough-st.

Broad Street. — The way through the Town from the Neck was at first called the Broadway, Broad-street, and often simply the Way. What is now Washington-st.

Broad Street. — The present Broad-street was built in 1806. It was anciently Flounder-lane, which see. Broad is one of the most spacious streets in the city, being 70 feet in width.

Bromfield Lane. — Rawson's lane till 1796. Changed to Bromfield-st. in 1829. See p. 598.

Brookline. — A part of Boston till 1705. Anciently Muddy River. See p. 531.

Brown's Corner. — In Milk-st. cor. Bishop's alley, 1732.

Buck, Sign of the. — Robert Pattishall's in Marlborough-st. 1733.

Buck and Breeches. — Joseph Belknap's sign in Ann-st. near the Draw Bridge, 1758.

Bull's Corner. — Summer-st. cor. Sea, 1708.

Bull's Wharf. — Foot of Summer-st.

Bunch of Grapes Tavern. — "In King-st. just below the Town House, 1724." — Kept by Wm. Coffin, 1731, by Col. Joseph Ingersoll in 1764–9. On the present site of the N. Eng. Bank.

Bury Street. — Miscalled Berry-st., which see. Also p. 576.

Butler's Corner. — The cor. made by King-st. and Merchants' Row, 1724.

Butler's Dock. — From Merchants' Row to Spear's wharf.

Butler's Wharf. — Was next N. of Long wharf in 1722.

Byles' Wharf. — On the E side of the Neck, near Castle-st. 1777.

Cabinet and Chest of Drawers. — Mr. John Maverick's in Middle-st. 1733; where he sold "choice good silver and gold lace, silver buttons, thread, and cloths."

Cambridge Street. — So named in 1708, and then described as "leading from Emmons' Corner, passing by Justice Lynde's pasture, and thence westerly to the Sea."

Carnes' Court. — In Ann-st. 1767.

Castle Island. — About 2½ miles from Long wharf. As early as 1634, a kind of fort was erected upon it, which consisted of earthen embankments. Shaw says its first commander was Capt. Simpkins. There was a Capt. Nicholas Simpkin at a later period. The Island contained about eight acres, as estimated in the time of Capt. Edward Johnson. On this Island has always been the chief fortification of Boston. On the accession of King William it was named, in honor of him, Castle William, or Fort William. After the Revolution it received its present name, Fort Independence.

Castle Street. — In 1732, crossed Orange-st. E and W, and extended each way "to the Sea." Now E and W. Castle-st.

Castle Tavern. — In Mackerel-lane, cor. Crab-lane. Mentioned in 1675, and in 1693, as of brick. Not a tavern in 1708.

Castle William. — The fort on Castle Island was so called from the accession of William and Mary to the war of the Revolution.

Causeway. — One formerly connected the N and W portions of the Town.

Centre Street. — From Hanover to Ann, laid out in 1773, probably. See p. 728.

Centry Haven. — See p. 514.

Centry Hill. — Afterwards Beacon Hill.

Centry Street. — "The way leading from Beacon-st. between Capt. Alford's land and Madam Shrimpton's pasture," 1708. — Other streets have been called Centry or Century-st., as a part of Sudbury, part of Queen, and the whole of Park.

Cerwithy's Corner. — In Prince-st. cor. Salem, 1708; so 1732.

Chambers Street. — In 1732, from Cambridge to Green-st.

Change Alley. — Now Change-avenue, formerly Pierce's alley.

Change Avenue. — From 54 State to Market Sq. Formerly Pierce's alley, then Flagg-a., then Change-avenue.

Channing Street. — Formerly Bury, then Berry-st.

Chardon Street. — So named from Peter Chardon, an eminent merchant, who lived at the cor. Cambridge and Chardon streets, on the spot where the Bowdoin Square Church now stands.

Charlestown Bridge. — Extends from the foot of Prince-st. to Charlestown, built in 1785–6; 1503 feet long, 42 broad, said to have cost £15,000 "lawful money." Its corporate name is Charles River Bridge. See p. 605.

Charlestown Ferry. — From the first settlement of the Town to the completion of the Charles River Bridge, a Ferry was maintained over Charles river to Charlestown, nearly upon the same line now occupied by the Bridge.

Charter Street. — "Northwesterly from Mr. Rainsford's cor. in North-st. towards the Ferry-point at Charlestown," 1708. Same in 1732. So named, probably, on the grant of the new Charter of William and Mary.

Chauncy Place. — The Place leading to the First Church, from Summer-st. now (1856) made a part of Chauncy-st.

Checkley's Entry. — Ann-st. cor. Swallow's alley, 1732.

Cheever's Wharf. — "Capt. Cheever's wharf at the North End," 1746.

Chelsea. — A part of Boston till 1738. See p. 604.

Church Square. — An open space around the Old or First Church, when it stood in Cornhill, afterwards Cornhill Square.

Clarke's Corner. — Numerous corners have borne this name from an early period of the Town's history; and several at the same time.

Clarke's Square. — The space afterwards called North Square.

Clark Street. — Formerly Foster-st., which see. From 337 Hanover to Commercial-st.

Clarke's Wharf. — A little to the south of the foot of Fleet-st., 1722. Afterwards Hancock's whf., noted in the early revolutionary troubles.

Clough Street. — That part of the present Tremont-st. betw. Boylston and Hollis sts., 1769 to 1775.

Coffin's Field. — All that oblong space betw. Essex, Short, Summer and South sts. in 1777.

Cold Lane. — Now Portland-st. In 1708, "from Hanover-st. NW'ly to the Mill Pond." In 1732, "from Harris' cor. in Hanover-st. to the Mill Pond." So in 1800. Called *Cole* lane, 1709. Changed to Portland-st. before 1816.

Cole's Garden. — Afterwards Boylston's. See p. 726.

Colson's Lane. — "Near the Great Trees at the South End," 1746.

Colson's Stone House. — In Dock Sq. bet. Cornhill and Brattle sts., 1732.

Columbian Museum. — Near the head of the Mall, cor. Bromfield-lane. Established by Daniel Bowen in 1795. He commenced an exhibition of wax figures in 1791, opp. the Bunch of Grapes in Ann-st. It was burnt 15 Jan., 1803. Mr. Bowen then opened another at the cor. of Milk and Oliver sts., May following. In 1806, Mr. B., in connection with Wm. M. S. Doyle, erected an extensive building of five stories in Tremont-street, bet. the Chapel burying-ground and Court-st. This was burnt 16 Jan., 1807. Another small edifice was soon erected, and this Museum was kept up till 1 Jan., 1825, when it was sold to the New Eng. Museum. Daniel Bowen died in Philadelphia, Pa., 29 Feb. 1856, aged 96. He was uncle to the late Abel Bowen, publisher of the Picture of Boston, Snow's History, the Boston News-Letter, &c.

Common, The. — Received its name from the fact of its being *common* land, land common to all the inhabitants. It is a reservation out of the original grant to the Massachusetts Company; and was held by the Government of said Company for the *common* benefit of the Company and their successors. It was originally much larger than it now appears, having been curtailed by grants of parts of it, until it was thought by those in office to be sufficiently reduced in size to be in just proportion to the settled parts of the Town. See page 530. There were several *common* fields which were granted to the people from time to time. The wooden fence around the Common was burnt for fuel when the British troops occupied the Town in the Revolution. It was a *common* cow-pasture within the present century.

Common Burying-ground. — South-westerly part of the Common, set apart soon after the Revolution.

Conant's Island. — So called in 1632, in which year, April 3d, it was granted to Gov. Win-

throp for a garden, and after that it went by the name of the Governor's Garden, then Governor's Island.

Concert Hall. See p. 641.

Concert Room. — In Wing's lane, 1733.

Conduit. — In Dock Sq. See p. 350.

Congress Street. — Formerly Leverett's lane, also Quaker-lane. It received the name of Congress-st. 1788.

Cook's Court. — The way back of the South Grammar School, 1784.

Cooper's Alley. — From Milk-st. to Water-st, 1708. Afterwards Miller's lane, then Adams-st. now Kilby.

Copper Street. — From the foot of Leverett by the water to Poplar, 1807; changed to Brighton-st. in 1820.

Copp's Hill. — See pages 141, 549–50.

Corn Court. — "The way leading from Justice Palmer's warehouse in Corn Market up to Moorcock's buildings," 1708. "Opposite the S side of Faneuil Hall," 1803. Same now. In 1784, up by Dr. Noyes'.

Cornfield. — "The sign of the Cornfield," near the Mill Bridge, 1733. In Union-st. 1763.

Cornhill. — Fort Hill was so called at one time; then the section of the Main-st. from School-st. to "Clark the pewterer's shop." This was in 1708. In 1732, the same space is described, "from Marlborough-st. to Colson's stone house." The name was transferred, in 1828, to what is now Cornhill. See Market-st.

Cornhill Square. — Church Square in Cornhill took this name about 1809.

Corn Market. — "From the Sun Tavern in Dock Sq. E. to Merchant's Row," 1732. "Between King-st. and Dock Sq. on Pierce's alley." It was the same in 1708.

Cotton Hill. — So named from the residence of the Rev. John Cotton. See Index.

Court Square. — In King-st. 1763. See Half Square Court. Since the completion of the *New* Court House (now the City Hall) in 1811, the square on its S front. has been so called.

Cove. — The several *coves* about the Town are simply so called in the early records, but in time The Cove was that where Quincy Market now stands.

Cowell's Corner. — In Newbury, cor. West st. 1708. So in 1732.

Cow Lane. — "From Mory's cor. in Summer-st. NE to Fort Hill," 1708. Changed to High-st. about 1803.

Crab Alley. — "The way back of late Read's, pump and bl. maker, to Vose's Wood-wharf," 1800. From Liberty Square to Broad-st., 1817.

Crab Lane. — "From the house formerly the Castle Tavern, in Mackerel-lane, by Halloway's wharf to the sea," 1732. Part of what is now Kilby-st.

Creek Lane. — "From Brooks's cor. in Marshall's lane, by Mr. Bulfinch's to Scottow's alley," 1708. "From Scottow's alley to Boston Stone," 1800. Since Creek Square.

Creek Square. — South side Mill Creek, back of Union and Ann sts., since 1803.

Crescent. — Franklin-st. at first called The Crescent, then Franklin-place.

Cromwell's Head. — Tavern in School-st., kept by Anthony Bracket in 1760, by his widow from 1764 to 1768, by Joshua Bracket, 1789. Building No. 19 and 21 are nearly upon the site.

Crooked Alley. — From Cow to Belcher's lane, or, "by Wharton's house in Cow-lane easterly into Harrison's Ropewalk." 1708—1732.

Crooked Lane. — In 1708, "the way from Mr. Powning's cor. by Dock Sq. southerly into King-st." So in 1769. Now Wilson's lane.

Cross Street. — "From the Mill Pond south-easterly, by the late Dea. Phillips' stone house to the sea," 1708. From the N end of Ann-st. to the Mill Pond, 1732. Now, from Commercial-st. to Endicott-st.

Cross Tavern. — On the cor. of Cross and Ann streets, 1732.

Crown and Blue Gate. — Mr. John Checkley's sign, 1732, "over against the W end of the Town House," where he sold books.

Crown and Comb. — Richard Billing's sign, in Cornhill near the Post Office, 1760.

Crown and Sceptre. — A noted sign in Back-st., 1768.

Crown Coffee House. — At the foot of King-st., 1724.

Custom House. — Before the Revolution it stood in State-st., on the E cor. of Royal Exchange lane, where the Union Bank now stands. Perez Morton afterwards lived there. See p. 780.

Dafforn's Corner. — See Mackerel Lane. Mrs. Dafforn's cor. in Milk-st., 1708.

Daggett's Alley. — Battery-al. so called as late as 1807.

Dalton's Lane. — That part of Leverett's lane bet. Water and Milk sts. So named for Peter Roe Dalton, the first Cashier of the Massachusetts Bank, 1784.

Dalton's Row. — In Dalton's lane.

Dassett's Alley. — From Brattle Sq. southerly to Court-st. Now Franklin Avenue. See p. 520. Miscalled Dorset's Alley from 1803 to about 1815, when it received its present name.

Davies' Lane. — That part of what is now Beacon-st. from the State House yard to near Walnut-st., then Allen's orchard.

D'Acosta's Pasture. — The space betw. Milk and Summer sts., and fr. Bishop's alley to Long-lane, 1777.

Deering's Corner. — In Cornhill, cor. Queen-st. 1708–1732.

Deer Island. — On 23 (12) 1662, "John Shaw having assigned his lease of Deer I. to Sir Thomas Temple, who desireth to renew said lease, which is granted him for 21 years." It is 4½ miles from Long whf. The New Almshouse has been located here since its removal from Barton's point, in 1825.

Devonshire Street. — First so called in 1784. Previously Pudding-lane, which see. Described in 1800, "from Abiel Smith's in State-st. S to Water-st.

Distillhouse Square. — From the foot of Hawkins-st., round by Ivers, to Sudbury-st. 1800.

Doane Street. — First so called in 1807. Nearly corresponding to what was Lobster-alley.

Doble's Wharf — Afterwards Noble's whf.

Dock. — The Cove at Dock Sq. was *The Dock, The Cove, &c.*

Dock Square. — The place around *The* Dock, thus laid down in 1708. "The Sq. from the house of Eliakim Hutchinson, Esq., to Mr. Pemberton's cor., on one side; and from Kenney's shop to Mr. Meer's cor. on the other side." In 1732, "From Colson's stone house to the Sun Tavern, thence to Jackson's & Brook's cors., and back to Hutchinson's."

Dog and Pot. — An ancient sign in Fish-st. at the head of Barrett's whf.

Dorset's Alley. — See Dasset's Alley.

Drake's Wharf. — Sea-st. 1826. Formerly Capen & Drake's.

Draw Bridge. — In Ann-st. Ordered to be re-built in 1686.

Draw Bridge Street. — Afterwards Ann-st.

Dummer's Corner. — "Justice Dummer's cor. in King-st., cor. Mackrill-la.," 1708. "Dummer's cor. in School-st., cor. Governor's alley," 1732.

Dyer's Wharf. — On "the back of the Town Dock." Wm. Stow kept a store there 1755.

Eagle. — The sign of Eleazer Phillips' Bookstore, in Newbury-st. 1712.

Edes' Ship-yard. — Near the E end of Flounder-la. 1722; afterwards Tileston's wharf.

Edwards' Corner. — In Fish-st. cor. Wood-lane, 1732.

Elbow Alley. — In 1708, from Ann-st. bet. the late Capt. Lake's and Nanney's buildings, to Mr. Indicot's shop in Cross-st. It was a quarter of a circle, cutting off the S'ly cor. of Ann and Cross sts. Does not appear in maps after 1769.

Elephant. — Benjamin Landon's sign at the lower end of King-st. 1733.

Eliot's Corner. — In Orange, cor. Essex st. 1732.

Ellis' Corner. — In Newbury, cor. Winter st. 1732.

Elliston's Corner. — Lower end of Cross, cor. Ann st. 1708.

Elm Street. — Wing's lane till 1799. From Dock Sq. to Hanover st.

Emmons' Corner. — Cor. Sudbury and Cambridge sts. 1708. So in 1732.

Endicott Street. — Opened about 1836. From Hanover and Salem sts. to Charlestown Bridge. A part of the ancient Old Way.

Essex Street. — Same now. Described in 1708, "easterly from Dea. Eliott's cor. in Orange-st., by the late Dea. Allen's, to Windmill point." So in 1732.

Everton's Corner. — Near Scarlet's whf. in Ship-st. 1708.

Exchange. — The lower part of the Town House formerly, and then that of the Court or State House.

Exchange Coffee House. — The most imposing building of its time, having cost about 500,000 dollars. It was burnt 3 Nov. 1818, and rebuilt not long after. It was taken down in 1854, and an immense free-stone structure erected on the spot, which was finished in May, 1855, and called The City Exchange.

Exchange Lane. — Shrimpton's la. till 1803.

Exchange Street. — Exchange-lane till 1816.

Faireweather's Corner. — Corner of School and Tremont sts. 1708.

Faneuil's Corner. — In King-st. cor. Merchants' Row, 1732.

Faneuil Hall. — See pages 610, 611.

Faneuil Hall Square. — Same as Corn Market, which see.

Faust's Statue. — Long the sign of a printing-house in Newbury-st.

Federal Street. — Long-lane till 1788. See p. 576.

Ferry Way. — Part of Lynn-st. In 1708, "along the shore from Hudson's point SW'ly to the Mill stream by Mr. Gee's building yard." In 1732, "from the W end of Lynn-st. round the beach to Ferry wharf."

Ferry Wharf. — At Hudson's point.

Fields. — Ungranted spaces or lots belonging to the Town, during the early period of its settlement; as, the Fort-field, at or about Fort Hill; the Mill-field, about the Windmill on Copp's Hill; the New-field, between Cambridge-st. and Poplar-st. on the Cove; Centry Hill field, at Beacon Hill, &c.

Fish Market. — In 1708, "from Antram's cor. nigh the Conduit, NE'ly by the side of the

Dock, to Mr. Winsor's warehouse." In 1732, "from Pitt's cor. in Ann-st. round the Dock to Pitt's whf."

Fish Street. — "From Mountjoy's cor. lower end of Cross-st., N'ly to the sign of the Swan, by Scarlet's whf. 1708." North-st.

Fitch's Alley. — See Pierce's Alley.

Fitche's Lane. — The way op. Mrs. Carter's into Cambridge-st. 1800. See Stoddard Street.

Fitche's Corner. — In Union-st., end of Marshall's lane, 1708. So in 1732. Capt. Fitch's cor. in King-st. cor. Pierce's alley.

Flagg Alley. — So called from 1828 to 1840. From 60 State-st. to Market Sq. Change-avenue.

Flag-Staff. — A noted one in Liberty Square, called *Liberty Pole*, and at Liberty Tree; one raised on the Common 28 June, 1837, 120 feet in height.

Fleet Street. — In 1708, "from Williams' cor. nigh Mr. Jonas Clark's, E'ly to the Sea by Scarlet's whf." In 1732, "at the N end of Fish-st. from Scarlet's whf. W to the upper end of Middle-st." In 1800, "from Scarlet's whf. to Mr. Murray's meeting-house." Now (1856) from 349 Hanover-st. to Eastern Rail-r. whf. Its name is doubtless from old Fleet-st. in London.

Flounder Lane. — From the foot of Summer-st. NE'ly by the water, "with the turn up to the Ropewalk," 1708. From Bull's to Adams' whfs. 1722. So 1732. Name not used after 1803. Now the S end of Broad-st.

Fore Street. — An early name for Ann-st., or a part of it; probably the part opposite Back-st. I do not find it so called upon any of the maps.

Forts. — See Fortification, Fort Hill, Battery, &c.

Fort Hill. — See Index.

Fort Independence. — See Castle Island.

Fort Strong. — On Noddle's Island, built in 1814, and named in honor of Gov. Strong.

Fort Warren. — On Governor's Island.

Fort William. — Or Castle William. See Castle Island.

Foster Street. — From Richard's cor. in Ship-st. W by the New North Ch. to North-st. 1732. Now Clark-st.

Foster's Wharf. — Next S of Rowe's whf.; formerly Wheelwright's.

Four Point Channel. — Near the end of Long wharf.

Fox Hill. — Several small knolls were known by this name in early times. The principal is on the shore of the Back Bay, laid down on the map of 1722, in a line with the Great Tree and West-st. — On a map of 1777 there is a Fox Hill to the N of Beacon-st. near the water.

Franklin Avenue. — Formerly Dassett's alley. Ben. Franklin served his time in a printing-office standing at the head of this alley in Court-st.; hence the present name. The change of name was about 1815.

Franklin Place. — Laid out in 1792, through Greenleaf's, formerly D'Acasta's pasture, and was built as it now appears in 1793–4, and at first called *The Crescent*. Now Franklin-st.

Franklin Street. — From 47 Marlboro' to Hawley-st., formerly Vincent's lane. Now from 184 Washington to Federal st. Name applied to the whole in 1846.

Frary's Corner. — The late Capt. Frary's cor. in Orange-st. and Frog-lane, 1708.

Freeman's Wharf. — Near the foot of Sliding-alley NE of the Ferryway, 1792. So 1769.

Freemasons' Arms. — Name given to the Green Dragon tavern in 1764, but it did not long obtain.

Friend Street. — Formerly Friends-st. Opened before 1769. "From Noble's cor. to the Mill Pond, 1800."

Frizzell's Corner. — In Garden Court in 1708.

Frog Lane. — "From the late Capt. Frary's cor. [in Orange-st.] W'd to the bottom of the Common, with a turn S'ly down to the sea," 1708. "From Well's cor. in Orange-st. W to the Sea at the bottom of the Common," 1732. Called Boylston-st. 1809.

Front Street. — Built in 1806–7, near three fourths of a mile in length, perfectly straight, and 70 feet wide. From Rainsford's lane to South Boston bridge. Changed to Harrison-avenue in honor of Gen. Harrison, in 1841.

Gallop's Alley. — "From Fish to Middle st. bet. land of John Clark, Esq., and the successor of Samuel Gallop, deceased," 1708. Changed to Mechanic-st. 1825.

Gallop's Island. — Between Lovell's and Rainsford's islands, six miles from the City. Contained about 16 acres in 1649, and then belonged to Capt. John Gallop, and valued at £12.

Gallows. — Before the Revolution there was a permanent Gallows on the Neck near the present burying-ground, and on the E side of the highway.

Garden. — See Public Garden.

Garden Court. — "Northerly from Madam Winsley's cor. betw. Col. Foster's and Mr. Frizzell's into Fleet-st." 1708. In 1732, from Bell-alley cor. North to Fleet-st. Name retained. See p. 700.

Garden Street. — Laid out about 1800. From Cambridge S to May st. 1803. Now from 114 Cambridge to Myrtle st.

GARDNER'S CORNER. — In Fish-st. cor. Sun-court, 1732.
GAY ALLEY. — Hiller's lane, sometimes so called.
GEE'S CORNER. — Prince, cor. Back st., 1732.
GEE'S SHIP-YARD. — At the foot of Prince-st. 1722. So 1732.
GEORGE'S ISLAND. — Six and an half miles from the City.
GEORGE STREET. — In 1732, from Beacon, nearly to Cambridge st. In 1784, from Capt. MacKay's still-house, S'ly by Box's to Gov. Hancock's stables. Now Hancock-st.
GEORGE TAVERN. — On the Neck, near Roxbury line. The Gen. Court sat there in 1721. Simon Rogers kept it from 1730 to 1734, in which last year (7 April) he died. In 1769 it was taken by Edwd. Bardin from N. York, and called the King's Arms. One Gideon Gardner preceded him.
GIBBIN'S SHIP-YARD. — On the E side of the Neck, near the Fortification, 1722. So 1777.
GIBBON'S COURT. — Out of Newbury-st. W, 1784. In 1816, bet. 7 and 8 Newbury-st.
GIBBS' LANE. — From Belcher's to Cow-lane, 1708. Belmont-st. 1845.
GIBBS' WHARF. — Near what is now Fort Hill whf.
GLIDDEN'S SHIP-YARD. — Near Fish-st. before the Revolution.
GOLDEN BALL. — Dock Sq., near the head of Green's whf., 1760.
GOLDEN COCK. — In Ann-st. 1733. John Cutler's sign, who kept hard ware "over against Dr. Ashton's, in Marlborough-st." 1762.
GOLDEN EAGLE. — In Dock Sq. 1758. Kept by Lewis Deblois in 1769.
GOLDEN FLEECE. — In King-st. 1749, near Mr. Jotham Maverick's. Ebenezer Lowell's store in 1762.
GOLDEN KEY. — Nathaniel Abrahams' sign in Ann-st. 1761. He kept English goods.
GOVERNOR'S ALLEY. — "From Dummer's cor. in School-st. SW to Rawson's lane," 1732. Changed to Province-st. in 1833.
GOVERNOR'S ISLAND. — See CONANT'S ISLAND.
GRANARY. — In the Common where Park-st. now is, at or near the site of Park-st. Church. It was a long wooden building, calculated to contain 12,000 bushels of grain.
GRAY'S LANE. — "From Belcher's to Cow-lane," 1732. Included in Atkinson-st. 1816.
GRAY'S ROPEWALK. — In the vicinity of Atkinson-street.
GRAY'S WHARF. — Near the foot of Gray's lane in 1722, then called Gray-alley. Russell's wharf, 1794.
GREEN'S CORNER. — Queen-st. cor. Hiller's lane, 1732.
GREEN LANE. — Salem-st. was so called at one period.
GREEN'S LANE. — A part of what was afterwards Atkinson-st.
GREEN DRAGON. — Sign of a noted tavern in Union-st. John Cary was licensed to keep it 5 Oct. 1697. Joseph Kilder kept it in 1734, who came from "The Three Cranes" in Charlestown. See FREEMASONS' ARMS. Its last vestiges disappeared about 1854.
GREEN STREET. — "The way on that side of the livery-stable in Justice Lynde's pasture to Mr. Allen's farm-house," 1708. "From Wells' cor. in Cambridge-st. NW to Barton's Point," 1732.
GREENOUGH'S ALLEY. — From Lynn-st. through Greenough's ship-yard, SW to Charter-st., 1732.
GREENOUGH'S SHIP-YARD. — At the North End, foot of Greenough's alley, 1732. So 1777.
GRIDLEY'S LANE. — From Belcher's to Cow-lane, 1732. So in 1708, but described, — "the way from John Roberts' house in Cow-lane, E'ly by Capt. John Bonner's into the ropewalk." Changed to Gridley-st. about 1824.
GRIDLEY STREET. — Formerly Gridley's lane.
GRIFFIN'S WHARF. — James Griffin kept on it 1760, and William Griffin, 1769. The wharf where the Indians destroyed the tea, 16 Dec. 1773. Called Liverpool whf. since about 1815.
HALF SQUARE COURT. — "From King-st. by the house of Isaac Addington, Esq., with the return into Pudding-lane," 1708. In 1732, "from Maccarty's cor. turning into Pudding-lane." About what is now the City Exchange.
HALLOWELL'S CORNER. — Milk, cor. Battery-march st., 1732—1769.
HALLOWELL'S SHIP-YARD. — Between the foot of Milk and Battery-m. st., 1732—1769.
HALLOWELL'S WHARF. — On Crab-alley.
HAMILTON AVENUE. — Named in 1823. — See QUINCY LANE.
HAMILTON PLACE. — So named about 1806. Here stood the old Manufactory-house.
HAMILTON STREET. — So named about 1808. Formerly Sconce-lane.
HANCOCK STREET. — Named for the Patriot John Hancock, before 1800. "From Joseph Ripley's house in Cambridge-st., S'ly by B. Austin's to the late Gov. Hancock's stables." 1800.
HANCOCK'S WHARF. — Previously Clark's whf., which see.
HANOVER STREET. — Between Houchin's cor. and the sign of the Orange-tree, N'ly to the Mill bridge, 1708. Extends now from Court-st. to Chelsea ferry.
HANOVER SQUARE. — Corner of Essex and Newbury. See pp. 713, 716, 717.
HARRIS' CORNER. — In Hanover-st. cor. Cold-lane, 1732.
HARRISON AVENUE. — See FRONT-ST. Now from Essex to Northampton-st.
HARRISON'S ROPEWALK. — See CROOKED ALLEY.

HARROD'S CORNER. — In Prince-st. cor. of Salem, 1782.

HART'S SHIP-YARD. — At the North End. Here the Continental frigate was built, about 1795.

HARVARD STREET. — Original name of Hollis-st. Harvard's wharf was at the foot of it.

HAT AND HELMET. — The sign of Daniel Jones, furrier, Newbury-st., 1758.

HAUGH'S CORNER. — In Marlborough-st. cor. School, 1708.

HAWKINS STREET. — From Bill and Smith's cor. into Cambridge-st., 1732. In 1800, from about the middle of Sudbury-st. to Distill-house Sq. Familiarly known as Tattle-st.

HAWLEY STREET. — So named in 1800. From Trinity Church in Summer-st. to Milk-st.

HAYMARKET THEATRE. — A large wooden building, on what is now Tremont-st., just N of the Winthrop House, open 26 Dec. 1796; said then to be the most spacious and convenient Theatre in America. The late James A. Dickson, a well-known merchant in Cornhill, then made his first appearance upon the stage. He died April 1st, 1853, æ. 79. It continued but six years, being then sold and demolished at an expense of 700 dollars. Great danger was apprehended from its liability to take fire. It took it name, probably, from being built upon the site of a hay-market.

HEART AND CROWN. — Sign of T. Fleet's printing-office, cor. Cornhill and Water-st., 1748. In 1763, Thomas and John Fleet kept there. They published the Boston Evening Post, with an engraving of the Heart and Crown in the centre of the heading. After the Revolution it was changed to the Bible and Crown. Now 124 Washington-st.

HENCHMAN'S LANE. — From Ayes' cor. in Lynn-st. S to Charter-st., 1732. Changed to Henchman-st., 1850. From 35 Charter to Commercial st.

HIGH STREET. — Cow-lane. Took the name of High-st. 1803. "The High-st." is mentioned as early as 1645. See INDEX.

HIGH WAY. — Several of the principal *ways* were so denominated during the early settlement of the Town.

HILLER'S LANE. — From Pollard's cor. in Brattle-st. through Mr. Belknap's yard into Queen-st., 1708; sometimes Gay-alley. In 1800, from Prentice's cor. by Gore's painting-yard to Court-st. Took the name of Brattle-st. 1821.

HILL'S WHARF. — Next Scarlet's in 1671; another at the foot of South-st., 1732.

HOG ALLEY. — In 1708, the new al. bet. Mr. Blyn's and Durant's, in Newbury-st., W'ly to the Common. An attempt to shut it up was made in 1763, being complained of as a nuisance; but the attempt did not succeed. It soon after took the name of Sheaf's lane, which it bore till 1827. Now Avery-st.

HOG ISLAND. — Bet. Noddle's isl. and Chelsea, 2½ miles from Long whf. June 4th, 1687. "The lightning awfully shattered a tree there." Thomas Cornell sold it (or 3 a. of it) in 1639 to Edwd. Tyng.

HOLLAND'S COFFEE HOUSE. — Near cor. Howard and Court sts., 1723. Ephraim Holland kept it till ab. 1830. See PEMBERTON HOUSE.

HOLLIS STREET. — Formerly Harvard-st. Changed to its present name in 1731. Page 589.

HOLYOKE STREET. — From Dr. Byles' house to Wm. Foster's, late Powell's, 1784. Tremont-st.

HORN LANE. — From Milk, N to Water st., 1708, between Maj. Walley's and Mr. Bridgham's land. Bath-st. 1807, on account of the baths in it. See TANNER'S LANE, which was its proper name. Called Horn-la. from its crookedness.

HOUCHIN'S CORNER. — N cor. Queen and Hanover sts., 1708.

HOUSE OF INDUSTRY. — At South Boston. It succeeded the old Almshouse, which was at Barton's Point, ab. 1821.

HOWARD STREET. — Formerly Southack's court, which see.

HUDSON'S LANE. — So called from William Hudson. Between Elder Pen's and Mr. Wilson's Garden, 1658. Wing's la. 1708. Elm-st. 1799.

HUDSON'S POINT. — The extreme NW point of the Town. See INDEX.

HULL STREET. — Southerly from Snow Hill to Salem-st., 1708.

HUTCHINSON STREET. — From Cow-la. to Milk, 1732. So 1796. Pearl-st. 1800. See p. 699.

HUTCHINSON'S WHARF. — Between Clarke and Scarlet's whfs., 1722. So 1777.

INDIAN QUEEN TAVERN. — In Bromfield-la. Had a sign of an *Indian Queen* for a long period. The present Bromfield House occupies the spot. It was a noted stage-tavern in days of stages. Isaac Trask kept it, and after him his widow, Nabby, till 1816. Then the late well-known Simeon Boyden. Preston Shepard in 1823.

INDIA STREET. — Built about 1807.

INNER TEMPLE. — In Prison-lane, 1727. The name was probably given by Caleb Spurrier, and continued but a short time.

ISLAND OF BOSTON. — All N of Mill Creek was formerly so designated.

IRELAND'S WHARF. — "A good wood warffe, near the North Battery, commonly called Ireland's warffe," 1729.

JACKSON'S CORNER. — In Dock Sq. at the head of Town Dock, 1732. There was at the same time a cor. at the Mill creek in Ann-st. of the same name.

JEPHSON'S CORNER. — In Marshal's, cor. Creek lane, 1732.

JOYLIFFE'S LANE. — From Water to Milk st. 1708, "the name by which it hath been formerly known." Written *Jolliff's*, 1732. Devonshire-st. 1796.

KENNYR'S CORNER. — In Dock Square, 1708.

KENRICK'S WHARF. — On the E side of Town Dock, 1652.

KILBY STREET. — Mackerel-la. till ab. 1769.

KING'S ARMS. — The George Tavern took this name, 1769. See GEORGE TAVERN. In 1650 Hugh Gunnison, vintner, owned a house "known by the name of the *sign of the* King's Arms," which with lands, brew-house, &c., he mortgaged to John Sampson, Henry Shrimpton, and Wm. Brenton, for £600. In 1746, John Kneeland, "near the Town Dock," had a store with a sign of the King's Arms.

KING'S HEAD. — Tavern "by Scarlet's whf.," burnt in 1691. Rebuilt. James Davenport kept it 1755, or another of the same sign, and his widow 1758.

KING ROAD. — A road-stead for ships near Castle Island. Now President's road.

KING STREET. — "From Cornhill, including the ways on each side of the Town-house, easterly to the Sea," 1708. "From the W. end of the Town-house to Long whf.," 1732. Called State-st. in 1784.

KNEELAND STREET. — From Orange-st. to the water, next S of Beech-st., 1777. Kneeland's whf. at the foot.

LAMB TAVERN. — The sign of the Lamb is mentioned as early as 1746. In 1760 Col. Doty's was the sign of the Lamb. In 1826, Edward Kingman, Jr., kept the Lamb Tavern, 396 Washington-st. It was discontinued as a tavern soon after.

LEVERETT'S LANE. — From Maccarty's cor. in King-st. to Elder Bridgham's warehouse in Water-st. 1708. After 1788, Congress-st. Called at one time Quaker-lane.

LEVERETT STREET. — So named before 1769. From Tucker's cor. to the New Almshouse, 1800.

LEVERETT'S WHARF. — At the foot of what is now State-st., on the S side.

LIBERTY HALL. — About Liberty Tree. P. 738.

LIBERTY POLE. — A lofty flag-staff several years standing in Liberty Sq. Removed about the close of the last war with England.

LIBERTY SQUARE. — The space at the termination of Kilby, Water, and Adams sts. 1803.

LIBERTY TREE. — Cor. Essex and Newbury st. See p. 693, 703. It was cut down about the last week in August, 1775, by a party of British, led by one Job Williams. One of the party lost his life by accident on the occasion. It made 14 cords of wood.

LIGHTHOUSE. — Built at Beacon Island, 1715. See p. 553. One on Minot's Ledge was destroyed in a terrible storm on the night of the 16th of April, 1851, and two men in it. Arrangements to rebuild it made in 1855.

LIGHTHOUSE TAVERN. — In King-st., 1718, on the S side opposite the Town-house. There was one at the North End in 1763. See p. 664.

LIME ALLEY. — From the burying-place in Charter-st. to Aikin's lime-kiln in Lynn-st., 1708. From Aikin's lime-kiln in Lynn-st. SW to the new burying-place, 1732. Now from Charter to Commercial.

LINK ALLEY. — From the Sign of the Star in Hanover, N'd behind Capt. Everton's, 1708. From the Star Tavern N to the mill, 1722. From Frobusher's cor. in Hanover, the back way to the Mills, 1784.

LIVERPOOL WHARF. — Formerly Griffin's, which see.

LOBSTER ALLEY. — From Kilby-st. to the water, on or near the present Doane-st.

LOGWOOD TREE. — A tavern sign in Lynn-st., 1732, kept by Joshua Pierce.

LONDON BOOKSTORE. — Head of King-st. N side, 1762, kept by James Rivington. Kept by Mien & Fleeming, in 1768.

LONDON COFFEE HOUSE. — Benj. Harris sold books there in 1689.

LONGACRE STREET. — Bet. Winter and School, next the Mall, 1777, now Tremont.

LONG ISLAND. — Between Nix's Mate and Spectacle Isl., 4¾ miles from the City. Long Island Light is on its NE head, "over against Nix's Mate." William Joy owned land there in 1643, and sold 2 a. of it to Leonard Buttells. John Gallop owned 4 a. of it, 1649. The Long Island House, an elegant hotel, was erected there previous to 1853.

LONG LANE. — From Cow-lane to Milk-st., afterwards Federal, which see.

LONG WHARF. — See p. 536.

LOVE LANE. — In 1708, NW'ly from Capt. Stephens' cor. in North-st. into Bennet-st. So named from a family. Mrs. Susanna L. owned an estate at the cor. of Bennet and Tileston sts., which she sold in 1712, on which now stands the Eliot school. Changed to Tileston-st. ab. 1820.

LOVEL'S ISLAND. — Betw. Long Isl. and Great Brewster, 6¼ ms. from the city; perhaps recd. its name from William Lovel, who was here as early as 1635. Hull had it by grant in 1652, but did not possess it in 1663. One George Worthylake lived on it in 1734.

LYNDE STREET. — From Cambridge to Green st., so named from the Lynde family. In 1708, "Justice Lynde's pasture" extended across from one of those streets to the other. Laid out and named ab. 1732. "The late Simon Lynde's mansion-house" was at the northerly termination of Tremont-st., 1708. At the same time "Justice Lynde's corner" was in Hanover-st, cor. Wing's lane.

Lynn Street. — From the North Battery, NW'ly to the Ferry-way at Hudson's point, 1708. In 1784, from the North Battery to the Old Ferry-way at Hudson's point where the new 74 is on the stocks.

Maccarty's Corner. — Cor. of King-st. and Leverett's lane, 1708. See Half Square Court.

Mackrill Lane. — In 1708, "the way leading from Justice Dummer's cor. in King-st., passing over the bridge as far as Mr. Daforn's cor. in Milk-st." In 1732, from King to Water st. Very narrow till the great fire of 1760.

MacNeil's Ropewalk. — Along Hutchinson-st., between it and Atkinson, before and during the Revolution.

Mall. — About 1790, the Mall is thus described: "It is on the eastern side of the Common; in length 1410 feet; divided into two walks parallel to each other, separated by a row of trees. On the outside of each walk is also a row of trees which agreeably shade them." In 1807, "a public walk, 600 yds. in length," &c.

Manley's Buildings. — In Elbow-alley in 1708.

Manufactory House. — See General Index.

Margaret Lane. — The way about the middle of Sheaffe-st. down to Prince-st., 1784.

Market Place. — About the Dock. Same as Market Square.

Market Street. — Afterwards Cornhill, which see.

Marlborough Street. — In 1708, the Broad-st., from Penneman's cor. head of Summer-st., to Haugh's cor. School-st. Now Washington-st.

Marshall's Lane. — In 1708, from Capt. Ballentine's cor. near the Mill bridge, to the cor. of Capt. Fitche's tenement in Union-st. So in 1732. Also from Webb's cor. E to Creek-lane. Marshall-st.

Marsh Lane. — From Bradford's in Dock Sq. E to Creek-lane.

Market Street. — What is now Cornhill was named Market-st. in 1817; being then newly laid out. See Cornhill.

May Street. — Revere-st. It had borne its original name about 100 years, and now (1855) changed for no good reason.

Mechanic Street. — See Gallop's Alley.

Meer's Corner. — On the S'ly side of Dock Sq., cor. of Corn Market, 1708.

Melyne's Corner. — In 1708, the N'ly termination of Common-st.

Merchants' Row. — In 1732, from Faneuil's cor. in King-st. "round to Woodmansie's wharf." Capt. George Mead's warehouse was in M. R. in 1724, also Mr. Wm. Clarke; Tidmarsh & Appleton, in 1727.

Merry's Point. — The point on which was built the North Battery; "highly finished" in 1666. Now Battery wharf. Here was also Merry's wharf. There was a Merry's wharf at the foot of Fleet-st. in 1796.

Middle Street. — In 1708, from the Mill bridge N'ly to Jonas Clarke's cor., at the end of Bennet-st. In 1815, from Mill creek to North-st. Called Hanover-st. 1825.

Middlecott Street. — From Joseph Coolidge's in Cambridge-st. up to Joseph Callender's, 1800. Bowdoin-st. 1825.

Milk Street. — So named probably from Milk-st. in London. Described in 1708, "from the South Meeting-house, passing by Mr. Borland's and Madam Oliver's down to the Sea by Halloway's" [Hallowell's.]

Miller's Lane. — In 1807, from Liberty Sq. to Milk-st. — See Cooper's Alley.

Mill Bridge. — In Hanover-st., over the Mill creek It was of wood till 1793, when one of stone was substituted.

Mill Creek. — Extended from the Harbor to the Bay or Mill pond, nearly upon a line with the present Blackstone-st.

Mill Field. — On Copp's Hill, about the Windmill. See Index.

Minot's Court. — From Union-st. SW'ly, bet. the buildings of the late Capt. Clarke, 1708. From Royal's house in Dock Sq. W, 1732. From Grant's cor. in Union-st. up to Faxon's, 1800. Scott-st.

Minot's Ledge. — Rendered memorable by the destruction of a Light-house erected on it in 1843 by the U. S. government. It stood upon iron posts, and in a storm of almost unparalleled rage, April 16th, 1851, it disappeared. Two men were lost in it, Joseph Wilson and Joseph Antonio, a Portuguese. It is about 20 miles from the city.

Minot's T. — A wharf on the N'ly side of Long w. and connected with it. It took its name from its form, and an early proprietor. George Minot occupied a warehouse on it in 1754.

Moon Island. — Between Thompson's and Hangman's isls., 4¾ miles from the city. The property of Dorchester.

Moon Street. — From the North Meeting-house N'ly by Capt. Barnard's to Fleet-st. 1708, From Mountfort's cor. in Fish-st. by the E side of the North Ch. to Fleet-st. 1732. So 1784.

Moorcock's Buildings. — In Corn Court, 1708.

Morey's Corner. — In Summer-st. cor. Cow-lane, 1732.

Morrill's Corner. — In Middle-st. cor. Prince, 1708, 1732.

Mountfort's Corner. — Fish, cor. Moon, 1732. Another, cor. Pierce's alley and Dock Sq. 1708.

Mountjoy's Corner. — Fish and Anne, 1708.
Mount Whordom. — Between Beacon Hill and the Bay; near what is now Louisbourg Sq.
Muddy River. — Part of Boston till 1705. Now Brookline.
Museum. — See Boston, Columbian, and New England Museums.
Nanney's Buildings. — In Elbow-alley, 1708; "the late Capt. Lake" lived opposite, in the same alley.
Nassau Street. — So named in 1788. In 1796, from Gooch's cor. in Orange-st. to Mr. West's house, thence to Wm. Foster's, at the foot of the Mall. So called till 1824, when it took the name of Common-st. A new st. from Front to Ash, made abt. 1826, took the name of Nassau, which it retains.
National Theatre. — Established about 1832, on the Mill Pond land, by W. and T. L. Stewarts. It passed the same year into the hands of Wm. Pelby, who made great additions to it, and gave it its present name. It was burnt 21 April, 1852, and soon after rebuilt. At first it was called the American Amphitheatre.
New Boston. — The section of the Town W'ly of Beacon Hill.
Newbury Street. — In 1708, from the cor. of the house near Dea. Eliot's cor. in Orange-st., into Town by the house of Saml. Sewall, Esq., to Dr. Oakes' cor. In 1732, from Eliot's cor. NNE to Bethune's cor. at Summer-st. Washington-st.
New Cornhill. — Now Cornhill, which see. It was laid out in 1817. In 1828 the name was changed to Cornhill.
New England Museum. — Formed in 1825, from the old Columbian, E. A. Greenwood, proprietor. It was in Court-st. betw. Brattle and Cornhill. Moses Kimball purchased it in 1839, which was the foundation of his present splendid establishment, opened in 1846.
Nix's Mate. — Nix's Island, mentioned 1636. In that year John Gallop had 12 acres of it granted him forever, "if the island be so much." There is a tradition that it took its present name from the execution thereon of the murderer of one Capt. Nix; which murderer was Mate to the Captain. It is 6 miles from the City.
Noah's Ark. — Samuel Dashwood's sign, in Marlboro'-st., near Seven-Star-lane, in 1769. He kept English and India goods.
Noble's Wharf. — On the site of Seares' Ship-Yard, which see.
Noddle's Island. — East Boston. On it was living Samuel Maverick when Boston was settled. See Index. Thomas Clarke was living on it, 1661; John Burch claimed it in 1652. It was at one period called Williams Island. In 1814 it was fortified by strong works, called Fort Strong. It is about ¾ of a mile from Battery wharf.
Nook's Hill. — Noted in revolutionary annals. It is the NW'ly extremity of South Boston, and commanded the Town. Washington sent men to take possession of it on March 9th, 1776, two days before Boston was evacuated.
North Battery. — See Merry's Point and Index.
North Centre Street. — At first called Centre-st., which see.
North Street. — N'ly from the E'ly end of Bennet near Mr. Jonas Clark's, to the Sea, 1708. From Clark's cor. across Lynn-st. to the Sea, 1732. It now embraces Ann-st.; the latter name no longer existing there, which had been in use about 150 years.
North Square. — Formerly Clarke's Square.
Nut Island. — Between Petteck's and Germantown, 7¼ miles from the city.
Oakes' Corner. — Corner Summer and Newbury sts. Residence of Dr. Oakes.
Odells. — A noted place, in 1708, in Cooper's Alley.
Odeon. — In 1835 the Federal-st. Theatre was hired for religious services and music; opened May 18th. Here, in Oct. following, a silver vase was presented to Daniel Webster.
Old Way. — From the NW'ly end of Cross-st., N'ly by Vering's house near the Mill Pond, 1708. It was a foot-way from "the centre of the Town to the foot of Snowhill-st." Long since closed up.
Oliver's Bridge. — That at Oliver's Dock, perhaps; at the foot of Water-st.
Oliver's Dock. — "Peter Oliver's Dock formerly ran up as high as where Merchants' Hall now [1817] stands; the lower part of State-st. running along the edge of the Dock." Isaac Dupee kept there in 1724.
Olive Street. — From Belknap to Charles, 1803; Sumner-st. in 1825. Changed to Mount Vernon-st. in 1833.
Oliver Street. — From Milk-st. up to Fort Hill, "where Mr. Daniel Oliver now (1708) dwells." Name retained.
Orange Street. — "The Broad-st. or Highway from the Old Fortifications on the Neck leading into the Town, as far as the cor. of the late Dea. Eliot's house," 1708. An order for paving 42 rods of it was made in 1715.
Orange Tree. — A noted sign at the head of Hanover-st., 1708. N'ly termination of Tremont-st. in 1732. A Mrs. Wardwell kept it in 1724.
Paddy's Alley. — So named from Capt. William Paddy, whose residence was there. He died in 1658. From Ann to Middle-st. North Centre-st.
Pantheon Hall. — In Washington-st. cor. Boylston Sq. Called Adams' Hall, 1856.
Parkman's Corner. — In Ship-st. cor. Battery-alley, 1708–1732.

PEMBERTON'S CORNER. — Cor. Wing's la. and Dock Sq., 1708. Mrs. Pemberton's in Ann-st., cor. Swing-bridge-lane, 1708.

PEMBERTON'S HILL. — Where Pemberton Sq. now is. The hill was digged down in 1835 ; sold for house-lots at auction, 7 Oct., same year.

PEMBERTON HOUSE. — In Howard, near Court st., many years a noted tavern. It was before called Holland's Coffee House ; ceased to be a tavern in 1853 ; burnt 16 Feb., 1854.

PENNEMAN'S CORNER. — Head of Summer, making the S'ly cor. of Marlboro' st., 1708.

PERBENTON ISLAND. — Brewster's and Lovett's islands, with Perbenton's, gr. to Hull, 1652, but taken from it in 1663.

PERRAWAY'S ALLEY. — Called also Ball's al. Centre-st.

PEST HOUSE. — There was one on the Point where West Boston Bridge was afterwards built. At the foot of Cambridge-st., 1784.

PHILLIPS' CORNER. — Cor. Cornhill and Water-st. 1732. The late Dea. Phillips' stone house in Cross-st., 1708.

PHIPP'S CORNER. — Charter and Salem sts., 1708. Here Gov. Sir William Phips resided.

PIERCE'S ALLEY. — From King-st. into Corn Market, 1732. Fitche's alley in 1800. Flagg-alley from 1828 to 1840, then Change-alley.

PINE APPLE. — The sign of the Pine Apple was in Ann-st., 1724.

PITTS LANE. — Opp. Ladd & Saunder's in Green-st., down to Todd's & Coolidge's, 1784. Pitts st. 1820.

PITTS WHARF. — At the E'ly end of the Fish Market.

PLATT'S CORNER. — Southerly end of Union-st. in 1708.

POINT ALDERTON. — Supposed to have been so named from Isaac Allerton. A part of Hull, 9½ miles from Boston.

POINT SHIRLEY. — Part of Chelsea. Anciently Pullin Point, which see. Changed to Shirley in honor of Gov. Shirley.

POLLARD'S CORNER. — Brattle-st., cor. Gay-alley, 1708. So 1732.

POOL'S WHARF. — Foot of Central-st. Here Sir Edmd. Andross landed when he came to assume the Government of the Colony.

POND LANE. — Pond-st., which see.

POND STREET. — E'ly from Wheeler's Cor. in Newbury-st., by the Town's watering-place, as far as Capt. Dyer's barn, 1708. Bedford-st.

POOR HOUSE. — One on Fort Hill, 1732.

PORTLAND STREET. — See COLD LANE.

POST OFFICE. — At the corner of Queen-st. and Cornhill in 1784.

POUND. — One formerly stood on what is now Park-st., where the Hon. Josiah Quincy, Jr.'s, house is.

POWDER-HORN HILL. — In Chelsea, about 4 miles from the City, 220 feet in height. It is early mentioned on the Town Records. Sometimes called Powder-house Hill.

POWDER HOUSE. — See INDEX.

POWDER HILL. — See INDEX.

POWNING'S CORNER. — See CROOKED LANE.

PRESIDENT'S ROAD. — The Ship-road near the Castle ; called King Road before the Revolution.

PRINCE STREET. — From Morrell's cor. in Middle-st., by David Norton's, to the salt water, 1708. Probably so named to honor the Royal family. There are many places so named in London and other cities.

PRISON LANE. — See pp. 480, 512. Queen-st.

PROCTOR'S LANE. — In 1800 from Clap's cor. in Fish to Middle st.

PROVINCE HOSPITAL. — At New Boston before the Revolution.

PROVINCE HOUSE. — See INDEX.

PUBLIC GARDEN. — Principally made land on the W'ly side of the Common. It was granted by the City for a Public Garden, 26 Oct., 1837.

PUDDING LANE. — From the Exchange in King-st., passing by Mrs. Phillips', into Water-st., 1708. Doubtless so called from a street of the same name in London. After the Revolution it was changed to Devonshire-st.

PULLIN POINT. — See p. 147. Point Shirley, Chelsea. Taken from Boston in 1738.

PULLING'S WHARF. — Next N of the foot of Cross-st., 1769.

PURCHASE STREET. — In 1769, from Summer-st. to Tilley's lane. In 1784, up by Col. Dawes' to Hubbard's wharf.

QUAKER LANE. — So called from the Quaker Meeting-house. See p. 504–5. Now Congress-st.

QUEEN STREET. — From Mr. Dering's cor. in Cornhill to Houchen's at the upper end of Hanover-st., 1708. Changed to Court-st. in 1784.

QUEEN'S HEAD. — In 1732, Joshua Pierce, innholder, allowed to remove his license from the sign of the Logwood-tree in Lynn-st. to the Queen's Head, near Scarlet's whf., where Anthony Young last dwelt.

QUINCY LANE. — From 95 Broad to Hamilton st. Changed to Hamilton-av. 1823. The first name having stood not above two years.

Rainsford's Corner. — North, cor. Charter, 1708. So 1732.

Rainsford's Island. — See p. 442. Sometimes called Hospital Island, as the City Hospital is thereon situated. First used for a hospital about 1737.

Rainsford's Lane. — From the late Elder Rainsford's cor. in Essex-st. to Beach-st., thence to the sea, 1708. Included in Front-st. in 1825.

Rawson's Lane. — So named from the Province Secretary, Edwd. Rawson, who died 27 Aug., 1693. See Bromfield Street.

Razor and Crown. — Samuel Franklin's sign in 1766. He dealt in hardware.

Red Cross. — Probably a Tavern, kept by John Osborn, 1746.

Red Lion Tavern. — Noticed as early as 1676, and as late as 1766. It was at the North End. Perhaps by Red Lion Wharf. See Index.

Red Lion Wharf. — Next north of Richmond-st., at an early period.

Richards' Corner. — Corner of Ship and Foster sts., 1708. So 1732. Cor. Whitebread-alley.

Richmond Street. — W from Middle to Back st., late (1807) Bridge lane.

Robbinson's Alley. — The passage-way in North-st. from Hunt's corner, 1784.

Roebuck Passage. — From the Town Dock to Ann-st. In use from abt. 1815 to 1825. So named from the Roebuck Tavern.

Ropewalks. — See Index.

Round Lane. — From Long-la. E'ly to Atkinson-st., 1732. Changed to Williams-st. in 1821; probably in memory of Capt. John Foster Williams.

Rowe's Field. — Between Pond and Essex sts., 1777.

Royal Exchange Lane. — So called from the Royal Exchange Tavern, to which it led from Dock Sq., called Exchange-st. after the Revolution.

Royal Exchange Tavern. — In King-st. Noticed 1727. The Columbian Bank now occupies the spot.

Royal's Alley. — From Simpkins' cor. in Ann-st. E to the wharf, 1732. Does not appear in 1803, but the name was in use in 1800.

Ruck's Corner. — In Charter, cor. Salem st., 1732. Ruck's wharf, at the North End, 1722–1777.

Rumney-Marsh. — In Chelsea. So named from Rumney-Marsh in Kent, England. Called by the Indians Winnisimmet.

Russell's Wharf. — Formerly Gray's, now Russia wharf. It took the name of Russell from Mr. Thomas Russell, who owned it.

Salem Street. — In 1708, "from Cerwithy's cor. in Prince, to Mr. Phipp's cor. in Charter st." In 1732, from Ruck's cor. in Charter, to Harrod's cor. in Prince st. Called Green-lane at one period.

Salt Lane. — From Bowes' cor. in Union-st. E to Creek-lane, 1708. So 1732.

Salutation Alley. — "Down by the Salutation [tavern] into Ship-st," 1708. From Ship-st., at the Salutation Tavern, W to North-st., 1732.

Salutation Tavern. — In Ship-st. cor. Salutation-alley. So named from a sign of much elegance at that day, which represented the meeting of two gentlemen dressed in the height of fashion, small clothes, and cocked hats, and in the act of shaking hands. In 1731, Samuel Green, innholder at Pool's wharf, had liberty to remove to the Salutation. In 1773, Wm. Campbell kept it, who died suddenly in a fit the same year.

Savage's Court. — From Webster's Arch in Cornhill, W'd, 1732. Afterwards Williams' Court. Capt. Savage's cor. was in Dock Sq., cor. Shrimpton's lane. In 1708, Capt. Habijah Savage's was in Ann-st., cor. Scottow's alley.

Scarlet's Wharf. — On "25.10. 1671, John Skarlet had libertie to wharfe before the ground he bought of Nathl. Fryer, and is to be 20 fte. easterlie from the lowermost cor. of Mr. Hill's wharf." At the foot of Fleet-st., 1673.

School Alley. — Opposite the North Gram. School into Prince-st., 1784.

School-house Lane. — School-st. So named from the school-house in it.

School Street. — From Haugh's cor. in Marlboro'-st., by the Latin Free School to Whetcomb's cor. [in Tremont], 1708. So 1732.

Sconce Lane. — From the N'ly side of Fort Hill, E'ly by the old Brewhouse to Battery-march, 1708. Took its name from the Sconce or South Battery. Sconce-st., 1784. The name ceased after 1800. Hamilton-st.

Scott Court. — Formerly Minot's court. Changed to Scott or Scott's court ab. 1803.

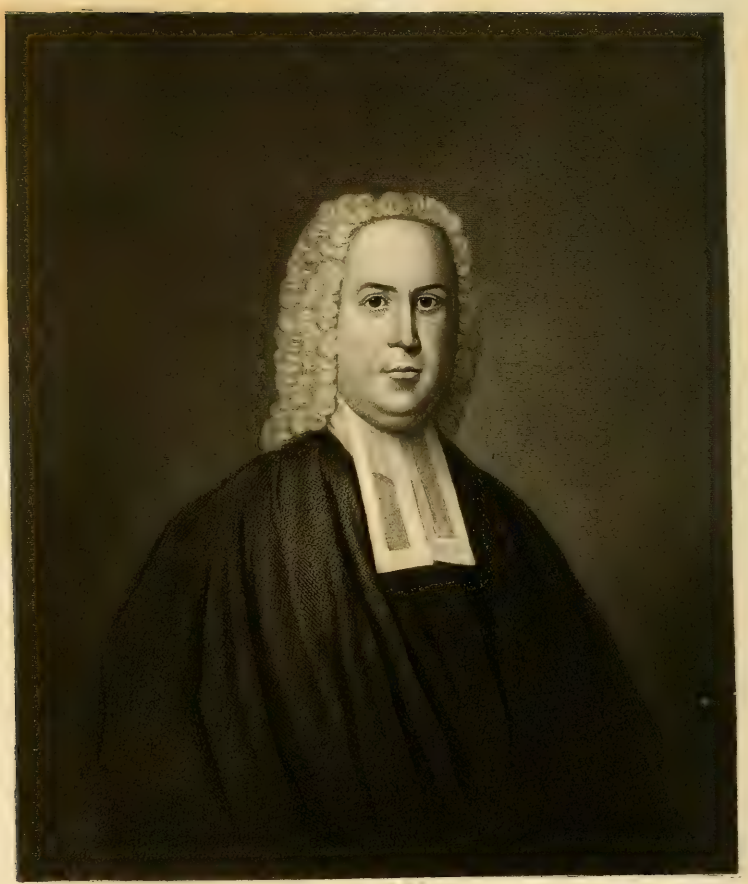
Scottow's Alley. — By Capt. Habijah Savage's in Ann-st. NW to Creek-lane, 1708. From Checkley's Entry in Ann-st. NW to Creek-la., 1732. So named from Capt. Joshua Scottow.

Sea Street. — From the bottom of Summer-st. S to Windmill-point, 1732.

Sears' Ship-Yard. — Between Clark's and Halsey's wharves, 1722.

Selby's Coffee House. — On Long wharf, 1724.

Seven Star Lane. — Summer-st. was often so called from ab. 1758 to the Revolution. Probably from the tavern, sign of the Seven Stars. There was the Sign of the Seven Stars near the Drawbridge, in 1763, William Whitwell, grocer, ironmonger, &c.



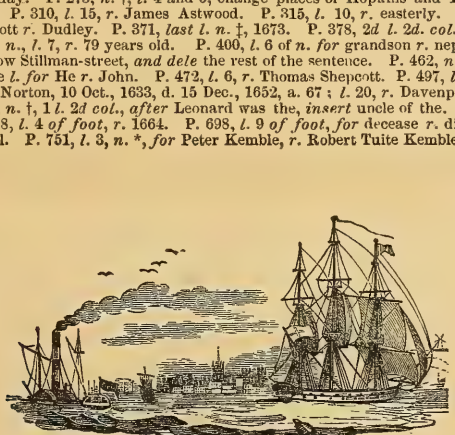
CHARLES CHAUNCY.

Sheafe's Lane. — From Barrill's cor. in Newbury-st. to the Common, 1732. Avery-st. See Hog Alley.
Sheafe Street. — From Salem, NW to Snow st. 1732. Same now.
Sheep Lane. — Hog-alley was so called in 1789.
Sheep Market. — At the W end of Faneuil Hall.
Ship-in-distress. — An ancient tavern "nearly opposite Moon-st."
Ship Street. — From Everton's cor., near Scarlet's wharf, to the North Battery, 1708.
Ship Tavern. — Cor. of Clark and Ann sts., kept in 1666–7 by John Vials. See p. 373.
Shirley Battery — In 1775 was on the E side of Castle Island.
Short Street. — The next S of Rainsford's lane, running to Pond-st., 1732.
Shrimpton's Lane. — From Capt. Savage's cor. in Dock Sq. to Madam Shrimpton's cor. in King-st., 1708. Took the name of Exchange-lane ab. 1803. Now Exchange-st.
Sister Street. — From Round-la. N into Bury-st., 1732.
Six Sugar-loaves. — John Quane's sign in Union-st., 1733.
Slate Island. — Near Hull, 9⅝ miles from the city. Granted to Hull in 1652.
Sliding Alley. — From Charter, down by Benj. Williams, in Lynn st., 1708. Foster-st., 1803.
Snake Island. — Between Apple Isl. and Point Shirley, 3¼ miles from the city.
Snowhill Street. — From Frairie's cor. in Prince-st. to the Old Ferry-way, by Hudson's point, 1708.
Southack's Court. — From Bowdoin's cor. W, 1732. From Kirk Boot's W, by Mrs. Carter's boarding-house, 1800. Howard-st., 1821.
South Bennet Street. — Formerly Bennet-st., then S. Bennet, and now again Bennet.
South Row. — See Index.
South Street. — From Baxter's cor. in Summer-st. S'ly by Dea. Allen's to the Sea, 1708.
Spear's Wharf. — The third N of Long wharf. Called Nathaniel Spear's wharf, 1769.
Spectacle Island. — Called Saml. Bill's Isl. in 1693; was then well wooded with "large timber trees." Between Castle and Long Island, 3⅝ miles from the City. — See p. 796.
Spring Garden. — "Over against the Powderhouse" in 1724. On the Common, about half way from the Frog Pond to the intersection of Beacon and Charles sts.
Spring Lane. — From a tenement of Capt. Clarke, near the lower end of School-st., to Winslow's cor. in Joyliff's lane, 1708. Spring-st.
Staniford Street. — From Cambridge, N'ly to Green, 1732.
Star Tavern. — In Hanover-st. cor. Link-alley, 1708. So 1732.
State Arms. — A noted tavern in King-st. cor. Shrimpton's lane. "The Ordinary where the Magistrates used to diet," 1653. Owned by Henry Shrimpton, 1666.
State Street. — Formerly King-st., which see.
Stationers' Arms. — Thomas Hancock's Bookstore in Ann-st. was known by that name in 1729.
Stephens' Corner. — In North-st. cor. Love-lane, 1708, 1732.
Stillman Street. — So named for the Rev. Dr. S. Stillman, ab. 1821. From Back-st. to Mill pond.
St. Luke's Head. — A Druggist's sign in Marshall's lane before the Revolution.
Stoddard's Lane. — From Cambridge-st. SW into Southack's court, 1732. Stoddard-st., 1833. Fitche's lane previously.
Sudbury Street. — From the sign of the Orange-tree, by Mr. Stephen Minot's, to the Mill pond, 1708; to Cold-lane, 1732.
Suffolk Hotel. — In Elm-st. in 1821, on the S. side, and kept by Edwd. Kingman. It ceased to be a hotel ab. 1825.
Summer Street. — From Dr. Oake's cor. in Newbury-st., passing by the house of Capt. Thomas Clarke, to the Sea, 1708; from Bethune's cor. in 1732.
Sumner Street. — Named in honor of the popular Gov. Increase Sumner, but was soon exchanged for a foreign name, in violence of good taste. "From Rogers' cor. round the new State House, SW by Beacon Hill," 1800. In 1833 it was erased.
Sun Court. — SE'ly from the North meeting-house into Fish-st., 1708.
Sunken Island. — Between Long and Pettick's Isls. 6½ miles from the city.
Sun Tavern. — In Cornhill, 1755, kept by Capt. James Day. One in Corn-court, Dock Sq., 1724. Kept by Samuel Mears, who was "lately deceased" in 1727. One in Battery-march-st. for many years previous to the late improvements.
Swan Tavern. — By Scarlet's wharf, 1708. In Fish-st., near Scarlet's wharf, 1732. One at the South End in 1784.
Swing Bridge. — Between Merchants' Row and the lower end of Woodmansie's wharf, 1708. Over the Town Dock. Removed and the Dock filled up about 1790.
Swing Bridge Lane. — Between Capt. Winsor's and Mrs. Pemberton's, in Ann-st., to the wharves by the Swing Bridge, 1708. From the Golden Key, in Ann-st, to the Swing Bridge, 1784.
Tanner's Lane. — In 1708, from Water-st., betw. Maj. Walley's and Mr. Brigham's land, into Milk-st. Received its name from the tanneries in that locality. Afterwards called Horn-lane, then Bath-st.

Tattle Street. — A nick-name of Sudbury-st. about 100 years ago.
Thistle and Crown. — Sign at the lower end of Wing's lane, 1728.
Thompson's Island. — Between Moon Isl. and Dorchester, 3½ miles from Boston. — See Index. In 1650 John Thompson, of London, sold it to Joseph Jackson and Hugh Browne, of Bristol, Eng. At one period it belonged to Dorchester. In 1834 it was annexed to Boston.
Thompson's Ship-Yard. — On the N side of the North Battery, 1722. So 1777.
Three Crowns. — A noted sign in Fish-st., 1733.
Three Doves. — William Blair Townsend's sign, 1758, &c., in Marlboro'-st., W side, next the cor. of Broomfield-st. John Boyle the bookseller kept next door to it in 1773.
Three Horseshoes. — A noted inn, "near the Common," kept by a Mrs. Glover, who died abt. 1744. Wm. Clears kept it in 1775.
Three Kings. — Thomas Knights' sign in Cornhill, 1762–70; English and W. I. goods.
Three Nuns and Comb. — "Opposite the Town-pump in Cornhill." Samuel Hardcastle kept there in 1758; a tobacconist. John and Thomas Stevenson moved there in 1762.
Three Sugar-loaves and Canister. — John Meritt's sign, grocer, in King-st., near the Town-house, 1733. Near Thomas Bromfield, glover, in King-st., 1746.
Tileston Street. — So named for Master John Tileston, whose school-house was at the cor. of Tileston and N. Bennet sts., where now stands the Eliot school. — See Love Lane.
Tileston's Wharf. — Next north of Adams' wharf in 1769.
Tilley's Lane. — From Belcher's to Cow-lane, 1732. From Cow-lane to Purchase-st. 1769.
Tontine Buildings. — In Franklin-st., begun in 1793. The arch leading to Summer-st. is the centre of them.
Town Pump. — One stood near the cor. of Queen-st. and Cornhill, before and after the Revolution.
Townsend's Corner. — The southern termination of Tremont-st. in 1708.
Trask's Wharf. — Between Harvard and Bennet sts., 1796.
Treat's Wharf. — Robert Ritchie had a warehouse on it, 1757, next Messrs. Melvils.
Tremont Street. — From the mansion of the late Simon Lynde, Esq., by Capt. Southack's, to Col. Townsend's cor., 1708. In 1732, from Common-st., by Jeckyl's, to the Orange-tree. In 1824 it was named Common-st., changed back again in 1829, and included Nassau. Extended to Roxbury line in 1831, and opened Oct., 1832.
Tudor's Wharf. — "Dea. Tudor's" whf., next S of Lewis', 1762.
Tun and Bacchus. — James Townsend's sign, 1733, N side of King-st.
Turk's Head. — A sign on Scarlet's whf., 1724.
Turn-again Alley. — In 1708, from Common-st., on the N side of Madam Usher's house, E by Hamilton-place, 1807. There is a Turn-again lane in London at this day.
Two Sugar-loaves. — William Patten's sign, grocer, in Cornhill, 1760. Also John Dobel's in King-st., 1760–2.
Tyler's Corner. — In Ann-st., at Swing Bridge lane, 1732
Tyng's Wharf. — On the E'ly side of the Town Dock. Owned by John Kenrick, and sold by him in 1652.
Unicorn. — There were several Unicorn signs formerly. William Rand, apothecary, near the Town Dock, 1733. One in Cornhill, 1744.
Union Street. — From Platt's cor. NW'ly, by the Green Dragon, to the Mill pond, 1708. From the Conduit at Dock-head, NW, as above, 1732.
Ursuline Convent. — Mount Benedict, Somerville. Burnt 11 Aug., 1834.
Usher's Lane. — Noticed 1677. Capt. Usher's, at the head of Short-st., 1708.
Valley Acre. — On a spur of Beacon Hill. See Index.
Vincent's Lane. — From Marlboro'-st. to Bishop's alley, opened ab. 1792. Ambros Vincent lived there. Franklin-st.
Wadsworth's Corner. — In Middle-st., cor Bell-alley, 1732.
Wale's Corner. — In Middle-st., cor. Prince, 1708, 1732.
Walnut Tree. — Sarah Decoster's sign, in Milk-st., near Dr. Sewall's meeting-house, 1755.
Washington Buildings. — The stone-front buildings on the E side of Washington-st., erected in 1825.
Washington Gardens. — In Common-st., near West; on a part of which now stands the Masonic Temple.
Washington Street. — So named in 1789, in honor of a visit of Washington. It extended at first only from Roxbury line to Orange-st.
Water Street. — From Cox the butcher's shop in Cornhill, by Maj. Walley's, to Oliver's Corner, 1708. From Phillip's cor. in Cornhill to Mackerel-lane, 1732.
Webster's Arch. — In Cornhill. See Savage's Court.
Well's Corner. — In Orange-st., cor. Frog-lane, 1732; another, at the same time, in Cambridge, cor. Green st.
Well's Wharf. — Arnold Wells' at the South End, 1762.
Wentworth's Lane. — From Allen's cor., in Anne-st., E to the Wood wharf, 1732. Name not in use in 1800. Barrett-st. 1831.

WENTWORTH'S WHARF. — Next N of Mill creek, 1722, &c.
WEST STREET. — From Cowell's cor. in Newbury-st. to the Common, 1708. So 1752. So now.
WEST HILL. — At the foot of Beacon Hill, next the water, a little north of Beacon-st.
WHEELER'S CORNER. — In Newbury-st., cor. Blind-lane, 1732.
WHEELER'S POINT. — Windmill point. Foot of Sea-st. See INDEX.
WHEELWRIGHT'S WHARF. — "By the South Battery," 1762. Afterwards Foster's wharf.
WHIPPING-POST. — One stood in King-st., near the cor. Pudding-lane. Removed about 1750, and culprits were whipped near the same spot upon the top of a cage, in which they were conveyed from the jail. Public whippings discontinued about 1800.
WHITEBREAD ALLEY. — From Bill's cor. in Ship-st. W to North-st., 1732. Bartlett-st., 1826.
WHITEHORN'S WHARF. — Afterwards Griffin's, now Liverpool. George Whitehorn, mariner, owned the whf. before 1722, who was dead in 1724.
WHITE-HORSE TAVERN. — "At the South End," 1724, where Hayward Place now is. Kept by Joseph Morton, 1760–4.
WILSON'S LANE. — From King-st. to Dock Sq., 1732. Named for the Rev. John Wilson of the First Church.
WILLIAMS' COURT. — Formerly Savage's court, which see.
WILLIAMS STREET. — Named for Capt. John Foster Williams, who lived in it in 1789. See ROUND LANE.
WILTSHIRE STREET. — From Allen's house, up by Phillips & Winthrop's new Ropewalk, 1784. Chambers-st., 1812.
WINNISIMMET FERRY. — "One and ¾ miles and 803 yards across from Mill-creek." Winnisimmet, now Chelsea.
WINDMILLS. — See INDEX.
WING'S LANE. — From Mr. Pemberton's cor., at the head of Dock Sq., to Justice Lyde's [Lynde's?] cor. in Hanover-st., 1708. See HUDSON'S LANE.
WINSLOW'S CORNER. — Foot of Spring-lane, cor. Joyliff's, 1708.
WINTER STREET. — From Elis' cor. in Newbury-st. to the Common, 1708. Provision for paving, 1743.
WOOD LANE. — By the house of the late Capt. Timothy Prout, deceased, from Middle-st. to the sea, 1708. See PROCTER'S LANE.
WOODMANSY'S WHARF. — At Dock Sq., 1708. The name continued on maps in 1769. On Page's map of 1777 it is miscalled Woodman's wharf.
WORK HOUSE. — See INDEX. In 1686, John Search gave £10 "towards a stock to be laid out in the Work-house." See ALMS HOUSE.

ERRATA. — P. 3, *n.* †, *r.* Martyr's Decades. P. 35, 2d ¶, *l.* 11, *r.* December. P. 37 *dele l.* 10, 2d ¶. P. 51, 2d ¶, *l.* 2, *r.* Peter Palfrey. P. 68, *l.* 12 of *n.*, *r.* 1588. P. 85, *dele n.* §. P. 90, *l.* 6, *r.* George Alcock. P. 164, *l.* 6, 2*d* ¶ *r.* Elias (?) Maverick. P. 171, *l.* 7, *for* first, *r.* second. P. 175, *l.* 15 *of foot*, *r.* Symmes. P. 182, *r.* 1635 *at top*; *l.* 2 *of foot*, *for* Henry Wane *r.* Henry Fane, *and dele* [Vane], same *l.* and *n.* §. P. 206, *l.* 7, 3d ¶, *r.* Van Twiller. P. 208, *l.* 2, 2d ¶, *for* twenty *r.* two. P. 239, *l.* 18, *r.* Thursday. P. 273, *n.* †, *l.* 4 and 5, change places of Hopkins and Eaton. P. 292, 1st *l. of Contents*, *for* Dudley *r.* Endicott. P. 310, *l.* 15, *r.* James Astwood. P. 315, *l.* 10, *r.* easterly. P. 320, *l.* 5 *of foot*, *for* Dudley *r.* Endicott, *l.* 6, for Endicott *r.* Dudley. P. 371, *last l. n.* ‡, 1673. P. 378, 2*d l.* 2*d. col. r.* 1673. P. 384, *l.* 1, *n.*, *for* installed *r.* deceased. P. 387, *n.*, *l.* 7, *r.* 79 years old. P. 400, *l.* 6 of *n. for* grandson *r.* nephew. P. 433, *n.* *, *after* and stood, in *l.* 18, *r.* on what is now Stillman-street, *and dele* the rest of the sentence. P. 462, *n.* *, *l.* 2, *for* Thomas, *r.* John; *l.* 4, *for* John *r.* Thomas; same *l. for* He *r.* John. P. 472, *l.* 6, *r.* Thomas Shepcott. P. 497, *l.* 1, *r.* Philip English. P. 548, *after l.* 19 *of n. insert* John Norton, 10 Oct., 1633, d. 15 Dec., 1652, a. 67; *l.* 20, *r.* Davenport; *l.* 30, *r.* 16 Mar. P. 556 and 7, *r.* Christ Church. 613, *n.* †, 1 *l.* 2*d col.*, *after* Leonard was the, *insert* uncle of the. P. 659, *n.* *, *l.* 4, *r.* 449. P. 672, *l.* 11 *of foot*, *r.* 1774. 688, *l.* 4 *of foot*, *r.* 1664. P. 698, *l.* 9 *of foot*, *for* decease *r.* discourse. P. 726, *l.* 16 *of* 2*d col. of n.*, *r.* E. H. Leffingwell. P. 751, *l.* 3, *n.* *, *for* Peter Kemble, *r.* Robert Tuite Kemble.



MAP OF BOSTON, 1733.

BY WILLIAM PRICE.

When the History and Antiquities of Boston was all printed but the Index, a Map of the Town, of the above date, was put into the Author's hands by his friend, David Pulsifer, Esq., who, at the same time, expressed much regret that circumstances had prevented his doing so, as was his intention, at a much earlier period; said Map having been loaned by him to another individual.

On a comparison of this Map with that of 1722, and also with that of 1769, there appears conclusive evidence that the three are from the same plate; that of 1733, and that of 1769, showing that the plate was altered to suit their respective dates. See note to page 772 of this History; which note was printed before the Author was in possession of the Map of 1733. The difference between this and that of 1769 is less than between that of 1722 and 1733; that is to say, judging from the contents of each, the Town progressed more between 1722 and 1733, than it did between 1733 and 1769. Hence, during eleven years, according to the Maps of 1722 and 1733, the Town advanced in importance more than in thirty-six years of a later period.

On Captain Bonner's Map (of 1722) but three trees appear on the Common; two in front of and near Bridewell (which stood a little above the centre of the present Park-street); the other, considerably to the south of the hill, by the Frog-pond; so much so that it could hardly have been meant for the Great Tree which now stands and for a long time has stood near that Pond. On Price's, of 1733, the three trees occupy the same localities as on Bonner's, and there appears a row of sixteen trees along the Mall. This row had then been lately planted, probably. See page 592. Another row, which appears on the Map of 1769, was no doubt planted in 1733. See ibid.

Among the statistics recorded in this Map (1733), the number of houses in the Town is stated to be "about 4000; inhabitants about 18,000; two Churches of England, eight Congregational Meeting-houses, one French, one Anabaptist, one Irish, one Quaker, and a very handsome Town House, where the Courts are held. The Town and Country daily increasing. In the year 1723 were built in New England above seven hundred sail of ships and other vessels, most of which are fitted out at Boston. There are in one year cleared out of this port at the Custom House, about 1200 sail of vessels, which may, in some measure, shew the great trade of this flourishing Town and Country."

Although this Map bears date 1733, it may have been issued one or two years earlier, for the two last figures of its date, namely, the 33, is the work of the pen, and not of the engraver, and the latest date among its statistics is 1731. Hence there may be many *editions* of it, to suit the time and demand. Such tricks of venders of similar articles are not yet out of fashion. Therefore if maps from Bonner's plate come to light with dates between 1731 and 1769, there may be nothing new on them, or nothing much affecting their importance.

INDEX.

EXPLANATION. — An Index of the Engravings is placed at the beginning of the History. A Dictionary of Places, or of Objects and Localities, is comprised in Appendix No. II., at page 802, &c.

Names of persons spelled differently are not entered under the various spellings, unless the difference is thought sufficient to mislead the reader. Such names are usually entered under the most common spelling; as Brown and Browne, Green and Greene, &c. But if the spelling differs, as in Phelps and Felps, Philbrook and Filbrook, &c., then such names are entered separately, although they refer to the same individual.

Christian names are generally given, but when a number of them occur on a page, belonging to the same family, they are sometimes omitted, except those of the heads of such family.

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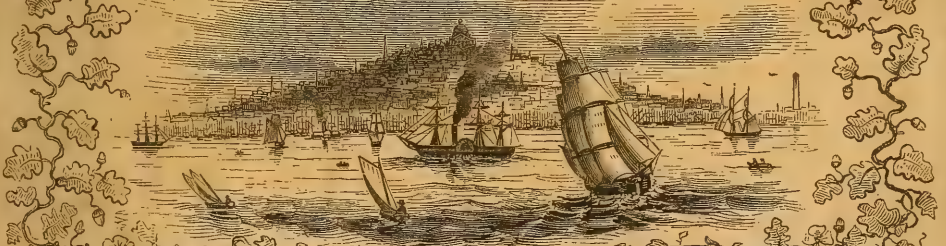


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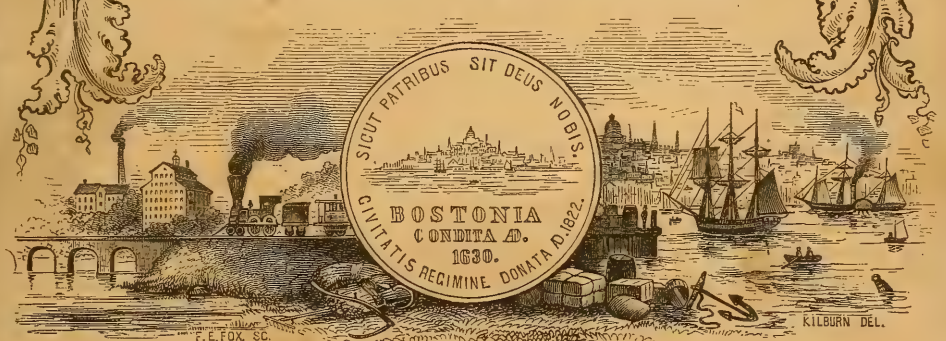
OF

BOSTON.



BY

SAMUEL G. DRAKE.



BOSTON:
OLIVER L. PERKINS, 56 CORNHILL.

GEORGE C. RAND, PRINTER, CORNHILL, BOSTON.

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The want of a new History of Boston, has for a long time been felt. That of Dr. Snow, of which the first edition was published in 1825, and the second in 1828, has, for a long time, been out of print, and it is now only in rare instances that it can be obtained by those who wish to possess it. Besides which, this work, though a good one for its day, has, in several particulars at least, been far surpassed by the later histories of some of our sister cities and towns. A new work therefore, which, retaining all that is valuable in Snow's History, and including such new matter in relation to our early history as has since been gathered, should also continue the narrative to a later period, seems to be very much needed at this time, and will, no doubt, be hailed with pleasure by all who feel an interest in the history of our city. A work of this kind, we have the satisfaction of announcing, has been undertaken by Samuel G. Drake, Esq., author of the "Book of the Indians," and several other well known works of an Historical nature. No one could be obtained for this undertaking who would bring to the task qualifications superior to Mr. Drake. He has for a long time been a resident of this city, and its history has always, during his residence among us, been a subject of special interest to him. Whatever he undertakes he does thoroughly, as all his previous works bear witness.—*Boston Journal*, 14*th June*, 1852.

We learn that Samuel G. Drake, Esq., of this city—who has long been favorably known to that part of the community having a taste for historical studies—has undertaken to compose a new work on the history of Boston. A book of this kind is much needed at the present day. In the proposals for publishing the work, which are before us, it is stated that the History of Boston by the late Dr. Caleb H. Snow will be the basis of the present undertaking. This work has long been inaccessible, except through the public libraries; and, though a very valuable one, had deficiencies, as might be expected in a work composed at a time when historical research in our community was, as it were, in its infancy.—*Post*, 14*th June*, 1852.

The public will probably be gratified to learn that a History of Boston, on the basis of that of the late Dr. C. H. Snow, is in course of preparation, and will soon be published. Such a work, we are informed, has been undertaken by Samuel G. Drake, Esq., the well known author of several valuable works in this department of literature. The manuscript left by Dr. Snow, containing copious collections for a new edition of his history, have been secured, and will be incorporated into the present work. The high qualifications of Mr. Drake for writing a history of our city, will be acknowledged by all. There is probably no single individual in the commnnity, who knows so well the wants or the various classes of readers of historical works; and there are few who are so well able to supply those wants. He has, for full a quarter of a century, been a laborious student of his country's history. For several years he was the editor of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register,—a quarterly periodical published in this city, of whose character it would be superfluous here to speak. His contributions to the pages of this work have been marked by a thoroughness of research, which, if carried into his present undertaking,—and we have no doubt it will be,—will render his History of Boston a principal authority for our future historians.—*Daily Advertiser*, *June* 19*th*, 1852.

A circular has been addressed to our citizens, by Oliver L. Perkins, containing proposals to publish by subscription a History of Boston, on the basis of the work of a similar title by the late Dr. Caleb H. Snow. Mr. Samuel G. Drake is named as the editor of the proposed volume. Mr. Drake has ample qualifications for the service, as his writings in that department of literature attest. Mr. Drake has obtained all the papers of Dr Snow, and will thus be able to avail himself of many valuable materials for the work. The publisher announces his intention to produce the book in an elegant style of execution, in every respect worthy the metropolis of New England. We commend the volume to the attention of all classes of our fellow citizens.—*Atlas*, 24*th June*, 1852.

In the year 1825 there appeared an octavo volume published by Mr. Abel Bowen, and written by Dr. Caleb H. Snow, called The History of Boston. Mr. Oliver L. Perkins, a few months since, purchased of the representatives of Mr. Bowen their interest in Snow's History, with a view of bringing out a new edition of the work, with notes and additions, under the editorial superintendence of Mr. Samuel G. Drake. For this work Mr. Drake's previous studies and turn of mind had especially fitted him. To the early history of New England he has devoted himself with that earnest and persevering industry which only a sincere love of the subject could inspire.

For many years Mr. Drake has entertained the project of writing a history of Boston. He has, with this view, collected a great amount of materials, in books, pamphlets and manuscripts, of the latter of which some go back to a very early period in the history of the colony. The investigations which Mr. Drake has had occasion to make in the preparation of the works already published by him, have added directly or indirectly to the knowledge requisite for an historian of Boston. No one who is acquainted with the character of Mr. Drake's mind, or who has read the works already published by him, will doubt that he is well qualified for the enterprise which he has undertaken.

The public may be assured that Drake's History of Boston will be a work of permanent and substantial value, which every literary man ought to buy for its own sake, and every citizen of Boston, for the sake of its subject. Mr. Drake will find matter both for grave history and amusing gossip in the annals of the two hundred and thirty years which have ripened the matronly beauty of our city. His great difficulty will be in the abundance of his materials and the consequent temptation to make an overgrown book. It may not be irrelevant to say that by subscribing to the work, some material aid will be extended to a modest and laborious scholar, who has somewhat neglected his own fortunes in looking up the pedigrees of his neighbors.—*Boston Daily Courier*, 23*d June*, 1852. G. S. H.

Mr. S. G. Drake, of Boston, proposes to publish a new history of Boston. No man, we think, in our acquaintance, is better qualified for the work. There ought to be a new history. The last, (Dr. Snow's) was a very good one for the time in which it was written; but having all the advantages of Dr. Snow's, besides the collections he has himself made, and the helps of his literary friends, Mr. Drake must produce a better work. Of Dr. Snow's book, we speak conscientiously, in the words of a late writer, 'G S. H.', which we interpret to be G. S. Hillard, Esq.

The copyright of Snow's History has been purchased, and placed at Mr. Drake's disposal; but he will not re-print Dr. Snow's work with additions. He will avail himself of the facts of that work, but he will re write, that he may introduce into those parts devoted to the earlier time, such facts as he has himself brought out of the womb of the past. We urge it upon every man to subscribe for Mr. Drake's work. In doing so, they will assist a worthy man, who has not reaped the fruit from all the fields he has planted. But not on that account solely, but because Mr. D. will bring out a better work than any of its predecessors, do we urge men to subscribe. Frothingham, the present Mayor of Charlestown, has given us a fine history of that ancient town. L. R. Paige, Esq., will, we hope, soon permit the world to see his erudite and elaborate history of Cambridge; and when Drake's new History of Boston is fully written, we shall feel that a large vacuum is filled up.—*Trumpet*, 3 *July*, 1852.

No. II.] [25 CENTS.

THE

HISTORY

OF

BOSTON.



BY

SAMUEL G. DRAKE.



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OLIVER L. PERKINS, 56 CORNHILL.

Geo. C. Rand, Printer, Cornhill. Stereotyped by Hobart & Robbins.

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Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-three, by Samuel G. Drake, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of Massachusetts.

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The NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY received its charter from the Legislature of Massachusetts, in 1845, and, as its name implies, proposes to direct its efforts to the illustration of History and Biography in all its branches.

It has long been viewed by many, as unpardonable and degrading at this enlightened stage of society in this country, that people in general *know so little about their ancestry.* And, so far as can be judged, the Founders of this institution were not actuated by a prospect of hereditary property or titles to *nobility*, but by a sincere desire to extend this branch of knowledge. That there is an element of vast importance yet to be developed by these investigations, is really believed,— an element which will eventually create a new era in physiological science.

No argument can be required in support of the great and ultimate importance of Genealogical researches, to those minds which have been directed to the subject; yet if there be any to whom this position is not clear, they are recommended to consider History without Biography or Chronology; for it is contended that Genealogy is as essential to Biography, as Biography is to History.

It is not only the great aim of the Society to collect and preserve all such materials as will aid every one having a desire to trace his ancestry, or to establish any facts in the History and Antiquities of his country, especially in its Local History, to pursue such enquiries with the prospect of success, but to make his labors available by a periodical publication; *such as is now offered for your patronage.*

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SAMUEL G. DRAKE, Editor and Proprietor.

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The work is published by SAMUEL G. DRAKE, 56 Cornhill, Boston, (up stairs,) to whom all communications should be addressed. — To be issued QUARTERLY, viz: in JANUARY, APRIL, JULY, and OCTOBER of each year; At TWO DOLLARS *a year, payable, in all cases, in advance.*

Boston, 1 *January*, 1853.

N. B. — There are now completed *six volumes* of this work, and the *seventh* begins with the first of January, 1853; — affording a desirable period to commence taking the work, as it is now upon a thorough and settled plan of progression with a most valuable amount of materials in the hands of the Editor. A few complete sets of the back volumes of the work are on hand, which will be disposed of to new subscribers, if they choose to avail themselves of the opportunity bound, or in numbers.

NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

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History of Boston, No. I. By Samuel G. Drake.—This work is founded on the well known "History of Boston," by the late Dr. Snow, but is greatly enlarged and improved by the accomplished antiquarian whose name appears on the title page. It is to appear in numbers, and is issued in a style of great typographical elegance, with copious pictorial illustrations. The number before us exhibits wide research and excellent judgment on the part of the Editor. We are glad that the history of the metropolis of New England has fallen into such competent hands; judging from the present specimen, the work will be a treasury of antiquarian lore and curious reminiscences; we shall look with interest for the appearance of the successive numbers. Boston: Oliver L. Perkins.)—*N. Y. Tribune, 10th Sept.*, 1852.

"History of Boston." By Sam'l G. Drake.—royal 8vo, 48 pages. This is the first number of what promises to be a most valuable as well as beautiful history of Boston. The basis of it is to be Snow's History of Boston. The deficiencies of that history are to be supplied, and the work brought down to the present time, by the editorial labors of Mr. Drake, favorably known to the community as the author of the "Book of Indians," and other literary labors, and celebrated for his antiquarian taste and lore. The work is in most competent hands, and our citizens may confidently expect a history of the city which shall be as full and complete as labor and learning can make it. The work is to be comprised in 16 numbers, of 48 pages each, handsomely printed, and illustrated with a beautiful panoramic view of Boston and its environs, and numerous portraits of distinguished individuals, and other objects of interest. Price 25 cents, only, a number.—*Daily Eve. Trav'r, 16th Sept.*, 1852.

Drake's History of Boston, No. I.—An antiquary by profession, Mr. Drake has for many years devoted much time and labor to the collection of original materials towards the history of New England. His valuable works on the aborigines of this country have met with an extended sale, and have reached many editions. The remark which Hakluyt applies to old John Stow, that he was a "diligent preserver of antiquities," may be said in truth and with emphasis of Mr. Drake. And as Stow's "Survey of London" has connected his name forever with that famous city of the Old World; so we trust that Drake's History of Boston may be the means of worthily and honorably associating his memory with this city of the New World. This first number is introductory to the History of Boston, and we shall await with interest the numbers that are yet to appear.—*Cambridge Chronicle 2d October*, 1852.

History of Boston, No. I. By Samuel G. Drake.—The first number of this work has just been issued from the press. This number is devoted to a statement of the earliest discoverers of New England; and this is done with a compactness and a comprehensiveness which we have not seen in any other form, and makes an appropriate beginning of the history of the city. Mr. Drake is peculiarly qualified to write the History of Boston. He has been for several years editor of the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," and is the author of several Historical Works. He has the same indomitable perseverance in historical research, that his world-renowned namesake had in navigation. He has ploughed the sea of History, and fathomed the depth of antique lore in his gatherings of material for the "History of Boston," by which, volume after volume has been added and placed upon the shelves of his study. Mr. Drake will bring out of this a rare, curious, and exceedingly valuable work. *N. Y. Christian Inquirer, 4th Dec.*, 1852.

Drake's History of Boston.—The first number of this important publication has just made its appearance. The well known reputation of the Author, Mr. Samuel G. Drake, A. M., who has gained so much reputation for his voluminous and reliable History of the Indians, is a sufficient guarantee that his department will be well filled. This number is got up in the most elegant style. It is a credit to the good taste and enterprise of the Publisher, Mr. O. L. Perkins, 56 Cornhill.—*Witness & Advocate 10th Sept.*

The History of Boston.—We have received the first number of this work, which is beautifully printed in [royal] octavo form, on large type and fine paper. A good history of Boston has become a desideratum. Dr. Snow's work first published some twenty [27] years since, is now entirely out of print. That however is inadequate to the requirements of the present time. We are glad that Mr Drake has undertaken this enterprise. He is an indefatigable antiquary, and possesses rare qualifications for his task. He will by no means merely reprint Dr. Snow's work, but will retain of it only what is valuable, and at the same time lay ing all accessible resources under contribution. We are sure that Mr. Drake will give the public the results of the most thorough research and assiduous care, and we find the guarantee of this in his previous publications. *Old Colony Memorial, 2d September*, 1852.

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No. III.] [25 CENTS.

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HISTORY

OF

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BY

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ANTIQUARIAN JOURNAL.

THE ONLY ANTIQUARIAN PERIODICAL

PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES!

Although this work is extensively patronized by the most enlightened and literary portion of the public, yet it is still desirable to extend its circulation, as well with a view to benefit the community at large, as to enable the Society to accomplish its design of *preserving the early records of New England.*

That these records are fast going to decay is a fact too well known to require even ordinary proof. To preserve them *is a duty every one owes to his country.* This journal is mainly intended for that object. *It therefore has a claim upon* YOU *for support.*

The New England Historic-Genealogical Society received its charter from the Legislature of Massachusetts, in 1845, and, as its name implies, proposes to direct its efforts to the illustration of History and Biography in all its branches.

It has long been viewed by many as unpardonable and degrading, at this enlightened stage of society in this country, that people in general *know so little about their ancestry.* And, so far as can be judged, the founders of this institution were not actuated by a prospect of hereditary property or titles to *nobility*, but by a sincere desire to extend this branch of knowledge. That there is an element of vast importance yet to be developed by these investigations, is really believed, — an element which will eventually create a new era in physiological science.

No argument can be required in support of the great and ultimate importance of Genealogical researches, to those minds which have been directed to the subject; yet if there be any to whom this position is not clear, they are recommended to consider History without Biography or Chronology; for it is contended that Genealogy is as essential to Biography, as Biography is to History.

It is not only the great aim of the Society to collect and preserve all such materials as will aid every one having a desire to trace his ancestry, or to establish any facts in the History and Antiquities of his country, especially in its Local History, to pursue such inquiries with the prospect of success, but to make his labors available by a periodical publication; *such as is now offered for your patronage.*

The plan adopted for the general Contents of the work is as follows: —

1. Lists of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, from the earliest Town and Parish Records of New England.
2. Catalogues of Names found in Ancient Documents, as also the Documents themselves, when they are found to contain important facts illustrative of History and Antiquities, or the lives and actions of our Ancestors.
3. Abstracts of Wills, Settlements of Estates, Deeds and Conveyances; — Such Portions of old English History, Genealogies, and Antiquities, as may be thought necessary for the Illustration of those of New England. And occasionally entire Tracts or Treatises which have become rare and are of permanent Historical Value.
4. Descriptions of the Dwellings, Household Utensils, Implements of Husbandry, Warlike Implements, Costumes, &c. belonging to the earliest Times to which the Ancestry of Families may be traced; — to be accompanied, when practicable, with Engravings.
5. Inscriptions from Tombs, Monuments, and Tablets of Cemeteries; — Ancient Epitaphs, &c., &c.
6. Descriptions of Armorial Bearings, and other Heraldic Devices, with sufficient Explanations of the Terms of Heraldry for their Emblazonry.
7. Biographical Accounts and Memoirs of Persons who came to North America, especially to New England, before 1700; showing from what Places in Europe they came, their Families there, and their Descendants in this Country.
8. Full and minute Genealogical Memoirs and Tables, showing the Lineage and Descent of Families, from the earliest Dates to which they can be authentically traced, down to the present Time, with their Branches and Connections.
9. Tables of Longevity, Statistical and Biographical Accounts of Attorneys, Physicians, Ministers and Churches of all Denominations, of Graduates at Colleges, Governors, Senators and Representatives in Congress, Merchants, Military Officers, and other Persons of Distinction.

SAMUEL G. DRAKE, Editor.

CONDITIONS.

The work is published by Samuel G. Drake, 56 Cornhill, Boston (up stairs), to whom all communications should be addressed. — To be issued Quarterly, viz. in January, April, July, and October, of each year; at TWO DOLLARS *a year, payable, in all cases, in advance.*

Boston, January 1, 1853.

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"Among a large number of appropriate engravings, there is one of Endicott and his company departing from Weymouth for New England; one of Winthrop from the Isle of Wight; first interview with the Indians; portrait of John Davenport; autographs, &c. No work can commend itself more strongly to Bostonians and to the descendants of the Puritans than Drake's History of Boston." — *Transcript, Jan.* 24, 1853.

"The History of Boston. No. II. By S. G. Drake. Boston. pp. 48.

"We rejoice that a work of this description is fairly before the public. It is a book to be read by every Bostonian, — to be handed down from sire to son so long as the Tri-mountain city shall endure.

"Mr. Drake has the peculiar faculty of making facts read aright. Matter, considered by many dry and diffuse, is here brought, as by a mental microscopic lens, into a pleasing, proper shape, suitable to be read and digested by the wisest as well as the most ordinary minds. Controverted points are elucidated, and important historical subjects set before us in a new light. Every page of this History of Boston comes to us laden with the fruits of a patient, truth-loving research; and no one can arise, we think, from a careful perusal of the work, however wise he may have been before, without adding something, either directly or indirectly, to his stock of historic knowledge. If the author occasionally sets a new piece of cloth on to an old garment, he does not, in Scripture phrase, 'take away from the old and make the rent worse.' On the contrary, the additional part gives strength and durability to the whole. Many interesting facts and circumstances connected with the movements of the first settlers are here faithfully chronicled, from the times of Morton of Merry-Mount, to that of Blackstone of Shawmut; with a succinct account of the Massachusetts Colony, of the old Patents and the Charters; voyages of Endicott and Winthrop; settlements at Cape Ann, Salem, Charlestown, Dorchester, &c. That mooted question, 'Who was the first Governor of Massachusetts?' seems to be here most satisfactorily settled. There appears no escaping the conclusion, that Endicott, and not Winthrop, was the first Governor; and the former was in reality acting under his commission, long before the latter was chosen even, by the Company in England." — *S. Boston Gazette.*

"The History of Boston, Part II. By S. G. Drake. We are rejoiced that the labor of preparing a history of the metropolis of New England has been undertaken by a gentleman who is better qualified for it than any other man living. Mr. Drake is a distinguished antiquarian, and a 'diligent preserver of antiquities.' His researches in New England history have made him familiar with every fact that can illustrate his present works. And he has entered upon the subject in a right spirit. We may expect from his pen, what has been so long needed, a full and accurate history of Boston. — There is no place on this continent so rich in curious reminiscences and legendary history as Boston. The book must be successful in Mr. Drake's experienced hands, and we trust that he may reap as much pecuniary profit from it, as we are sure he will gain in fame." — *Bee,* Jan. 25, 1853.

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ERRATA.

Page 3, *note* †, *r.* Martyr's *Decades.*
" 12, *l.* 3, 2d ¶, *dele* reached, *and insert* made a direct voyage.
" 48, 1st ¶, *dele* within two years, *and insert* in 1636.
" 51, *l.* 2, 2d ¶, *r.* Peter Palfrey.
" 52, *l.* 2 *of top, r.* shone.
" 62, *l.* 3 *of foot of text, r.* socage.
" 68, *l.* 12 *of note, r.* 1588.

No. IV.] [25 CENTS.

THE

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OF

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BY

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THE ONLY ANTIQUARIAN PERIODICAL

PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES!

ALTHOUGH this work is extensively patronized by the most enlightened and literary portion of the public, yet it is still desirable to extend its circulation, as well with a view to benefit the community at large, as to enable the Society to accomplish its design of *preserving the early records of New England.*

That these records are fast going to decay is a fact too well known to require even ordinary proof. To preserve them *is a duty every one owes to his country.* This journal is mainly intended for that object. *It therefore has a claim upon* YOU *for support.*

The NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY received its charter from the Legislature of Massachusetts, in 1845, and, as its name implies, proposes to direct its efforts to the illustration of History and Biography in all its branches.

It has long been viewed by many as unpardonable and degrading, at this enlightened stage of society in this country, that people in general *know so little about their ancestry.* And, so far as can be judged, the founders of this institution were not actuated by a prospect of hereditary property or titles to *nobility*, but by a sincere desire to extend this branch of knowledge. That there is an element of vast importance yet to be developed by these investigations, is really believed, — an element which will eventually create a new era in physiological science.

No argument can be required in support of the great and ultimate importance of Genealogical researches, to those minds which have been directed to the subject; yet if there be any to whom this position is not clear, they are recommended to consider History without Biography or Chronology; for it is contended that Genealogy is as essential to Biography, as Biography is to History.

It is not only the great aim of the Society to collect and preserve all such materials as will aid every one having a desire to trace his ancestry, or to establish any facts in the History and Antiquities of his country, especially in its Local History, to pursue such inquiries with the prospect of success, but to make his labors available by a periodical publication; *such as is now offered for your patronage.*

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SAMUEL G. DRAKE, Editor.

CONDITIONS.

The work is published by SAMUEL G. DRAKE, 15 Brattle Street (up stairs), Boston, to whom all communications should be addressed. — To be issued QUARTERLY, viz. in JANUARY, APRIL, JULY, and OCTOBER, of each year; at TWO DOLLARS *a year, payable, in all cases, in advance.*

Boston, January 1, 1853.

N. B. There are now completed *six volumes* of this work, and the *seventh* was begun on the first of January, 1853; — affording a desirable period to commence taking the work, as it is now upon a thorough and settled plan of progression, with a most valuable amount of materials in the hands of the Editor. A few complete sets of the back volumes of the work are on hand, which will be disposed of to new subscribers, if they choose to avail themselves of the opportunity, bound, or in numbers.

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"The History of Boston. No. II. By S. G. Drake. Boston. pp. 48.

"We rejoice that a work of this description is fairly before the public. It is a book to be read by every Bostonian, — to be handed down from sire to son so long as the Tri-mountain city shall endure.

"Mr. Drake has the peculiar faculty of making facts read aright. Matter, considered by many dry and diffuse, is here brought, as by a mental microscopic lens, into a pleasing, proper shape, suitable to be read and digested by the wisest as well as the most ordinary minds. Controverted points are elucidated, and important historical subjects set before us in a new light. Every page of this History of Boston comes to us laden with the fruits of a patient, truth-loving research; and no one can arise, we think, from a careful perusal of the work, however wise he may have been before, without adding something, either directly or indirectly, to his stock of historic knowledge. If the author occasionally sets a new piece of cloth on to an old garment, he does not, in Scripture phrase, 'take away from the old and make the rent worse.' On the contrary, the additional part gives strength and durability to the whole. Many interesting facts and circumstances connected with the movements of the first settlers are here faithfully chronicled, from the times of Morton of Merry-Mount, to that of Blackstone of Shawmut; with a succinct account of the Massachusetts Colony, of the old Patents and the Charters; voyages of Endicott and Winthrop; settlements at Cape Ann, Salem, Charlestown, Dorchester, &c. That mooted question, 'Who was the first Governor of Massachusetts?' seems to be here most satisfactorily settled. There appears no escaping the conclusion, that Endicott, and not Winthrop, was the first Governor; and the former was in reality acting under his commission, long before the latter was chosen even, by the Company in England." — *S. Boston Gazette.*

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"History of Boston, No. I. By S. G. Drake. — Boston bids fair to make one of the busiest and most opulent cities in the world. Its early history, therefore, is becoming a matter of absorbing interest. We wish to go back to the founders of the city, — we are anxious to know something about Sebastian Cabot, John Verazzani, Jaques Cartier, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the father of American Colonization, Sir Francis Drake, Richard Hakluyt, the chivalric Captain John Smith, Captain Gosnold, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the founder of Maine. To obtain this knowledge, it is necessary to read many books, examine numerous documents, faded and time-worn. Besides, very few persons have the education, leisure, or opportunity to hunt up the vestiges and trace the footprints of our early history. We are constantly occupied. We have no time to read many books, nor to sit deciphering old parchments. We cannot cater in the literary market; we must take the food provided for us by the hands of others, or else live at haphazard, lean and hungry as we may be for knowledge. — The public, therefore, owe a great and lasting obligation to that man, who, with untiring industry, deep research, a clear head, and an honest endeavor to find the truth, collects historic facts and presents them to the reader in a neat and convenient form. Of this character is the first number of the 'History of Boston,' by Mr. Drake; and if this is a faithful harbinger of the work, it promises to be exceedingly valuable." — *Boston Courier, October* 11, 1852.

ERRATA.

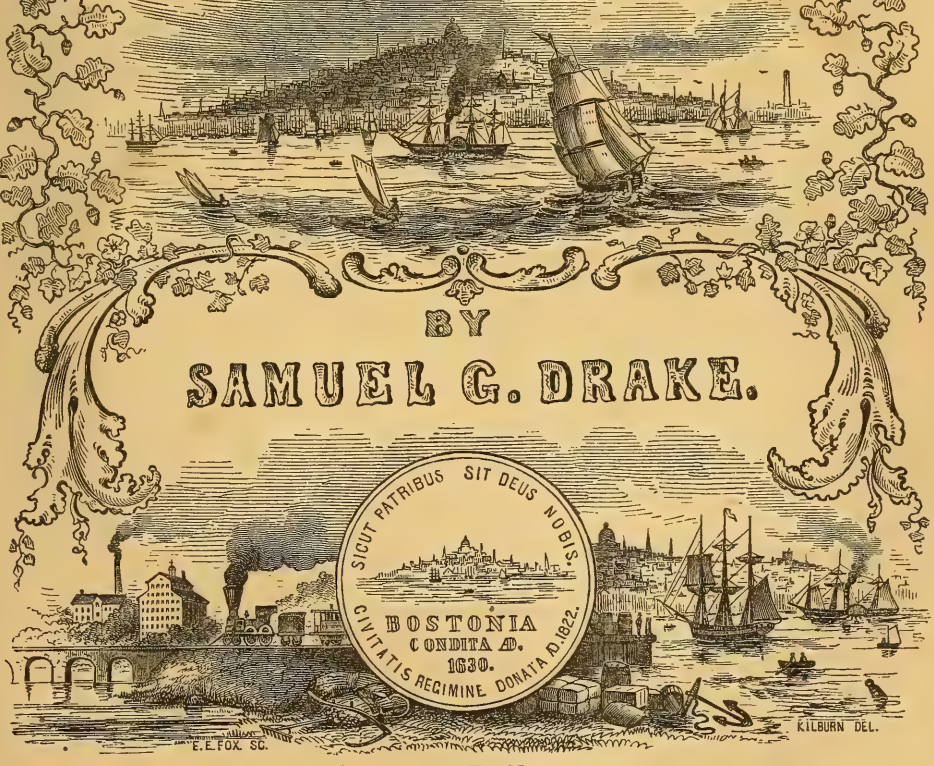
Page 90, *l.* 6, *read* George Alcock.
" 109, *l.* 3, *n.* 1, *read* Peirce.
" 144, *l.* 3, 3d ¶, *read* scandals.

THE

HISTORY

OF

BOSTON.



BY

SAMUEL G. DRAKE.

BOSTON:
OLIVER L. PERKINS, 186 WASHINGTON STREET.
L. STEVENS, *Proprietor.*

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY METCALF AND COMPANY. STEREOTYPED BY HOBART AND ROBBINS.

PROPOSALS,

By OLIVER L. PERKINS,

FOR PUBLISHING BY SUBSCRIPTION

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By SAMUEL G. DRAKE.

CONDITIONS:

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The Work will be issued in about 16 Numbers or Parts, of 48 pages each, at twenty-five cents a Number, payable on delivery, — making, when completed, a volume of 768 pages. To be printed on fine paper, Pica type, *Royal Octavo.* The numbers will be published as fast as they can be got ready.

Persons preferring to receive the Work entire, when bound, may do so, by paying for the binding extra, as they may stipulate, at the time of subscribing.

☞ It is intended that the future numbers of the work shall be issued once in about six weeks.

NOTE.

The readers of these numbers of the History of Boston will find many *new* facts; certainly new in any *printed* work; and that they *are* facts, is left for the future scrutiny of those who wish to indulge in such historical and antiquarian investigations. The Author has necessarily come to conclusions, upon several points, very different from those of his predecessors who have had occasion to notice them; and while he believes his own deductions to be satisfactory, he has certainly not made them for the sake of novelty, or with any satisfaction merely because they differ from others. Nor does he correct the errors of others in any captious spirit, but invites his friends, and all others interested in the History of the City, to communicate to him any thing they may have to enable him to carry out the laborious object he has in view; and to call his attention to any errors and omissions they may discover. There is a great advantage in issuing a work of this kind in *numbers*, as it gives those disposed an opportunity to see wherein it should be otherwise, and to lend their aid if they feel sufficient interest in the subject to proffer it.

ERRATA.

In apology for this large list of Errata the Author begs leave to observe, that, owing to some irregularities at the Foundery, he was not furnished with his usual revises; and that, his work being printed at Cambridge, he saw no proof containing the Coat of Arms, in page 157, which appears wrong side up.

Page 140, *l.* 3, *note*, *for* 52, *read* 32.
" 166, *l.* 5, *after* committed, *add* several murders.
" 171, *l.* 7, *for* first, *read* second.
" 175, *l.* 4, 2d ¶, *read* Symmes.
" 182, *l.* 2 *of foot*, *read* Henry Uane.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-three, by Samuel G. Drake, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of Massachusetts.

NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

"The History of Boston. No. IV. By S. G. Drake. The fourth part of Mr. Drake's History of Boston has made its appearance, bringing the narrative of events down to the year 1636. The history of the town, at this early period, is so closely interwoven with that of the Colony, that the work before us might thus far be appropriately styled the 'History of Massachusetts.' The author, in this part, has given some extracts from the earliest records of the town; and we are promised a fac-simile of the ancient manuscript, for the next number.

"We are pleased to notice that this work is, thus far, well sustained. The letter-press is excellent, and this number is embellished with plates and numerous well-executed wood cuts.

"On some points of no great moment we should possibly differ from the author; but we have no space here to dwell at length.

"In the Christian Examiner for May, page 513, is an extract from a letter from Mr. Joseph Hunter, the distinguished Historian and Antiquary of London, to Hon. James Savage, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in which he speaks of No. I. of Mr. Drake's History of Boston. We quote the following: 'I notice one thing of importance in Mr. Drake's book, namely, that he has an error of ten years in the date of the birth of Captain John Smith.' Mr. Drake's statement is as follows: 'From a reference already made to one of his maps, it appears that he was born in 1579.' Now it would be remarkable if there were not some mistakes in this first part of Mr. Drake's History, where such a vast number of facts are brought together, but we feel quite sure that there is no error here. In 1616, Smith published his 'Description of New England,' which contained a map, in one corner of which may be seen the *lively effigies* of the renowned author, with this inscription: 'Æta 37. Ao. 1616.' This is Mr. Drake's authority. Finding that Smith was *thirty-seven* years of age in 1616, Mr. Drake was naturally led, by a simple arithmetical calculation, to place his birth in 1579. The inscription upon the map we consider too of the highest authority, — that of Smith himself. This map was afterwards republished by him in his 'Generall Historie,' in 1624, 1626, and 1627, some alterations being made in each edition (of the map) to conform to the increased knowledge of the country. It also appears, with greater alterations, in some copies of the General History of date 1632, the year after his death. In all the editions of this map we find this same inscription, above quoted, denoting the age of Captain Smith, which he himself published to the world. Now Mr. Hunter may have some authority on this point, which *he* deems more reliable than the above. We have heard of intelligent persons who have erred slightly, perhaps a year or so, as to the date of their birth; but that Captain Smith could have made an error of *ten years* is as incredible as the statement that John Rogers, the protomartyr, was ignorant as to the number of his own children a few days before his death.

"One of the most interesting passages in this number of Mr. Drake's elaborate work, is the account given on the 162d page of the ordination of Rev. John Cotton as teacher of the First Church, in 1633. The narrative is given in the quaint language of the times. The same year (1633), a small ship called the Rebecca, was built at Medford. She was principally owned in Boston, and her name occurs quite frequently in business transactions of the succeeding years. This interesting number ends with the record of the election of Henry Vane as Governor of the Massachusetts Colony, in May, 1636. Every page of this work bears marks of intelligence, industry and research, and we renewedly commend the enterprise of Mr. Drake to the patronage of the citizens of Boston." — *Boston Transcript, June* 11, 1853.

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No. VI.] [25 CENTS.

THE

HISTORY

OF

BOSTON.



BY

SAMUEL G. DRAKE.



BOSTON:
OLIVER L. PERKINS, 186 WASHINGTON STREET.
L. STEVENS, *Proprietor.*

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY METCALF AND COMPANY. STEREOTYPED BY HOBART AND ROBBINS.

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Page 206, *l.* 15 *of top*, *read* Van Twiller.

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"The mechanical execution of this number is, like its predecessors, deserving of great praise. Among the embellishments are a large panoramic view of the vicinity of Boston, a portrait of Sir Henry Vane, fifth Governor of Massachusetts Colony, and a view of the church at Boston, England, in which John Cotton preached. We observe, also, that the initial letters of the last three chapters of this number are ornamented with the coats of arms of Governors Endicott, Winthrop, and Dudley, and presume that it is intended to give the arms of the succeeding governors in the chapters which follow. From the specimens already published, we have no doubt that — if the public will do their part, by subscribing liberally for the work, so that the publisher may be able to carry out fully Mr. Drake's designs — the present History of Boston will be one of which our city may justly be proud." — *Boston Transcript, April* 12, 1853.

"The History of Boston. By Samuel G. Drake. Boston: Oliver L. Perkins, 56 Cornhill. Nos. I., II., III.

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"The first number is embellished with a splendid engraving of Boston and suburbs, as they now are, together with a representation of all the objects of interest. The second number contains an engraving of John Endicott, first Governor of Massachusetts. The third number contains a panoramic view of the country in the vicinity of Boston, from Bunker Hill Monument.

"The work fills a gap in history, and is much needed. The only work which lays claim to the title of History of Boston, Dr. Snow's, is deficient in many particulars, and rendered still more so by the lapse of time since its publication.

"Mr. Drake, the author, brings to the work a mind well stored with historical material, and an ardent love of, as well as a long experience in, antiquarian and historical pursuits. No better man could have undertaken the work. He is the editor of the New England Genealogical and Antiquarian Register, a work of great merit and value, and is the author of several historical works. The 'History of Boston,' so far as completed, contains many new facts, at least they have never appeared before in any printed work. His extensive research has also enabled Mr. Drake to correct the errors of preceding writers, and to make his work one of the most valuable that has recently been issued from the press." — *Nashua Gazette, April* 7, 1853.

"History of Boston, Part II. By S. G. Drake. This number of the History of Boston comes to us in elegant style, as did the former. It covers a deeply interesting period, the history of which has not before, certainly to our knowledge, been gone into, with such thoroughness of research. The author, we think, must feel a consciousness that he has not only laid open many new facts, but that he has settled many questions, which have heretofore been thought beyond the reach of the strictest scrutiny; the author has set in a clear light the nature of the old Patents and Charters, under which this part of New England was settled; he has with great care gone step by step from the first rise of the enterprise in England, until he has planted our ancestors on this peninsula. That old pioneer Governor, Endicott, who has been erroneously placed as second in settling Massachusetts, here takes his proper place in the van. Concerning the old patentees, Mr. Drake gives us much that will be found new, and though we perceive he has committed some few inaccuracies (though generally unimportant), he has corrected many errors of long standing in this part of our history. We notice beautifully drawn up pedigrees of the families of Saltonstall and Winthrop, which we should think would be viewed with great gratification by all those connected with them.

"Among a large number of appropriate engravings, there is one of Endicott and his company departing from Weymouth for New England; one of Winthrop from the Isle of Wight; first interview with the Indians; portrait of John Davenport; autographs, &c. No work can commend itself more strongly to Bostonians and to the descendants of the Puritans than Drake's History of Boston." — *Transcript, Jan.* 24, 1853.

"The History of Boston, Part II. By S. G. Drake. We are rejoiced that the labor of preparing a history of the metropolis of New England has been undertaken by a gentleman who is better qualified for it than any other man living. Mr. Drake is a distinguished antiquarian, and a 'diligent preserver of antiquities.' His researches in New England history have made him familiar with every fact that can illustrate his present works. And he has entered upon the subject in a right spirit. We may expect from his pen, what has been so long needed, a full and accurate history of Boston. — There is no place on this continent so rich in curious reminiscences and legendary history as Boston. The book must be successful in Mr. Drake's experienced hands, and we trust that he may reap as much pecuniary profit from it, as we are sure he will gain in fame." — *Bee*, Jan. 25, 1853.

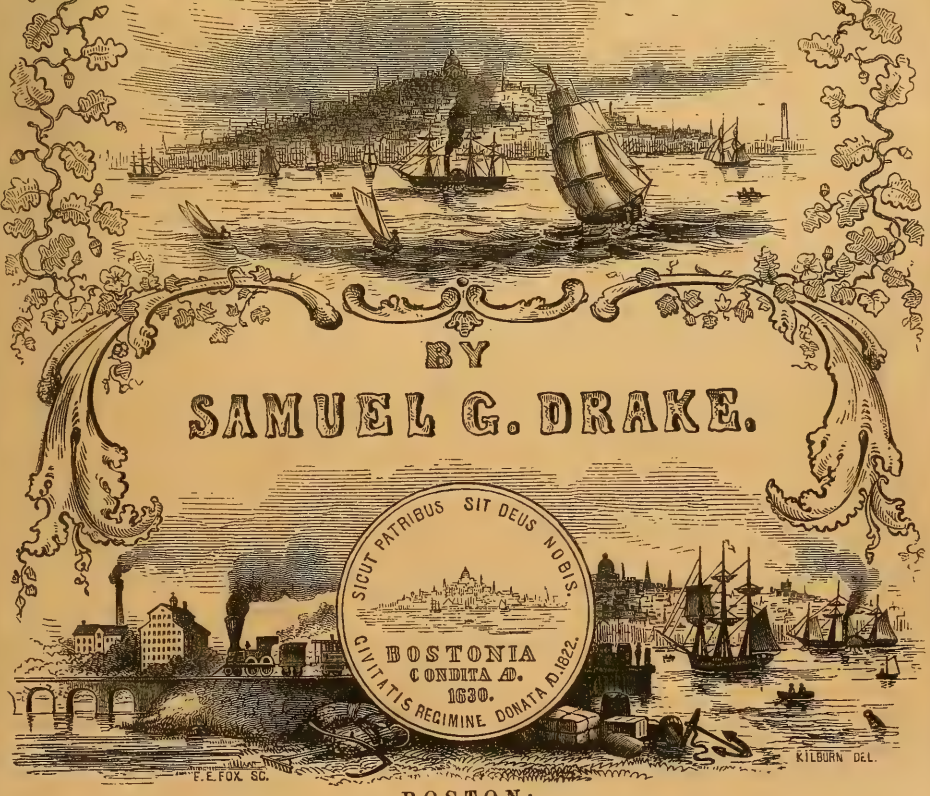
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ERRATA.

Page 234, *l.* 9 *of note*, *r.* Everill.
In note †, *p.* 247, *l.* 8 *of top*, *r.* Lancashire; *l.* 13, *r.* 1644.
Note *, *p.* 20, *l.* 10, *r.* Anderby.

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"The first number is embellished with a splendid engraving of Boston and suburbs, as they now are, together with a representation of all the objects of interest. The second number contains an engraving of John Endicott, first Governor of Massachusetts. The third number contains a panoramic view of the country in the vicinity of Boston, from Bunker Hill Monument.

"The work fills a gap in history, and is much needed. The only work which lays claim to the title of History of Boston, Dr. Snow's, is deficient in many particulars, and rendered still more so by the lapse of time since its publication.

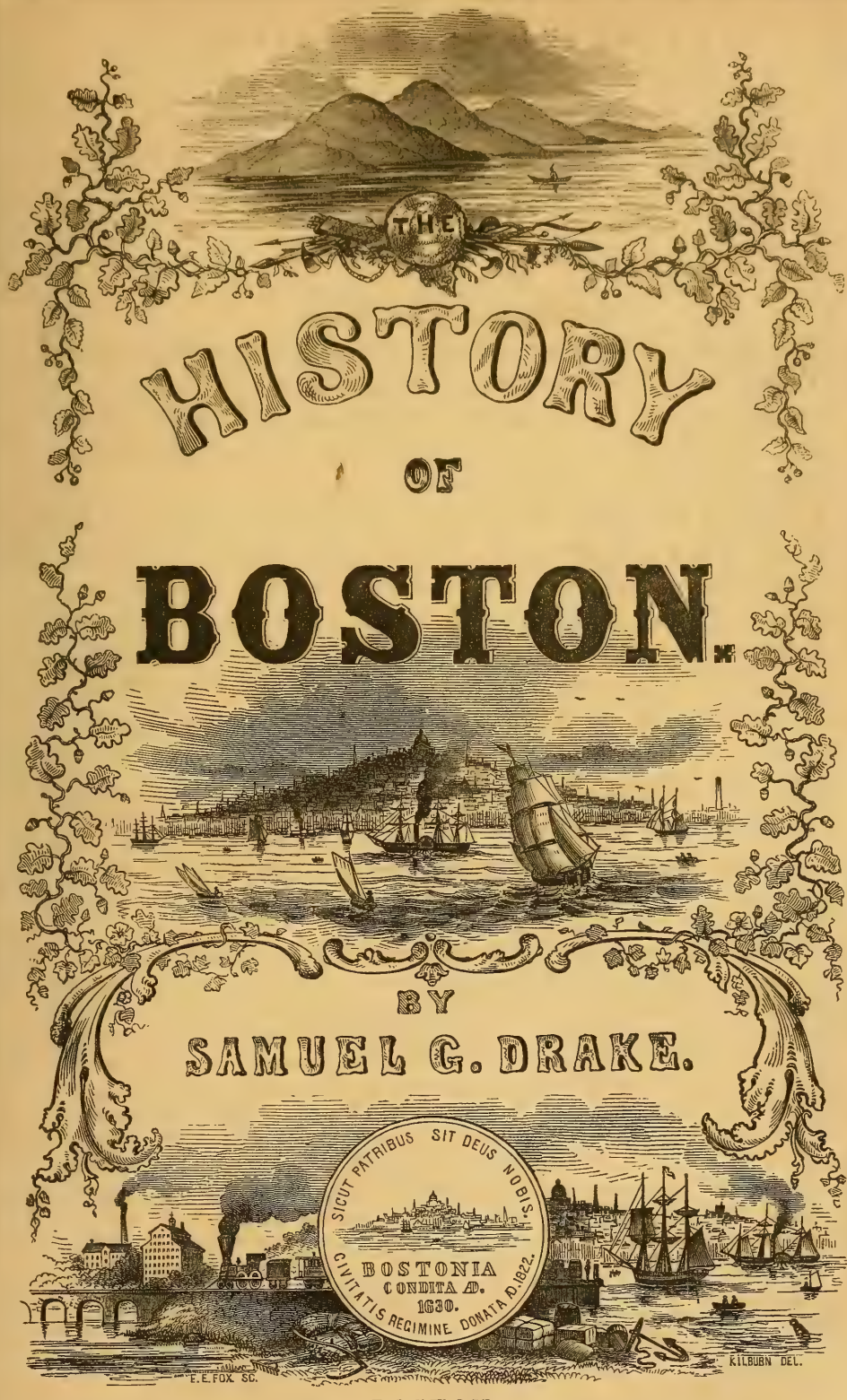
"Mr. Drake, the author, brings to the work a mind well stored with historical material, and an ardent love of, as well as a long experience in, antiquarian and historical pursuits. No better man could have undertaken the work. He is the editor of the New England Genealogical and Antiquarian Register, a work of great merit and value, and is the author of several historical works. The 'History of Boston,' so far as completed, contains many new facts, at least they have never appeared before in any printed work. His extensive research has also enabled Mr. Drake to correct the errors of preceding writers, and to make his work one of the most valuable that has recently been issued from the press." — *Nashua Gazette, April* 7, 1853.

"History of Boston, Part II. By S. G. Drake. This number of the History of Boston comes to us in elegant style, as did the former. It covers a deeply interesting period, the history of which has not before, certainty to our knowledge, been gone into, with such thoroughness of research. The author, we think, must feel a consciousness that he has not only laid open many new facts, but that he has settled many questions, which have heretofore been thought beyond the reach of the strictest scrutiny; the author has set in a clear light the nature of the old Patents and Charters, under which this part of New England was settled; he has with great care gone step by step from the first rise of the enterprise in England, until he has planted our ancestors on this peninsula. That old pioneer Governor, Endicott, who has been erroneously placed as second in settling Massachusetts, here takes his proper place in the van. Concerning the old patentees, Mr. Drake gives us much that will be found new, and though we perceive he has committed some few inaccuracies (though generally unimportant), he has corrected many errors of long standing in this part of our history. We notice beautifully drawn up pedigrees of the families of Saltonstall and Winthrop, which we should think would be viewed with great gratification by all those connected with them.

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ERRATA.

P. 35, 2d ¶, *l.* 11 *of top*, r. December. P. 312, *l.* 9 *of top*, r. Isle of Wight. P. 310, 2d ¶, *l.* 10, *r.* James Astwood? P. 266, *last l.* of contents, *r.* Gorton. P. 315, 1st *l.* 2d ¶, r. easterly.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-three, by SAMUEL G. DRAKE, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

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This number consists of accounts of the discoveries made by the early navigators to these shores, illustrated with portraits of Cabot, Verazzani, Cartier, Gilbert and others. These accounts are drawn from original authorities, and the reader will find here many new facts in relation to these navigators and to our local history.

A history of Boston is much wanted. Mr. Drake has many advantages for executing such a work which others do not possess. His researches in the preparation of his well known and valuable works, have thrown in his way much valuable material; and to these are to be added the copious collections for a new edition of his work left by Dr. Snow. From these sources this laborious, careful, and experienced author will present a publication that will be a most valuable record of Boston. It will be a permanent and substantial work which every citizen of Boston and of Massachusetts ought to possess. We trust this beautiful work will be extensively subscribed for by our citizens.—*Boston Post, Sept. 24*, 1852.

New History of Boston. "History and Antiquities of Boston. By Samuel G. Drake. Boston: Oliver L. Perkins. No. 1: 48 pages, super royal 8vo." On glancing at the first number of this work, which has just been issued, it strikes our mind forcibly—and we think it will so strike the mind of every candid reader—that if the work is continued as it has been begun, it will not only do great credit to the talents, industry, and learning of its author, but will also confer a lasting honor upon the city. The monument to its fame here commenced will be, by no means, inferior to any of its monuments of whatever name or description. The style of the work is elevated, dignified, correct, and in every way worthy of the important subject—the history of this most ancient city of New England.

The propriety of beginning with an account of the early discoveries which led to the settlement of Boston, will not be questioned, by any who desire to see the history of Boston resting on its proper foundation. This foundation is admirably laid in the pages before us; and we freely confess that we have not yet seen, in any other work, so good an abstract of those early discoveries in the American seas. None but the most thorough student in that part of American history could be master of the sound judgment and just discrimination on these matters which are here found. There are new points through all Mr. Drake's pages, —points which will at once strike the mind as new. —*Evening Transcript, 22 Sept.*, 1852.

We have received the first number of this work, and from this specimen, we predict that the whole will make an attractive and useful volume, or volumes. We understand that it is to be extended through sixteen numbers. This number contains a narrative of the early voyages and first settlements, on the coast of New England. The author is well known as an antiquarian, and is eminently adapted to the work he has undertaken.—*Puritan and Recorder, 23 Sept.*, 1852.

This work is to be comprised in sixteen parts, on fine paper, royal octavo, printed in large type, and illustrated with 100 engravings. We have received No. 1; and can speak in decided commendation of its typographical appearance. Those who know Mr. Drake, the author, can testify to his ample qualifications for the satisfactory fulfilment of the task he has undertaken. There seems, therefore, to be no doubt that we are to have the annals of this metropolis faithfully recorded, in a volume worthy of the subject.—*Christian Register, 11 Sept.*, 1852.

The History of Boston. No. I. By Samuel G. Drake. Boston: Oliver L. Perkins.—This is the first number of the new and anxiously expected History of Boston, proposals for which have been some months before the public. Mr. Drake, the compiler, has taken as the basis of his work the history by Dr. Snow; but he will not merely incorporate the latter into his own, but, availing himself of its facts, and a vast accumulation of other materials, will produce a new and original work. To all who are acquainted with Mr. Drake's writings—and not to know them "argues yourself unknown"—it is needless to speak of the accurate, painstaking, and conscientious manner in which his work will be done. For over a quarter of a century, he has devoted his time and talents to antiquarian research, and is better qualified for tasks of this kind than any other man in America. Whatever he does is done thoroughly, and that, too, not mechanically, in the spirit of a hireling, or cold-blooded literary drudge, but with taste, and gusto—*con amore*.

In the present number Mr. Drake has given many new facts about Captain John Smith, whose discoveries in our Bay have never before been set forth with fulness and accuracy: and many other important and striking facts have been fished up from the waters of oblivion. The typographical execution of the History

is superb. The paper is thick and white; the type large and distinct—just suited to old people's reading—and altogether the letter-press is the very luxury of printing. A large and brilliant panoramic View of Boston and Vicinity adorns this number, which is also embellished with many exquisite wood-cuts. The work will be issued from 56 Cornhill, in 16 Parts of 48 pages each, at 25 cents a Part—making, when completed, a splendid volume of nearly 800 pages.

THE HISTORY OF BOSTON. By Samuel G. Drake. Boston: Oliver L. Perkins, 56 Cornhill. Sept., 1852.

We have received the first number of this work which is beautifully printed in octavo form, on large type and fine paper. The illustrations are well executed, and appropriate. The whole work will be comprised in sixteen numbers or parts, and will have about one hundred engravings.

A good history of Boston has become a desideratum. Dr. Snow's work, first published some twenty-five years since, is now entirely out of print. In its day, this obtained a good reputation, and is still valuable for its facts, as far as it goes. It is, however, incomplete, and will not answer the requirements of the present time. Much light has recently been thrown on the early history of our metropolis, and there is now a vast accumulation of materials from which to make an almost perfect history of the ancient town and modern city. We are glad that Mr. Drake has undertaken this enterprise. He is an indefatigable antiquarian, and possesses rare qualifications for his task. For many years his attention has been directed to this object, and he has made large collections for the present use. While Dr. Snow's book will be the basis of this History, it will by no means, be a mere reprint of it with additions, but will retain all that is valuable in that work, and be enriched by laying all accessible resources under contribution. We are sure that Mr. Drake will give the public the results of the most thorough research, and assiduous care, and we find the guaranty of this in his previous publications. The work is published by subscription, we understand, and the price is twenty-five cents a number. It will make an elegant and useful volume.—*Old Colony Memorial.*

HISTORY OF BOSTON, PART II. By S. G. Drake. This number of the History of Boston comes to us in elegant style, as did the former. It covers a deeply interesting period, the history of which has not before, certainly to our knowledge, been gone into, with such thoroughness of research. The author, we think, must feel a consciousness that he has not only laid open many new facts, but that he has settled many questions, which have heretofore been thought beyond the reach of the strictest scrutiny; the author has set in a clear light the nature of the old Patents and Charters, under which this part of New England was settled; he has with great care gone step by step from the first rise of the enterprise in England, until he has planted our ancestors on this peninsula. That old pioneer Governor, Endicott, who has been erroneously placed as second in settling Massachusetts, here takes his proper place in the van. Concerning the old patentees, Mr. Drake gives us much that will be found new, and though we perceive he has committed some few inaccuracies (though generally unimportant,) he has corrected many errors of long standing in this part of our history. We notice beautifully drawn up pedigrees of the families of Saltonstall and Winthrop, which we should think would be viewed with great gratification by all those connected with them.

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In our number for May appeared an extract from a letter from Rev. Mr. Hunter, the distinguished antiquary of London, in which he ascribed to Mr. Drake, in his history of Boston, an error of ten years in the date of the birth of the celebrated Captain John Smith. It seems but justice to Mr. Drake to state, that in this Mr. Hunter was mistaken; and in justice to Mr. Hunter we will add, that he soon discovered the source of his error, which was duly acknowledged,—being misled by an inscription upon a Dutch copy of Smith's Map of New England.—*Christian Examiner, for Sept.*, 1853, p. 310.

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There is one feature, in the work before us, that is especially deserving of commendation. The author has—whenever he has been able to do so without destroying the continuousness of his narrative—permitted those contemporaneous authors, from whom he has derived his facts, to give their information in their own words. Those who have observed how frequently even the substitution of one synonymous word for another changes materially the meaning of an author, will appreciate the scrupulous accuracy here found.

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VALUABLE AND IMPORTANT WORK.—*History of Boston. No. I.*—This is a work that has for a long time been needed; and has now been commenced by one whose reputation as an author is a guaranty that it will be faithfully done Mr. Drake is the author of the "BOOK OF THE INDIANS," and of several other historical works that hold a high rank in the literary world. His prominent traits as a writer are thoroughness and accuracy of research, and his statements always carry with them the highest weight of authority. It is impossible to glance at the pages of this first number without being struck with the thorough manner in which the subject has been investigated.—*Gazette and Chronicle*, 11 *September*, 1852.

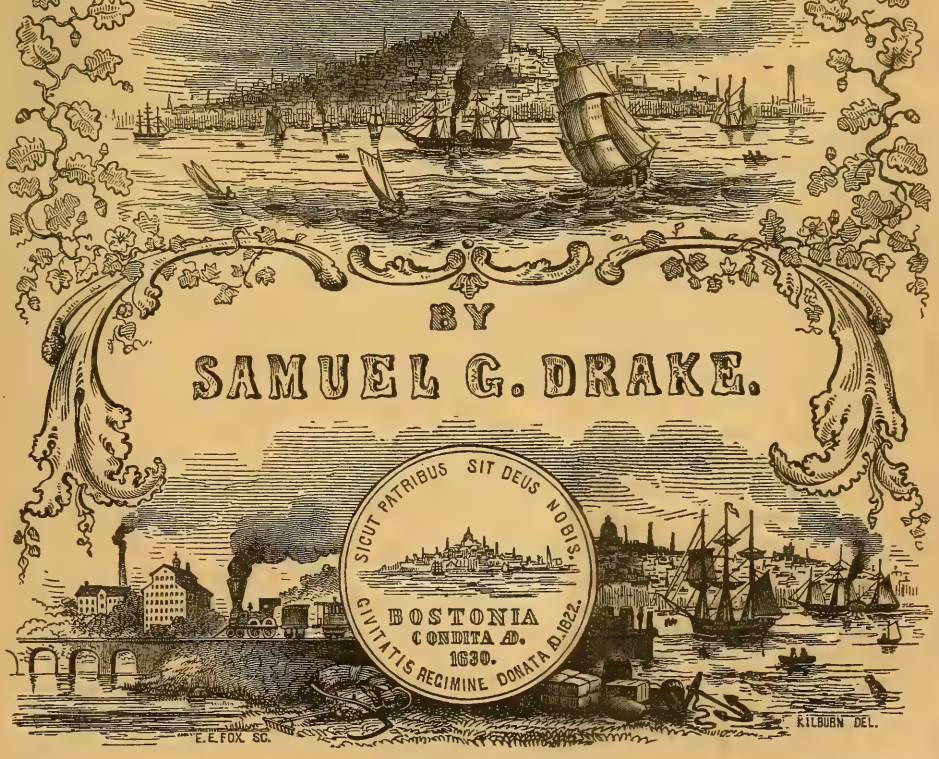
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BOSTON.



BY

SAMUEL G. DRAKE.

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O. L. PERKINS, *Agent.*

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ERRATA.

Page 51, *l.* 2, 2d ¶, *r.* Peter Palfrey. P. 52, *l.* 2, *r.* shone. P. 62, *l.* 3, *of foot*, *r.* socage. P. 63, *l* 12 *of note*, *r.* 1588. P. 90, *l.* 6, *r.* George Alcock. P. 109, *l.* 3, *n.* ‡, *r.* Peirce. P. 140, *l.* 3, *n.*, for 52, *r.* 32. P. 144, *l.* 3, 3d ¶, *r.* scandals. P. 166, *l.* 5, *after* committed, *add*, several murders. P. 171, *l.* 7, *for* first, *r.* second. P. 173, *the date of the Fac Simile of the Records is* 1634. P. 175, *l.* 4 *of* 2*d* ¶, *r.* Symmes. P. 182, *l.* 2 *of foot*, *r.* Henry Waye? *and dele note* §. P. 206, *l.* 15, *r.* Van Twiller. P. 220, *l.* 10, *r.* Anderby. P. 234, *l.* 9 *of note*, *r.* Everill. P. 247, *l.* 8 *of note* †, *r.* Lancashire; *l.* 13, *r.* 1644. P. 266, *last l. of Contents*, *r.* Gorton. P. 292, *l.* 6, 3*d* ¶, *r.* Keayne. P. 310, *l.* 10, 2*d* ¶, *r.* James Astwood. P. 312, *l.* 9, *r.* Isle of Wight. P. 315, *l.* 10, *r.* easterly. P. 355, *n.*, *dele* male *in 3d line, and, after* descendants, *add*, of the name of Russell; *after* and in, *l.* 9, *insert* whose father was. P. 371, *last l. of note*, *r.* 1673.

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OF

BOSTON.



BY

SAMUEL G. DRAKE.



BOSTON:
LUTHER STEVENS, 186 WASHINGTON STREET.
O. L. PERKINS, *Agent.*

DUTTON AND WENTWORTH, PRINTERS. STEREOTYPED BY HOBART AND ROBBINS.

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NOTE.

The readers of these numbers of the History of Boston will find many *new* facts; certainly new in any *printed* work; and that they *are* facts, is left for the future scrutiny of those who wish to indulge in such historical and antiquarian investigations. The Author has necessarily come to conclusions, upon several points, very different from those of his predecessors who have had occasion to notice them; and while he believes his own deductions to be satisfactory, he has certainly not made them for the sake of novelty, or with any satisfaction merely because they differ from others. Nor does he correct the errors of others in any captious spirit, but invites his friends, and all others interested in the History of the City, to communicate to him anything they may have to enable him to carry out the laborious object he has in view; and to call his attention to any errors and omissions they may discover. There is a great advantage in issuing a work of this kind in *numbers*, as it gives those disposed an opportunity to see wherein it should be otherwise, and to lend their aid if they feel sufficient interest in the subject to proffer it.

ERRATA.

Page 51, *l.* 2, 2d ¶, *r.* Peter Palfrey. P. 52, *l.* 2, *r.* shone. P. 62, *l.* 3, *of foot, r.* socage. P. 63, *l* 12 *of note, r.* 1588. P. 90, *l.* 6, *r.* George Alcock. P. 109, *l.* 3, *n.* ‡, *r.* Peirce. P. 140, *l.* 3, *n.*, for 52, *r.* 32. P. 144, *l.* 3, 3d ¶, *r.* scandals. P. 166, *l.* 5, *after* committed, *add,* several murders. P. 171, *l.* 7, *for* first, *r.* second. P. 173, *the date of the Fac Simile of the Records is* 1634. P. 175, *l.* 4 *of* 2*d* ¶, *r.* Symmes. P. 182, *l.* 2 *of foot, r.* Henry Waye? *and dele note* §. P. 206, *l.* 15, *r.* Van Twiller. P. 220, *l.* 10, *r.* Anderby. P. 234, *l.* 9 *of note, r.* Everill. P. 247, *l.* 8 *of note* †, *r.* Lancashire; *l.* 13, *r.* 1644. P. 266, *last l. of Contents, r.* Gorton. P. 292, *l.* 6, 3*d* ¶, *r.* Keayne. P. 310, *l.* 10, 2*d* ¶, *r.* James Astwood. P. 312, *l.* 9, *r.* Isle of Wight. P. 315, *l.* 10, *r.* easterly. P. 355, *n., dele* male *in 3d line, and, after* descendants, *add,* of the name of Russell; *after* and in, *l.* 9, *insert* whose father was. P. 371, *last l. of note, r.* 1673.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-three, by SAMUEL G. DRAKE, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

For many years Mr. Drake has entertained the project of writing a history of Boston. He has, with this view, collected a great amount of materials, in books, pamphlets and manuscripts, of the latter of which some go back to a very early period in the history of the colony. The investigations which Mr. Drake has had occasion to make in the preparation of the works already published by him, have added directly or indirectly to the knowledge requisite for an historian of Boston. No one who is acquainted with the character of Mr. Drake's mind, or who has read the works already published by him, will doubt that he is well qualified for the enterprise which he has undertaken.

The public may be assured that Mr. Drake's History of Boston will be a work of permanent and substantial value, which every literary man ought to buy for its own sake, and every citizen of Boston, for the sake of its subject. Mr. Drake will find matter both for grave history and amusing gossip in the annals of the two hundred and thirty years which have ripened the matronly beauty of our city. His great difficulty will be in the abundance of his materials and the consequent temptation to make an overgrown book. It may not be irrelevant to say that by subscribing to the work, some material aid will be extended to a modest and laborious scholar, who has somewhat neglected his own fortunes in looking up the pedigrees of his neighbors.—*Boston Daily Courier, 23d June*, 1852. G. S. H.

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BY OLIVER L. PERKINS,

FOR PUBLISHING BY SUBSCRIPTION

The History and Antiquities of Boston:

BY SAMUEL G. DRAKE.

CONDITIONS.

The Work will be illustrated with *Several Hundred Engravings* of Persons and Objects of the greatest interest.

An extensive list of the earliest Inhabitants of Boston will be appended to the work, accompanied by such Genealogical and Biographical facts as the space allotted will allow.

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ERRATA.

Page 15, *l.* 5, *n.* †, *for* so, *r.* to. P. 37, *erase the 22d line.* P. 106, *n.* *, *r.* 1697. P. 119, *n.* *, *r.* Scottow. P. 273, *n.* †, Eaton *and* Hopkins *should change places.* P. 400, *n.*, *l.* 6, *for* grandson, *r.* nephew. P. 407, *n.*, *erase all after* Boston, *and add,* at Neponset village. P. 433, *n.*, *l.* 18, *erase from* stood *to end of sentence, and add,* on what is now Stillman Street. P. 462, *n.*, *l.* 2, *for* Thomas, *r.* John; *l.* 4, *for* John, *r.* Thomas; *for* He, *r.* John. P. 472, l. 6, *r.* Shepcott.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-three, by SAMUEL G. DRAKE, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

The History of Boston. By Sam'l G. Drake. No. X. Boston: Luther Stevens.

This work, in its progress through the press, has received many commendations, and those too from persons whose judgment in matters of this kind is reliable. The writer of the present notice has had occasion lately to make researches into the early history of New England, and he has not only *read* Mr. Drake's work, but he has *studied* it. He states but the simple truth when he says, that he has been indebted to it both for important facts and also for valuable hints. Although it is the "History of Boston," yet the author has occasion to notice occurrences which took place in the Northern States, and he throws much light on the men and events of bygone days. *Fairness* is a marked quality of the book under notice. It is also marked by *thoroughness* and *completeness*. There is no slighting either in the literary or mechanical part of the work. It is printed on good paper, with clear type, and is profusely illustrated with engravings executed expressly for this work.

While it has a peculiar interest for natives of Boston, wherever they may now reside, it is in an eminent degree worthy the patronage of all intelligent persons. In these days, when books of a transient interest are advertised as having passed through the "tenth" or "fifteenth thousand," it will be a disgrace to the land of free schools and of boasted intelligence, if this work of Mr. Drake, of real and permanent value, does not meet with a ready and extensive sale. To those who are about purchasing a collection of works for the winter reading of themselves and families, we would say, that they will deprive themselves of valuable and interesting information if they do not obtain the work under notice. W. S. B.

Chelsea, Sept 20th, 1854.

For many years Mr. Drake has entertained the project of writing a history of Boston. He has, with this view, collected a great amount of materials, in books, pamphlets and manuscripts, of the latter of which some go back to a very early period in the history of the colony. The investigations which Mr. Drake has had occasion to make in the preparation of the works already published by him, have added directly or indirectly to the knowledge requisite for an historian of Boston. No one who is acquainted with the character of Mr. Drake's mind, or who has read the works already published by him, will doubt that he is well qualified for the enterprise which he has undertaken.

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The public will probably be gratified to learn that a History of Boston is in course of preparation, and will soon be published. Such a work, we are informed, has been undertaken by Samuel G. Drake, Esq., the well known author of several valuable works in this department of literature. The manuscripts left by Dr. Snow, containing copious collections for a new edition of his history, have been secured, and will be incorporated into the present work. The high qualifications of Mr. Drake for writing a history of our city, will be acknowledged by all. There is probably no single individual in the community, who knows so well the wants or the various classes of readers of historical works; and there are few who are so well able to supply those wants. He has, for full a quarter of a century, been a laborious student of his country's history. For several years he has been the editor of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register,—a quarterly periodical published in this city, of whose character it would be superfluous here to speak. His contributions to the pages of this work have been marked by a thoroughness of research, which, if carried into his present undertaking, —and we have no doubt it will be,—will render his History of Boston a principal authority for future historians.—*Daily Advertiser, June 19th*, 1852.

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This number consists of accounts of the discoveries made by the early navigators to these shores, illustrated with portraits of Cabot, Verazzani, Cartier, Gilbert and others. These accounts are drawn from original authorities, and the reader will find here many new facts in relation to these navigators and to our local history.

A history of Boston is much wanted. Mr. Drake has many advantages for executing such a work which others do not possess. His researches in the preparation of his well known and valuable works, have thrown in his way much valuable material; and to these are to be added the copious collections for a new edition of his work left by Dr. Snow. From these sources this laborious, careful, and experienced author will present a publication that will be a most valuable record of Boston. It will be a permanent and substantial work which every citizen of Boston and of Massachusetts ought to possess. We trust this beautiful work will be extensively subscribed for by our citizens.—*Boston Post, Sept. 24*, 1852.

New History of Boston. "History and Antiquities of Boston. By Samuel G. Drake. Boston: Oliver L. Perkins. No. 1: 48 pages, super royal 8vo." On glancing at the first number of this work, which has just been issued, it strikes our mind forcibly—and we think it will so strike the mind of every candid reader—that if the work is continued as it has been begun, it will not only do great credit to the talents, industry, and learning of its author, but will also confer a lasting honor upon the city. The monument to its fame here commenced will be, by no means, inferior to any of its monuments of whatever name or description. The style of the work is elevated, dignified, correct, and in every way worthy of the important subject—the history of this most ancient city of New England.

The propriety of beginning with an account of the early discoveries which led to the settlement of Boston, will not be questioned, by any who desire to see the history of Boston resting on its proper foundation. This foundation is admirably laid in the pages before us; and we freely confess that we have not yet seen, in any other work, so good an abstract of those early discoveries in the American seas. None but the most thorough student in that part of American history could be master of the sound judgment and just discrimination on these matters which are here found. There are new points through all Mr. Drake's pages, —points which will at once strike the mind as new. —*Evening Transcript, 22 Sept.*, 1852.

We have received the first number of this work, and from this specimen, we predict that the whole will make an attractive and useful volume, or volumes. We understand that it is to be extended through sixteen numbers. This number contains a narrative of the early voyages and first settlements, on the coast of New England. The author is well known as an antiquarian, and is eminently adapted to the work he has undertaken.—*Puritan and Recorder, 23 Sept.*, 1852.

This work is to be comprised in sixteen parts, on fine paper, royal octavo, printed in large type, and

Illustrated with 100 engravings. We have received No. I; and can speak in decided commendation of its typographical appearance. Those who know Mr. Drake, the author, can testify to his ample qualifications for the satisfactory fulfilment of the task he has undertaken. There seems, therefore, to be no doubt that we are to have the annals of this metropolis faithfully recorded, in a volume worthy of the subject.—*Christian Register*, 11 *Sept.*, 1852.

The History of Boston. No. I. By Samuel G. Drake. Boston: Oliver L. Perkins.—This is the first number of the new and anxiously expected History of Boston, proposals for which have been some months before the public. Mr. Drake, the compiler, has taken as the basis of his work the history by Dr. Snow; but he will not merely incorporate the latter into his own, but, availing himself of its facts, and a vast accumulation of other materials, will produce a new and original work. To all who are acquainted with Mr. Drake's writings—and not to know them "argues yourself unknown"—it is needless to speak of the accurate, painstaking, and conscientious manner in which his work will be done. For over a quarter of a century, he has devoted his time and talents to antiquarian research, and is better qualified for tasks of this kind than any other man in America. Whatever he does is done thoroughly, and that, too, not mechanically, in the spirit of a hireling, or cold-blooded literary drudge, but with taste, and gusto—*con amore*.

In the present number Mr. Drake has given many new facts about Captain John Smith, whose discoveries in our Bay have never before been set forth with fulness and accuracy; and many other important and striking facts have been fished up from the waters of oblivion. The typographical execution of the History is superb. The paper is thick and white; the type large and distinct—just suited to old people's reading—and altogether the letter-press is the very luxury of printing. A large and brilliant panoramic View of Boston and Vicinity adorns this number, which is also embellished with many exquisite wood-cuts. The work will be issued from 56 Cornhill, in 16 Parts of 48 pages each, at 25 cents a Part—making, when completed, a splendid volume of nearly 800 pages.—*Yankee Blade*.

The History of Boston. By Samuel G. Drake. Boston: Oliver L. Perkins, 56 Cornhill. Sept., 1852.

We have received the first number of this work which is beautifully printed in octavo form, on large type and fine paper. The illustrations are well executed, and appropriate. The whole work will be comprised in sixteen numbers or parts, and will have about one hundred engravings.

A good history of Boston has become a desideratum. Dr. Snow's work, first published some twenty-five years since, is now entirely out of print. In its day, this obtained a good reputation, and is still valuable for its facts, as far as it goes. It is, however, incomplete, and will not answer the requirements of the present time. Much light has recently been thrown on the early history of our metropolis, and there is now a vast accumulation of materials from which to make an almost perfect history of the ancient town and modern city. We are glad that Mr. Drake has undertaken this enterprise. He is an indefatigable antiquarian, and possesses rare qualifications for his task. For many years his attention has been directed to this object, and he has made large collections for the present use. We are sure that Mr. Drake will give the public the results of the most thorough research, and assiduous care, and we find the guaranty of this in his previous publications. The work is published by subscription, we understand, and the price is twenty-five cents a number. It will make an elegant and useful volume.—*Old Colony Memorial*.

The History of Boston, Part II. By S. G. Drake. We are rejoiced that the labor of preparing a history of the metropolis of New England has been undertaken by a gentleman who is better qualified for it than any other man living. Mr. Drake is a distinguished antiquarian, and a "diligent preserver of antiquities." His researches in New England history have made him familiar with every fact that can illustrate his present works. And he has entered upon the subject in a right spirit. We may expect from his pen, what has been so long needed, a full and accurate history of Boston.—There is no place on this continent so rich in curious reminiscences and legendary history as Boston. The book must be successful in Mr. Drake's experienced hands, and we trust that he may reap as much pecuniary profit from it, as we are sure he will gain in fame.—*Bee, Jan.* 25, 1853.

The History of Boston. By Samuel G. Drake. No. III. Boston: Oliver L. Perkins. The attraction of Mr. Drake's history increases as the work progresses,—the present number being the most interesting one yet issued. The period of time to which this number is devoted—comprising, as it does, the infancy of our city's history—has, of itself, an unusual interest for us. Hence there is great propriety in the minuteness of detail to be found in Mr. Drake's pages. The narrative commences with the settlement of Shawmut in 1630, and carries us forward to near the close of 1632. This was, of course, the most critical period in the existence of the settlement; a season of doubt, and privation, and suffering, less endurable to the settlers from the high expectations that had been raised in them by the flattering accounts they had received from these regions previous to their emigration. Mr. Drake has given a vivid picture of their situation at this time, and has done justice to their fortitude and perseverance.

There is one feature, in the work before us, that is especially deserving of commendation. The author has—whenever he has been able to do so without destroying the continuousness of his narrative—permitted those contemporaneous authors, from whom he has derived his facts, to give their information in their own words. Those who have observed how frequently even the substitution of one synonymous word for another changes materially the meaning of an author, will appreciate the scrupulous accuracy here found.

We have marked several extracts in this number which we shall copy at some future time. The account given on pages 141 to 143, of the Earliest Meeting Houses in Boston, is quite interesting.

The mechanical execution of this number is, like its predecessors, deserving of great praise. Among the embellishments are a large panoramic view of the vicinity of Boston, a portrait of Sir Henry Vane, fifth Governor of Massachusetts Colony, and a view of the church at Boston, England, in which John Cotton preached. We observe also that the initial letters of the last three chapters of this number are ornamented with the coats of arms of Governors Endicott, Winthrop, and Dudley; and presume that it is intended to give the arms of the succeeding governors, in the chapters which follow. From the specimens already published, we have no doubt that—if the public will do their part, by subscribing liberally for the work, so that the publisher may be able carry out fully Mr. Drake's designs—the present History of Boston will be one of which our city may justly be proud.—*Boston Transcript*, 12 *April*, 1853.

Valuable and Important Work.—*History of Boston. No. I.*—This is a work that has for a long time been needed; and has now been commenced by one whose reputation as an author is a guaranty that it will be faithfully done. Mr. Drake is the author of the "Book of the Indians," and of several other historical works that hold a high rank in the literary world. His prominent traits as a writer are thoroughness and accuracy of research, and his statements always carry with them the highest weight of authority. It is impossible to glance at the pages of this first number without being struck with the thorough manner in which the subject has been investigated.—*Gazette and Chronicle*, 11 *September*, 1852.

Mr. Drake has published No. VIII. of his "History and Antiquities of Boston," the plan and excellencies of which we have before noticed. As the work advances, we have increasing evidence of the thorough and pains-taking researches which are bestowed upon its contents. The thread of the story is now brought down to the year 1669. Very elaborate notes, embracing all sorts of antiquarian matters, heraldic devices, rich steel engravings, and tasteful wood cuts, make each page valuable and attractive. The spirit with which the plan has thus far been pursued should prompt a generous support of the undertaking, the nature of which is such as to justify a claim for patronage to be extended to it as it progresses, instead of being deferred till its completion.—*Christian Examiner for May*, 1854.

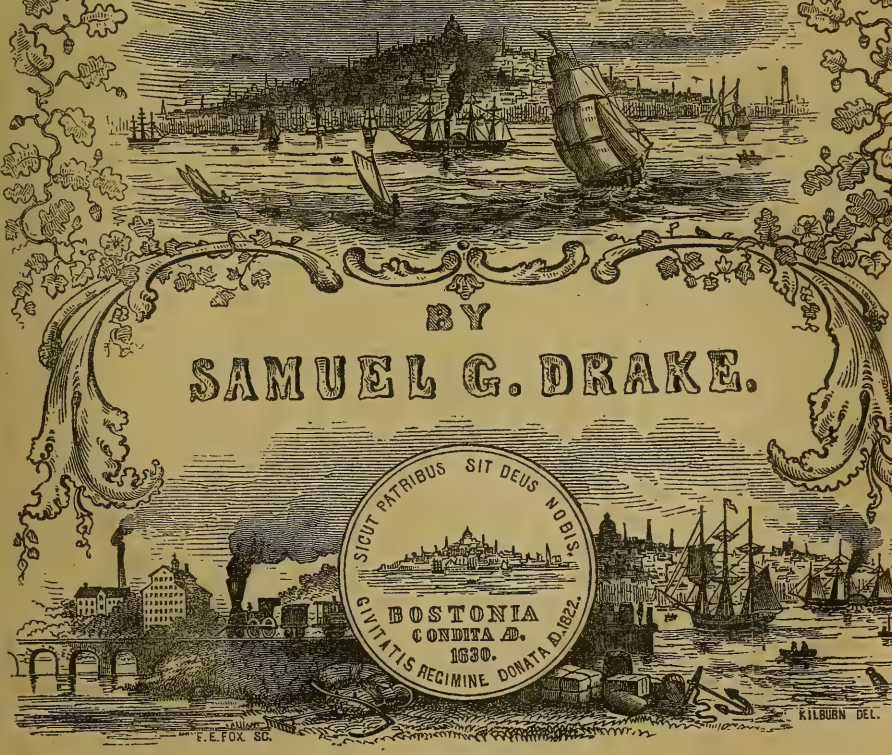
No. XII. 25 CENTS.

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HISTORY

OF

BOSTON.



BY

SAMUEL G. DRAKE.

BOSTON:
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ERRATA.

Page 14, *l.* 17, *r.* 25th. P. 120, *l.* 17, *r.* portended. P. 132, *l.* 16 *of foot, r.* as. P. 142, *l.* 10, *r.* it." P. 203, *l.* 13, *for* twenty, *r.* about two. P. 235, *l.* 16 *of foot of last note, r.* Martha Bushnall. P. 330, *invert 2d engraving.* P. 347, *in note* ‡, *l.* 2, *after* Denison, *add,* but he must not be so understood; the fraternity was between Denison and Bradstreet. P. 351, *l.* 15 *of n.* *, *2d col., r.* Dermon Mahoone. P. 456, *last l. of n., r.* Sewall's. P. 497, *l.* 1, *r.* Phillip English.

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NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

History and Antiquities of Boston,—No. 11. By Samuel G. Drake. Royal 8vo. In this No. the history is brought down to 1704—a marked period in the History of Boston, for that was the year the first newspaper ever issued in America appeared.—The events of fifteen years are recorded in these forty-eight pages; events, many of which are entirely new to us, and will doubtless be so to a great majority of readers. It was originally proposed, we believe, to comprise the work in about 768 pages; 528 pages are now finished. How the author can crowd the facts which remain into the pages prescribed, he best knows. At all events we hope he will not feel under the necessity of abridging the work, for if carried through as it is thus far done, its value to all classes of people will be incalculable. The author discovers a wonderful acquaintance with his subject; so much so, that the reader is insensibly led to consider that he lived through all the space of which he writes—was acquainted with the numerous people he has had occasion to mention—noted the arrival and departure of eminent personages—saw the celebrations of important events and noted who were present—saw the oppressor Andros taken by the collar and hurried off to prison—notes a man building his house too far into the street—not only tells you when a new Governor arrived in town, but tells you *who* he was and where he lived—when paper money was first issued, and why—the capture of pirates—names of all those executed for witchcraft—when a law was made requiring buildings to be built of brick or stone—that the Quakers built the first brick meeting-house, and where—when the town chose Assessors, and when they wouldn't have any—saw Governor Phipps cane another official in the street, and gives you a copy of the inscription on Sir William's tomb—who may get married and how—schools and school-houses—how the French threatened to come and take Boston—what Edward Ward says of the town, and what Pope says of *him*—and a thousand other things which we cannot refer to at this time.

The number is accompanied by a beautiful steel plate portrait of Lieutenant Governor Stoughton.—*Transcript.*

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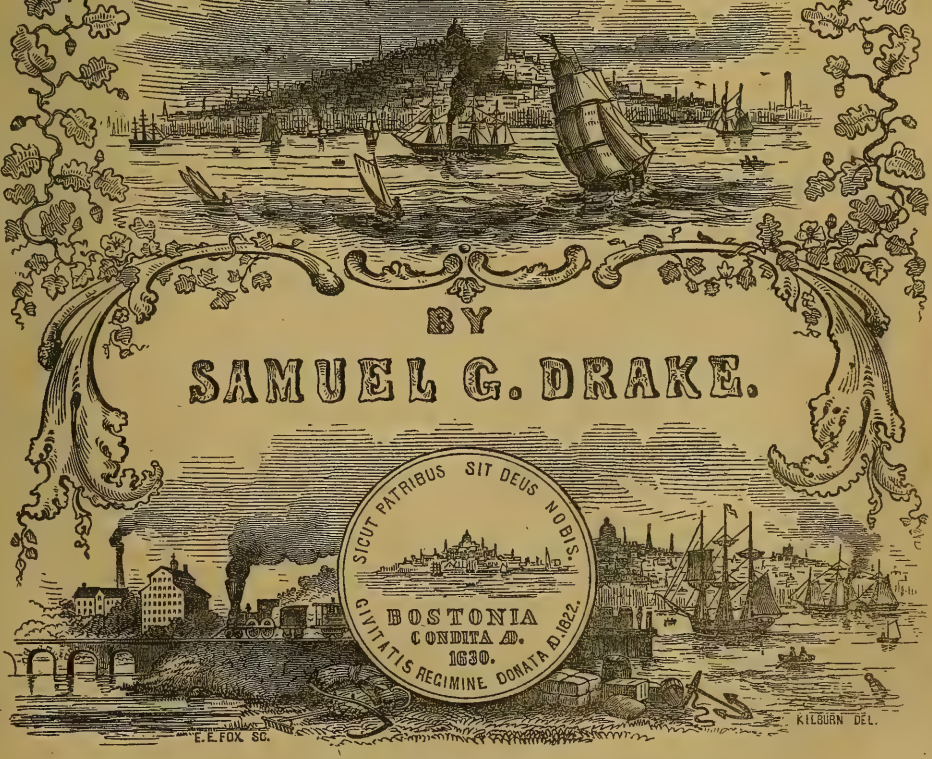
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OF

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Page 56, *l.* 18, *for* children, *r.* family. P. 187, *n.* †, *r.* Granger. P. 292, 1*st l. of Contents, for* Dudley, *r.* Winthrop. P. 320, 3*d* ¶, *transpose* Endicott & Dudley. P. 411, *n.* †, *last l., dele* the. P. 548, *n.* *, *after* 3*d* ¶, *insert,* John Norton, ord. 23 July, 1656, d. 5 April, 1663, æ. 57; 9*th* ¶, *same n., r.* 12th March. P. 182, *date at top, for* 1634, *r.* 1635. P. 556, &c., *r.* Christ Church.

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The public may be assured that Mr. Drake's History of Boston will be a work of permanent and substantial value, which every literary man ought to buy for its own sake, and every citizen of Boston, for the sake of its subject. Mr. Drake will find matter both for grave history and amusing gossip in the annals of the two hundred and thirty years which have ripened the matronly beauty of our city. His great difficulty will be in the abundance of his materials and the consequent temptation to make an overgrown book. It may not be irrelevant to say that by subscribing to the work, some material aid will be extended to a modest and laborious scholar, who has somewhat neglected his own fortunes in looking up the pedigrees of his neighbors.—*Boston Daily Courier, 23d June*, 1852. G. S. H.

The public will probably be gratified to learn that a History of Boston is in course of preparation, and will soon be published. Such a work, we are informed, has been undertaken by Samuel G. Drake, Esq., the well known author of several valuable works in this department of literature. The manuscripts left by Dr. Snow, containing copious collections for a new edition of his history, have been secured, and will be incorporated into the present work. The high qualifications of Mr. Drake for writing a history of our city, will be acknowledged by all. There is probably no single individual in the community, who knows so well the wants or the various classes of readers of historical works; and there are few who are so well able to supply those wants. He has, for full a quarter of a century, been a laborious student of his country's history. For several years he has been the editor of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register,—a quarterly periodical published in this city, of whose character it would be superfluous here to speak. His contributions to the pages of this work have been marked by a thoroughness of research, which, if carried into his present undertaking,—and we have no doubt it will be,—will render his History of Boston a principal authority for future historians.—*Daily Advertiser, June 19th*, 1852.

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This is the first number of the History of Boston, on the basis of Dr. Snow's, which is in course of preparation by Samuel G. Drake, Esq. It is beautifully printed in royal octavo, with finely executed illustrations after the manner of Lossing's elegant work, and has an engraving representing Boston and the surrounding country as seen from the Bunker Hill Monument. It will be illustrated with at least one hundred engravings. The work will consist of about sixteen numbers or parts.

This number consists of accounts of the discoveries made by the early navigators to these shores, illustrated with portraits of Cabot, Verazzani, Cartier, Gilbert and others. These accounts are drawn from

original authorities, and the reader will find here many new facts in relation to these navigators and to our local history.

A history of Boston is much wanted. Mr. Drake has many advantages for executing such a work which others do not possess. His researches in the preparation of his well known and valuable works, have thrown in his way much valuable material; and to these are to be added the copious collections for a new edition of his work left by Dr. Snow. From these sources this laborious, careful, and experienced author will present a publication that will be a most valuable record of Boston. It will be a permanent and substantial work which every citizen of Boston and of Massachusetts ought to possess. We trust this beautiful work will be extensively subscribed for by our citizens.—*Boston Post, Sept.* 24, 1852.

New History of Boston. "History and Antiquities of Boston. By Samuel G. Drake. Boston: Oliver L. Perkins. No. 1: 48 pages, super royal 8vo." On glancing at the first number of this work, which has just been issued, it strikes our mind forcibly—and we think it will so strike the mind of every candid reader—that if the work is continued as it has been begun, it will not only do great credit to the talents, industry, and learning of its author, but will also confer a lasting honor upon the city. The monument to its fame here commenced will be, by no means, inferior to any of its monuments of whatever name or description. The style of the work is elevated, dignified, correct, and in every way worthy of the important subject—the history of this most ancient city of New England.

The propriety of beginning with an account of the early discoveries which led to the settlement of Boston, will not be questioned, by any who desire to see the history of Boston resting on its proper foundation. This foundation is admirably laid in the pages before us; and we freely confess that we have not yet seen, in any other work, so good an abstract of those early discoveries in the American seas. None but the most thorough student in that part of American history could be master of the sound judgment and just discrimination on these matters which are here found. There are new points through all Mr. Drake's pages, —points which will at once strike the mind as new. —*Evening Transcript*, 22 *Sept.*, 1852.

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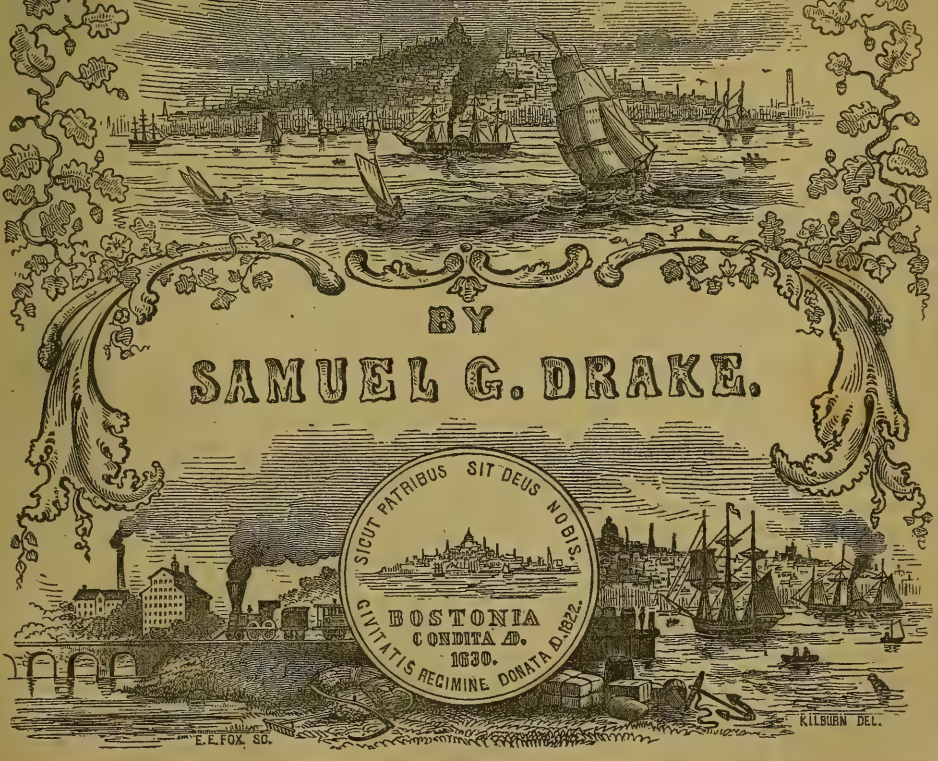
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Chelsea, Sept 20th, 1854.

For many years Mr. Drake has entertained the project of writing a history of Boston. He has, with this view, collected a great amount of materials, in books, pamphlets and manuscripts, of the latter of which some go back to a very early period in the history of the colony. The investigations which Mr. Drake has had occasion to make in the preparation of the works already published by him, have added directly or indirectly to the knowledge requisite for an historian of Boston. No one who is acquainted with the character of Mr. Drake's mind, or who has read the works already published by him, will doubt that he is well qualified for the enterprise which he has undertaken.

The public may be assured that Mr. Drake's History of Boston will be a work of permanent and substantial value, which every literary man ought to buy for its own sake, and every citizen of Boston, for the sake of its subject. Mr. Drake will find matter both for grave history and amusing gossip in the annals of the two hundred and thirty years which have ripened the matronly beauty of our city. His great difficulty will be in the abundance of his materials and the consequent temptation to make an overgrown book. It may not be irrelevant to say that by subscribing to the work, some material aid will be extended to a modest and laborious scholar, who has somewhat neglected his own fortunes in looking up the pedigrees of his neighbors.—*Boston Daily Courier, 23d June,* 1852. G. S. H.

The public will probably be gratified to learn that a History of Boston is in course of preparation, and will soon be published. Such a work, we are informed, has been undertaken by Samuel G. Drake, Esq., the well known author of several valuable works in this department of literature. The manuscripts left by Dr. Snow, containing copious collections for a new edition of his history, have been secured, and will be incorporated into the present work. The high qualifications of Mr. Drake for writing a history of our city, will be acknowledged by all. There is probably no single individual in the community, who knows so well the wants or the various classes of readers of historical works; and there are few who are so well able to supply those wants. He has, for full a quarter of a century, been a laborious student of his country's history. For several years he has been the editor of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register,—a quarterly periodical published in this city, of whose character it would be superfluous here to speak. His contributions to the pages of this work have been marked by a thoroughness of research, which, if carried into his present undertaking,—and we have no doubt it will be,—will render his History of Boston a principal authority for future historians.—*Daily Advertiser, June 19th,* 1852.

The History of Boston. By Samuel G. Drake. Boston: Oliver L. Perkins, 56 Cornhill. No. 1.

This is the first number of the History of Boston, on the basis of Dr. Snow's, which is in course of preparation by Samuel G. Drake, Esq. It is beautifully printed in royal octavo, with finely executed illustrations after the manner of Lossing's elegant work, and has an engraving representing Boston and the surrounding country as seen from the Bunker Hill Monument. It will be illustrated with at least one hundred engravings. The work will consist of about sixteen numbers or parts.

This number consists of accounts of the discoveries made by the early navigators to these shores, illustrated with portraits of Cabot, Verazzani, Cartier, Gilbert and others. These accounts are drawn from

original authorities, and the reader will find here many new facts in relation to these navigators and to our local history.

A history of Boston is much wanted. Mr. Drake has many advantages for executing such a work which others do not possess. His researches in the preparation of his well known and valuable works, have thrown in his way much valuable material; and to these are to be added the copious collections for a new edition of his work left by Dr. Snow. From these sources this laborious, careful, and experienced author will present a publication that will be a most valuable record of Boston. It will be a permanent and substantial work which every citizen of Boston and of Massachusetts ought to possess. We trust this beautiful work will be extensively subscribed for by our citizens.—*Boston Post, Sept. 24,* 1852.

New History of Boston. "History and Antiquities of Boston. By Samuel G. Drake. Boston: Oliver L. Perkins. No. 1: 48 pages, super royal 8vo." On glancing at the first number of this work, which has just been issued, it strikes our mind forcibly—and we think it will so strike the mind of every candid reader—that if the work is continued as it has been begun, it will not only do great credit to the talents, industry, and learning of its author, but will also confer a lasting honor upon the city. The monument to its fame here commenced will be, by no means, inferior to any of its monuments of whatever name or description. The style of the work is elevated, dignified, correct, and in every way worthy of the important subject—the history of this most ancient city of New England.

The propriety of beginning with an account of the early discoveries which led to the settlement of Boston, will not be questioned, by any who desire to see the history of Boston resting on its proper foundation. This foundation is admirably laid in the pages before us; and we freely confess that we have not yet seen, in any other work, so good an abstract of those early discoveries in the American seas. None but the most thorough student in that part of American history could be master of the sound judgment and just discrimination on these matters which are here found. There are new points through all Mr. Drake's pages, —points which will at once strike the mind as new. —*Evening Transcript,* 22 *Sept.,* 1852.

This work is to be comprised in sixteen parts, on fine paper, royal octavo, printed in large type, and illustrated with 100 engravings. We have received No. 1; and can speak in decided commendation of its typographical appearance. Those who know Mr. Drake, the author, can testify to his ample qualifications for the satisfactory fulfilment of the task he has undertaken. There seems, therefore, to be no doubt that we are to have the annals of this metropolis faithfully recorded, in a volume worthy of the subject.—*Christian Register,* 11 *Sept.,* 1852.

The History of Boston. No. I. By Samuel G. Drake. Boston: Oliver L. Perkins.—This is the first number of the new and anxiously expected History of Boston, proposals for which have been some months before the public. Mr. Drake, the compiler, has taken as the basis of his work the history by Dr. Snow; but he will not merely incorporate the latter into his own, but, availing himself of its facts, and a vast accumulation of other materials, will produce a new and original work. To all who are acquainted with Mr. Drake's writings—and not to know them "argues yourself unknown"—it is needless to speak of the accurate, painstaking, and conscientious manner in which his work will be done. For over a quarter of a century, he has devoted his time and talents to antiquarian research, and is better qualified for tasks of this kind than any other man in America. Whatever he does is done thoroughly, and that, too, not mechanically, in the spirit of a hireling, or cold-blooded literary drudge, but with taste, and gusto—*con amore.*

In the present number Mr. Drake has given many new facts about Captain John Smith, whose discoveries in our Bay have never before been set forth with fulness and accuracy: and many other important and striking facts have been fished up from the waters of oblivion. The typographical execution of the History is superb. The paper is thick and white; the type large and distinct—just suited to old people's reading—and altogether the letter-press is the very luxury of printing. A large and brilliant panoramic View of Boston and Vicinity adorns this number, which is also embellished with many exquisite wood-cuts. The work will be issued from 56 Cornhill, in 16 Parts of 48 pages each, at 25 cents a Part—making, when completed, a splendid volume of nearly 800 pages.—*Yankee Blade.*

The History of Boston. By Samuel G. Drake. Boston: Oliver L. Perkins, 56 Cornhill. Sept., 1852.

We have received the first number of this work which is beautifully printed in octavo form, on large type and fine paper. The illustrations are well executed, and appropriate. The whole work will be comprised in sixteen numbers or parts, and will have about one hundred engravings.

A good history of Boston has become a desideratum. Dr. Snow's work, first published some twenty-five years since, is now entirely out of print. In its day, this obtained a good reputation, and is still valuable for its facts, as far as it goes. It is, however, incomplete, and will not answer the requirements of the present time. Much light has recently been thrown on the early history of our metropolis, and there is now a vast accumulation of materials from which to make an almost perfect history of the ancient town and modern city. We are glad that Mr. Drake has undertaken this enterprise. He is an indefatigable antiquarian, and possesses rare qualifications for his task. For many years his attention has been directed to this object, and he has made large collections for the present use. We are sure that Mr. Drake will give the public the results of the most thorough research, and assiduous care, and we find the guaranty of this in his previous publications. The work is published by subscription, we understand, and the price is twenty-five cents a number. It will make an elegant and useful volume.—*Old Colony Memorial.*

The History of Boston, Part II. By S. G. Drake. We are rejoiced that the labor of preparing a history of the metropolis of New England has been undertaken by a gentleman who is better qualified for it than any other man living. Mr. Drake is a distinguished antiquarian, and a "diligent preserver of antiquities." His researches in New England history have made him familiar with every fact that can illustrate his present works. And he has entered upon the subject in a right spirit. We may expect from his pen, what has been so long needed, a full and accurate history of Boston.—There is no place on this continent so rich in curious reminiscences and legendary history as Boston. The book must be successful in Mr. Drake's experienced hands, and we trust that he may reap as much pecuniary profit from it, as we are sure he will gain in fame.—*Bee, Jan.* 25, 1853.

Valuable and Important Work.—*History of Boston. No. I.*—This is a work that has for a long time been needed; and has now been commenced by one whose reputation as an author is a guaranty that it will be faithfully done. Mr. Drake is the author of the "Book of the Indians," and of several other historical works that hold a high rank in the literary world. His prominent traits as a writer are thoroughness and accuracy of research, and his statements always carry with them the highest weight of authority. It is impossible to glance at the pages of this first number without being struck with the thorough manner in which the subject has been investigated.—*Gazette and Chronicle,* 11 *September,* 1852.

Mr. Drake has published No. VIII. of his "History and Antiquities of Boston," the plan and excellencies of which we have before noticed. As the work advances, we have increasing evidence of the thorough and pains-taking researches which are bestowed upon its contents. The thread of the story is now brought down to the year 1669. Very elaborate notes, embracing all sorts of antiquarian matters, heraldic devices, rich steel engravings, and tasteful wood cuts, make each page valuable and attractive. The spirit with which the plan has thus far been pursued should prompt a generous support of the undertaking, the nature of which is such as to justify a claim for patronage to be extended to it as it progresses, instead of being deferred till its completion.—*Christian Examiner for May,* 1854.

No. ~~V.~~ 15 [25 CENTS.

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OF

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BY

SAMUEL G. DRAKE.



BOSTON:
~~OLIVER L. PERKINS,~~ 186 WASHINGTON STREET.
L. STEVENS, *Proprietor.*

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY METCALF AND COMPANY. STEREOTYPED BY HOBART AND ROBBINS.

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The readers of these numbers of the History of Boston will find many *new* facts; certainly new in any *printed* work; and that they *are* facts, is left for the future scrutiny of those who wish to indulge in such historical and antiquarian investigations. The Author has necessarily come to conclusions, upon several points, very different from those of his predecessors who have had occasion to notice them; and while he believes his own deductions to be satisfactory, he has certainly not made them for the sake of novelty, or with any satisfaction merely because they differ from others. Nor does he correct the errors of others in any captious spirit, but invites his friends, and all others interested in the History of the City, to communicate to him any thing they may have to enable him to carry out the laborious object he has in view; and to call his attention to any errors and omissions they may discover. There is a great advantage in issuing a work of this kind in *numbers*, as it gives those disposed an opportunity to see wherein it should be otherwise, and to lend their aid if they feel sufficient interest in the subject to proffer it.

ERRATA.

In apology for this large list of Errata the Author begs leave to observe, that, owing to some irregularities at the Foundery, he was not furnished with his usual revises; and that, his work being printed at Cambridge, he saw no proof containing the Coat of Arms, in page 157, which appears wrong side up.

Page 140, *l.* 3, *note, for* 52, *read* 32.
" 166, *l.* 5, *after* committed, *add* several murders.
" 171, *l.* 7, *for* first, *read* second.
" 175, *l.* 4, 2d ¶, *read* Symmes.
" 182, *l.* 2 *of foot, read* Henry Uane.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-three, by Samuel G. Drake, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of Massachusetts.

To the Sons of New England everywhere.

There has been commenced, under the patronage of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, a work, entitled the

New-England Historical and Genealogical Register,

AND

ANTIQUARIAN JOURNAL.

THE ONLY ANTIQUARIAN PERIODICAL

PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES!

ALTHOUGH this work is extensively patronized by the most enlightened and literary portion of the public, yet it is still desirable to extend its circulation, as well with a view to benefit the community at large, as to enable the Society to accomplish its design of *preserving the early records of New England.*

That these records are fast going to decay is a fact too well known to require even ordinary proof. To preserve them *is a duty every one owes to his country.* This journal is mainly intended for that object. *It therefore has a claim upon* YOU *for support.*

The NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY received its charter from the Legislature of Massachusetts, in 1845, and, as its name implies, proposes to direct its efforts to the illustration of History and Biography in all its branches.

It has long been viewed by many as unpardonable and degrading, at this enlightened stage of society in this country, that people in general *know so little about their ancestry.* And, so far as can be judged, the founders of this institution were not actuated by a prospect of hereditary property or titles to *nobility*, but by a sincere desire to extend this branch of knowledge. That there is an element of vast importance yet to be developed by these investigations, is really believed, — an element which will eventually create a new era in physiological science.

No argument can be required in support of the great and ultimate importance of Genealogical researches, to those minds which have been directed to the subject; yet if there be any to whom this position is not clear, they are recommended to consider History without Biography or Chronology; for it is contended that Genealogy is as essential to Biography, as Biography is to History.

It is not only the great aim of the Society to collect and preserve all such materials as will aid every one having a desire to trace his ancestry, or to establish any facts in the History and Antiquities of his country, especially in its Local History, to pursue such inquiries with the prospect of success, but to make his labors available by a periodical publication; *such as is now offered for your patronage.*

The plan adopted for the general Contents of the work is as follows: —

1. Lists of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, from the earliest Town and Parish Records of New England.
2. Catalogues of Names found in Ancient Documents, as also the Documents themselves, when they are found to contain important facts illustrative of History and Antiquities, or the lives and actions of our Ancestors.
3. Abstracts of Wills, Settlements of Estates, Deeds and Conveyances; — such Portions of old English History, Genealogies, and Antiquities, as may be thought necessary for the Illustration of those of New England. And occasionally entire Tracts or Treatises which have become rare and are of permanent Historical Value.
4. Descriptions of the Dwellings, Household Utensils, Implements of Husbandry, Warlike Implements, Costumes, &c. belonging to the earliest Times to which the Ancestry of Families may be traced; — to be accompanied, when practicable, with Engravings.
5. Inscriptions from Tombs, Monuments, and Tablets of Cemeteries; — Ancient Epitaphs, &c., &c.
6. Descriptions of Armorial Bearings, and other Heraldic Devices, with sufficient Explanations of the Terms of Heraldry for their Emblazonry.
7. Biographical Accounts and Memoirs of Persons who came to North America, especially to New England, before 1700; showing from what Places in Europe they came, their Families there, and their Descendants in this Country.
8. Full and minute Genealogical Memoirs and Tables, showing the Lineage and Descent of Families, from the earliest Dates to which they can be authentically traced, down to the present Time, with their Branches and Connections.
9. Tables of Longevity, Statistical and Biographical Accounts of Attorneys, Physicians, Ministers and Churches of all Denominations, of Graduates at Colleges, Governors, Senators and Representatives in Congress, Merchants, Military Officers, and other Persons of Distinction.

SAMUEL G. DRAKE, Editor.

CONDITIONS.

The work is published by SAMUEL G. DRAKE, 15 Brattle Street (up stairs), Boston, to whom all communications should be addressed. — To be issued QUARTERLY, viz. in JANUARY, APRIL, JULY, and OCTOBER, of each year; at TWO DOLLARS *a year, payable, in all cases, in advance.*

Boston, January 1, 1853.

N. B. There are now completed *six volumes* of this work, and the *seventh* was begun on the first of January, 1853; — affording a desirable period to commence taking the work, as it is now upon a thorough and settled plan of progression, with a most valuable amount of materials in the hands of the Editor. A few complete sets of the back volumes of the work are on hand, which will be disposed of to new subscribers, if they choose to avail themselves of the opportunity, bound, or in numbers.

NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

"The History of Boston. No. IV. By S. G. Drake. The fourth part of Mr. Drake's History of Boston has made its appearance, bringing the narrative of events down to the year 1636. The history of the town, at this early period, is so closely interwoven with that of the Colony, that the work before us might thus far be appropriately styled the 'History of Massachusetts.' The author, in this part, has given some extracts from the earliest records of the town; and we are promised a fac-simile of the ancient manuscript, for the next number.

"We are pleased to notice that this work is, thus far, well sustained. The letter-press is excellent, and this number is embellished with plates and numerous well-executed wood cuts.

"On some points of no great moment we should possibly differ from the author; but we have no space here to dwell at length.

"In the Christian Examiner for May, page 513, is an extract from a letter from Mr. Joseph Hunter, the distinguished Historian and Antiquary of London, to Hon. James Savage, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in which he speaks of No. I. of Mr. Drake's History of Boston. We quote the following: 'I notice one thing of importance in Mr. Drake's book, namely, that he has an error of ten years in the date of the birth of Captain John Smith.' Mr. Drake's statement is as follows: 'From a reference already made to one of his maps, it appears that he was born in 1579.' Now it would be remarkable if there were not some mistakes in this first part of Mr. Drake's History, where such a vast number of facts are brought together, but we feel quite sure that there is no error here. In 1616, Smith published his 'Description of New England,' which contained a map, in one corner of which may be seen the *lively effigies* of the renowned author, with this inscription: 'Æta 37. Ao. 1616.' This is Mr. Drake's authority. Finding that Smith was *thirty-seven* years of age in 1616, Mr. Drake was naturally led, by a simple arithmetical calculation, to place his birth in 1579. The inscription upon the map we consider too of the highest authority, — that of Smith himself. This map was afterwards republished by him in his 'Generall Historie,' in 1624, 1626, and 1627, some alterations being made in each edition (of the map) to conform to the increased knowledge of the country. It also appears, with greater alterations, in some copies of the General History of date 1632, the year after his death. In all the editions of this map we find this same inscription, above quoted, denoting the age of Captain Smith, which he himself published to the world. Now Mr. Hunter may have some authority on this point, which *he* deems more reliable than the above. We have heard of intelligent persons who have erred slightly, perhaps a year or so, as to the date of their birth; but that Captain Smith could have made an error of *ten years* is as incredible as the statement that John Rogers, the protomartyr, was ignorant as to the number of his own children a few days before his death.

"One of the most interesting passages in this number of Mr. Drake's elaborate work, is the account given on the 162d page of the ordination of Rev. John Cotton as teacher of the First Church, in 1633. The narrative is given in the quaint language of the times. The same year (1633), a small ship called the Rebecca, was built at Medford. She was principally owned in Boston, and her name occurs quite frequently in business transactions of the succeeding years. This interesting number ends with the record of the election of Henry Vane as Governor of the Massachusetts Colony, in May, 1636. Every page of this work bears marks of intelligence, industry and research, and we renewedly commend the enterprise of Mr. Drake to the patronage of the citizens of Boston." — *Boston Transcript, Juné* 11, 1853.

"The History of Boston. By Samuel G. Drake. No. III. Boston: Oliver L. Perkins. — The attraction of Mr. Drake's History increases as the work progresses, — the present number being the most interesting one yet issued. The period of time to which this number is devoted — comprising, as it does, the infancy of our city's history — has, of itself, an unusual interest for us. Hence there is great propriety in the minuteness of detail to be found in Mr. Drake's pages. The narrative commences with the settlement of Shawmut in 1630, and carries us forward to near the close of 1632. This was, of course, the most critical period in the existence of the settlement; a season of doubt and privation and suffering, less endurable to the settlers from the high expectations that had been raised in them by the flattering accounts they had received from these regions previous to their emigration. Mr. Drake has given a vivid picture of their situation at this time, and has done justice to their fortitude and perseverance.

"There is one feature, in the work before us, that is especially deserving of commendation. The author has — whenever he has been able to do so without destroying the continuousness of his narrative — permitted those contemporaneous authors, from whom he has derived his facts, to give their information in their own words. Those who have observed how frequently even the substitution of one synonymous word for another changes materially the meaning of an author, will appreciate the scrupulous accuracy here found.

"We have marked several extracts in this number which we shall copy at some future time. The account given on pages 141 to 143, of the Earliest Meeting-Houses in Boston, is quite interesting.

"The mechanical execution of this number is, like its predecessors, deserving of great praise. Among the embellishments are a large panoramic view of the vicinity of Boston, a portrait of Sir Henry Vane, fifth Governor of Massachusetts Colony, and a view of the church at Boston, England, in which John Cotton preached. We observe, also, that the initial letters of the last three chapters of this number are ornamented with the coats of arms of Governors Endicott, Winthrop, and Dudley, and presume that it is intended to give the arms of the succeeding governors in the chapters which follow. From the specimens already published, we have no doubt that — if the public will do their part, by subscribing liberally for the work, so that the publisher may be able to carry out fully Mr. Drake's designs — the present History of Boston will be one of which our city may justly be proud." — *Boston Transcript, April* 12, 1853.

"The History of Boston. By Samuel G. Drake. Boston: Oliver L. Perkins, 56 Cornhill. Nos. I., II., III.

"Mr. Drake has published the first three numbers of his 'History of Boston.' The work will be illustrated with at least *one hundred engravings* of persons and objects of the greatest interest, and an extensive list of the earliest inhabitants of Boston, accompanied by genealogical and biographical facts. The work is to be issued in about sixteen numbers or parts, of forty-eight pages each, at twenty-five cents a number, making, when completed, a volume of 768 pages.

"The first number is embellished with a splendid engraving of Boston and suburbs, as they now are, together with a representation of all the objects of interest. The second number contains an engraving of John Endicott, first Governor of Massachusetts. The third number contains a panoramic view of the country in the vicinity of Boston, from Bunker Hill Monument.

"The work fills a gap in history, and is much needed. The only work which lays claim to the title of History of Boston, Dr. Snow's, is deficient in many particulars, and rendered still more so by the lapse of time since its publication.

"Mr. Drake, the author, brings to the work a mind well stored with historical material, and an ardent love of, as well as a long experience in, antiquarian and historical pursuits. No better man could have undertaken the work. He is the editor of the New England Genealogical and Antiquarian Register, a work of great merit and value, and is the author of several historical works. The 'History of Boston,' so far as completed, contains many new facts, at least they have never appeared before in any printed work. His extensive research has also enabled Mr. Drake to correct the errors of preceding writers, and to make his work one of the most valuable that has recently been issued from the press." — *Nashua Gazette, April* 7, 1853.

"History of Boston, Part II. By S. G. Drake. This number of the History of Boston comes to us in elegant style, as did the former. It covers a deeply interesting period, the history of which has not before, certainly to our knowledge, been gone into, with such thoroughness of research. The author, we think, must feel a consciousness that he has not only laid open many new facts, but that he has settled many questions, which have heretofore been thought beyond the reach of the strictest scrutiny. The author has set in a clear light the nature of the old Patents and Charters, under which this part of New England was settled. He has with great care gone step by step from the first rise of the enterprise in England, until he has planted our ancestors on this peninsula. That old pioneer Governor, Endicott, who has been erroneously placed as second in settling Massachusetts, here takes his proper place in the van. Concerning the old patentees, Mr. Drake gives us much that will be found new, and though we perceive he has committed some few inaccuracies (though generally unimportant), he has corrected many errors of long standing in this part of our history. We notice beautifully drawn up pedigrees of the families of Saltonstall and Winthrop, which we should think would be viewed with great gratification by all those connected with them.

"Among a large number of appropriate engravings, there is one of Endicott and his company departing from Weymouth for New England; one of Winthrop from the Isle of Wight; first interview with the Indians; portrait of John Davenport; autographs, &c. No work can commend itself more strongly to Bostonians and to the descendants of the Puritans than Drake's History of Boston." — *Transcript, Jan.* 24, 1853.

"The History of Boston, Part II. By S. G. Drake. We are rejoiced that the labor of preparing a history of the metropolis of New England has been undertaken by a gentleman who is better qualified for it than any other man living. Mr. Drake is a distinguished antiquarian, and a 'diligent preserver of antiquities.' His researches in New England history have made him familiar with every fact that can illustrate his present works. And he has entered upon the subject in a right spirit. We may expect from his pen, what has been so long needed, a full and accurate history of Boston. — There is no place on this continent so rich in curious reminiscences and legendary history as Boston. The book must be successful in Mr. Drake's experienced hands, and we trust that he may reap as much pecuniary profit from it, as we are sure he will gain in fame." — *Bee,* Jan. 25, 1853.

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The readers of these numbers of the History of Boston will find many *new* facts; certainly new in any *printed* work; and that they *are* facts, is left for the future scrutiny of those who wish to indulge in such historical and antiquarian investigations. The Author has necessarily come to conclusions, upon several points, very different from those of his predecessors who have had occasion to notice them; and while he believes his own deductions to be satisfactory, he has certainly not made them for the sake of novelty, or with any satisfaction merely because they differ from others. Nor does he correct the errors of others in any captious spirit, but invites his friends, and all others interested in the History of the City, to communicate to him anything they may have to enable him to carry out the laborious object he has in view; and to call his attention to any errors and omissions they may discover. There is a great advantage in issuing a work of this kind in *numbers*, as it gives those disposed an opportunity to see wherein it should be otherwise, and to lend their aid if they feel sufficient interest in the subject to proffer it.

ERRATA.

Page 51, *l.* 2, 2d ¶, *r.* Peter Palfrey. P. 52, *l.* 2, *r.* shone. P. 62, *l.* 3, *of foot*, *r.* socage. P. 68, *l* 12 *of note*, *r.* 1588. P. 90, *l.* 6, *r.* George Alcock. P. 109, *l.* 3, *n.* ‡, *r.* Peirce. P. 140, *l.* 3, *n.*, for 52, *r.* 32. P. 144, *l.* 3, 3d ¶, *r.* scandals. P. 166, *l.* 5, *after* commitued, *add*, several murders. P. 171, *l.* 7, *for* first, *r.* second. P. 173, *the date of the Fac Simile of the Records is* 1634. P. 175, *l.* 4 *of* 2d ¶, *r.* Symmes. P. 182, *l.* 2 *of foot*, *r.* Henry Waye? *and dele note* §. P. 206, *l.* 15, *r.* Van Twiller. P. 220, *l.* 10, *r.* Anderby. P. 234, *l.* 9 *of note*, *r.* Everill. P. 247, *l.* 8 *of note* †, *r.* Lancashire; *l.* 13, *r.* 1644. P. 266, *last l. of Contents*, *r.* Gorton. P. 292, *l.* 6, 3d ¶, *r.* Keayne. P. 310, *l.* 10, 2d ¶, *r.* James Astwood. P. 312, *l.* 9, *r.* Isle of Wight. P. 315, *l.* 10, *r.* easterly. P. 355, *n.*, *dele* male *in* 3d *line*, *and*, *after* descendants, *add*, of the name of Russell; *after* and in, *l.* 9, *insert* whose father was. P. 371, *last l. of note*, *r.* 1673.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-three, by SAMUEL G. DRAKE, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

For many years Mr. Drake has entertained the project of writing a history of Boston. He has, with this view, collected a great amount of materials, in books, pamphlets and manuscripts, of the latter of which some go back to a very early period in the history of the colony. The investigations which Mr. Drake has had occasion to make in the preparation of the works already published by him, have added directly or indirectly to the knowledge requisite for an historian of Boston. No one who is acquainted with the character of Mr. Drake's mind, or who has read the works already published by him, will doubt that he is well qualified for the enterprise which he has undertaken.

The public may be assured that Mr. Drake's History of Boston will be a work of permanent and substantial value, which every literary man ought to buy for its own sake, and every citizen of Boston, for the sake of its subject. Mr. Drake will find matter both for grave history and amusing gossip in the annals of the two hundred and thirty years which have ripened the matronly beauty of our city. His great difficulty will be in the abundance of his materials and the consequent temptation to make an overgrown book. It may not be irrelevant to say that by subscribing to the work, some material aid will be extended to a modest and laborious scholar, who has somewhat neglected his own fortunes in looking up the pedigrees of his neighbors.—*Boston Daily Courier, 23d June*, 1852. G. S. H.

The public will probably be gratified to learn that a History of Boston is in course of preparation, and will soon be published. Such a work, we are informed, has been undertaken by Samuel G. Drake, Esq., the well known author of several valuable works in this department of literature. The manuscripts left by Dr. Snow, containing copious collections for a new edition of his history, have been secured, and will be incorporated into the present work. The high qualifications of Mr. Drake for writing a history of our city, will be acknowledged by all. There is probably no single individual in the community, who knows so well the wants or the various classes of readers of historical works; and there are few who are so well able to supply those wants. He has, for full a quarter of a century, been a laborious student of his country's history. For several years he has been the editor of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register,—a quarterly periodical published in this city, of whose character it would be superfluous here to speak. His contributions to the pages of this work have been marked by a thoroughness of research, which, if carried into his present undertaking, —and we have no doubt it will be,—will render his History of Boston a principal authority for future historians.—*Daily Advertiser, June 19th*, 1852.

The History of Boston. By Samuel G. Drake. Boston: Oliver L. Perkins, 56 Cornhill. No. 1.

This is the first number of the History of Boston, on the basis of Dr. Snow's, which is in course of preparation by Samuel G. Drake, Esq. It is beautifully printed in royal octavo, with finely executed illustrations after the manner of Lossing's elegant work, and has an engraving representing Boston and the surrounding country as seen from the Bunker Hill Monument. It will be illustrated with at least one hundred engravings. The work will consist of about sixteen numbers or parts.

This number consists of accounts of the discoveries made by the early navigators to these shores, illustrated with portraits of Cabot, Verazzani, Cartier, Gilbert and others. These accounts are drawn from original authorities, and the reader will find here many new facts in relation to these navigators and to our local history.

A history of Boston is much wanted. Mr. Drake has many advantages for executing such a work which others do not possess. His researches in the preparation of his well known and valuable works, have thrown in his way much valuable material; and to these are to be added the copious collections for a new edition of his work left by Dr. Snow. From these sources this laborious, careful, and experienced author will present a publication that will be a most valuable record of Boston. It will be a permanent and substantial work which every citizen of Boston and of Massachusetts ought to possess. We trust this beautiful work will be extensively subscribed for by our citizens.—*Boston Post, Sept. 24*, 1852.

New History of Boston. "History and Antiquities of Boston. By Samuel G. Drake. Boston: Oliver L. Perkins. No. 1: 48 pages, super royal 8vo." On glancing at the first number of this work, which has just been issued, it strikes our mind forcibly—and we think it will so strike the mind of every candid reader—that if the work is continued as it has been begun, it will not only do great credit to the talents, industry, and learning of its author, but will also confer a lasting honor upon the city. The monument to its fame here commenced will be, by no means, inferior to any of its monuments of whatever name or description. The style of the work is elevated, dignified, correct, and in every way worthy of the important subject—the history of this most ancient city of New England.

The propriety of beginning with an account of the early discoveries which led to the settlement of Boston, will not be questioned, by any who desire to see the history of Boston resting on its proper foundation. This foundation is admirably laid in the pages before us; and we freely confess that we have not yet seen, in any other work, so good an abstract of those early discoveries in the American seas. None but the most thorough student in that part of American history could be master of the sound judgment and just discrimination on these matters which are here found. There are new points through all Mr. Drake's pages, —points which will at once strike the mind as new. —*Evening Transcript, 22 Sept.*, 1852.

We have received the first number of this work, and from this specimen, we predict that the whole will make an attractive and useful volume, or volumes. We understand that it is to be extended through sixteen numbers. This number contains a narrative of the early voyages and first settlements, on the coast of New England. The author is well known as an antiquarian, and is eminently adapted to the work he has undertaken.—*Puritan and Recorder, 23 Sept.*, 1852.

This work is to be comprised in sixteen parts, on fine paper, royal octavo, printed in large type and illustrated with 100 engravings. We have received No. 1; and can speak in decided commendation of its typographical appearance. Those who know Mr. Drake, the author, can testify to his ample qualifications for the satisfactory fulfilment of the task he has undertaken. There seems, therefore, to be no doubt that we are to have the annals of this metropolis faithfully recorded, in a volume worthy of the subject.—*Christian Register, 11 Sept.*, 1852.

The History of Boston. No. I. By Samuel G. Drake. Boston: Oliver L. Perkins.—This is the first number of the new and anxiously expected History of Boston, proposals for which have been some months before the public. Mr. Drake, the compiler, has taken as the basis of his work the history by Dr. Snow; but he will not merely incorporate the latter into his own, but, availing himself of its facts, and a vast accumulation of other materials, will produce a new and original work. To all who are acquainted with Mr. Drake's writings—and not to know them "argues yourself unknown"—it is needless to speak of the accurate, painstaking, and conscientious manner in which his work will be done. For over a quarter of a century, he has devoted his time and talents to antiquarian research, and is better qualified for tasks of this kind than any other man in America. Whatever he does is done thoroughly, and that, too, not mechanically, in the spirit of a hireling, or cold-blooded literary drudge, but with taste, and gusto—*con amore*.

In the present number Mr. Drake has given many new facts about Captain John Smith, whose discoveries in our Bay have never before been set forth with fulness and accuracy: and many other important and striking facts have been fished up from the waters of oblivion. The typographical execution of the History

is superb. The paper is thick and white; the type large and distinct—just suited to old people's reading—and altogether the letter-press is the very luxury of printing. A large and brilliant panoramic View of Boston and Vicinity adorns this number, which is also embellished with many exquisite wood-cuts. The work will be issued from 56 Cornhill, in 16 Parts of 48 pages each, at 25 cents a Part—making, when completed, a splendid volume of nearly 800 pages. | *Yankee Blade.*

THE HISTORY OF BOSTON. By Samuel G. Drake. Boston: Oliver L. Perkins, 56 Cornhill. Sept., 1852.

We have received the first number of this work which is beautifully printed in octavo form, on large type and fine paper. The illustrations are well executed, and appropriate. The whole work will be comprised in sixteen numbers or parts, and will have about one hundred engravings.

A good history of Boston has become a desideratum. Dr. Snow's work, first published some twenty-five years since, is now entirely out of print. In its day, this obtained a good reputation, and is still valuable for its facts, as far as it goes. It is, however, incomplete, and will not answer the requirements of the present time. Much light has recently been thrown on the early history of our metropolis, and there is now a vast accumulation of materials from which to make an almost perfect history of the ancient town and modern city. We are glad that Mr. Drake has undertaken this enterprise. He is an indefatigable antiquarian, and possesses rare qualifications for his task. For many years his attention has been directed to this object, and he has made large collections for the present use. We are sure that Mr. Drake will give the public the results of the most thorough research, and assiduous care, and we find the guaranty of this in his previous publications. The work is published by subscription, we understand, and the price is twenty-five cents a number. It will make an elegant and useful volume.—*Old Colony Memorial.*

HISTORY OF BOSTON, PART II. By S. G. Drake. This number of the History of Boston comes to us in elegant style, as did the former. It covers a deeply interesting period, the history of which has not before, certainly to our knowledge, been gone into, with such thoroughness of research. The author, we think, must feel a consciousness that he has not only laid open many new facts, but that he has settled many questions, which have heretofore been thought beyond the reach of the strictest scrutiny; the author has set in a clear light the nature of the old Patents and Charters under which this part of New England was settled; he has with great care gone step by step from the first rise of the enterprise in England, until he has planted our ancestors on this peninsula. That old pioneer Governor, Endicott, who has been erroneously placed as second in settling Massachusetts, here takes his proper place in the van. Concerning the old patentees, Mr. Drake gives us much that will be found new, and though we perceive he has committed some few inaccuracies (though generally unimportant,) he has corrected many errors of long standing in this part of our history. We notice beautifully drawn up pedigrees of the families of Saltonstall and Winthrop, which we should think would be viewed with great gratification by all those connected with them.

Among a large number of appropriate engravings, there is one of Endicott and his company departing from Weymouth for New England; one of Winthrop from the Isle of Wight; first interview with the Indians; portrait of John Davenport; autographs, &c. No work can commend itself more strongly to Bostonians and to the descendants of the Puritans than Drake's History of Boston.—*Transcript, Jan.* 24, 1853.

THE HISTORY OF BOSTON, PART II. By S. G. Drake. We are rejoiced that the labor of preparing a history of the metropolis of New England has been undertaken by a gentleman who is better qualified for it than any other man living. Mr. Drake is a distinguished antiquarian, and a "diligent preserver of antiquities." His researches in New England history have made him familiar with every fact that can illustrate his present works. And he has entered upon the subject in a right spirit. We may expect from his pen, what has been so long needed, a full and accurate history of Boston.—There is no place on this continent so rich in curious reminiscences and legendary history as Boston. The book must be successful in Mr. Drake's experienced hands, and we trust that he may reap as much pecuniary profit from it, as we are sure he will gain in fame.—*Bee, Jan.* 25, 1853.

THE HISTORY OF BOSTON. By Samuel G. Drake. No. III. Boston: Oliver L. Perkins. The attraction of Mr. Drake's history increases as the work progresses,—the present number being the most interesting one yet issued. The period of time to which this number is devoted—comprising, as it does, the infancy of our city's history—has, of itself, an unusual interest for us. Hence there is great propriety in the minuteness of detail to be found in Mr. Drake's pages. The narrative commences with the settlement of Shawmut in 1630, and carries us forward to near the close of 1632. This was, of course, the most critical period in the existence of the settlement; a season of doubt, and privation, and suffering, less endurable to the settlers from the high expectations that had been raised in them by the flattering accounts they had received from these regions previous to their emigration. Mr. Drake has given a vivid picture of their situation at this time, and has done justice to their fortitude and perseverance.

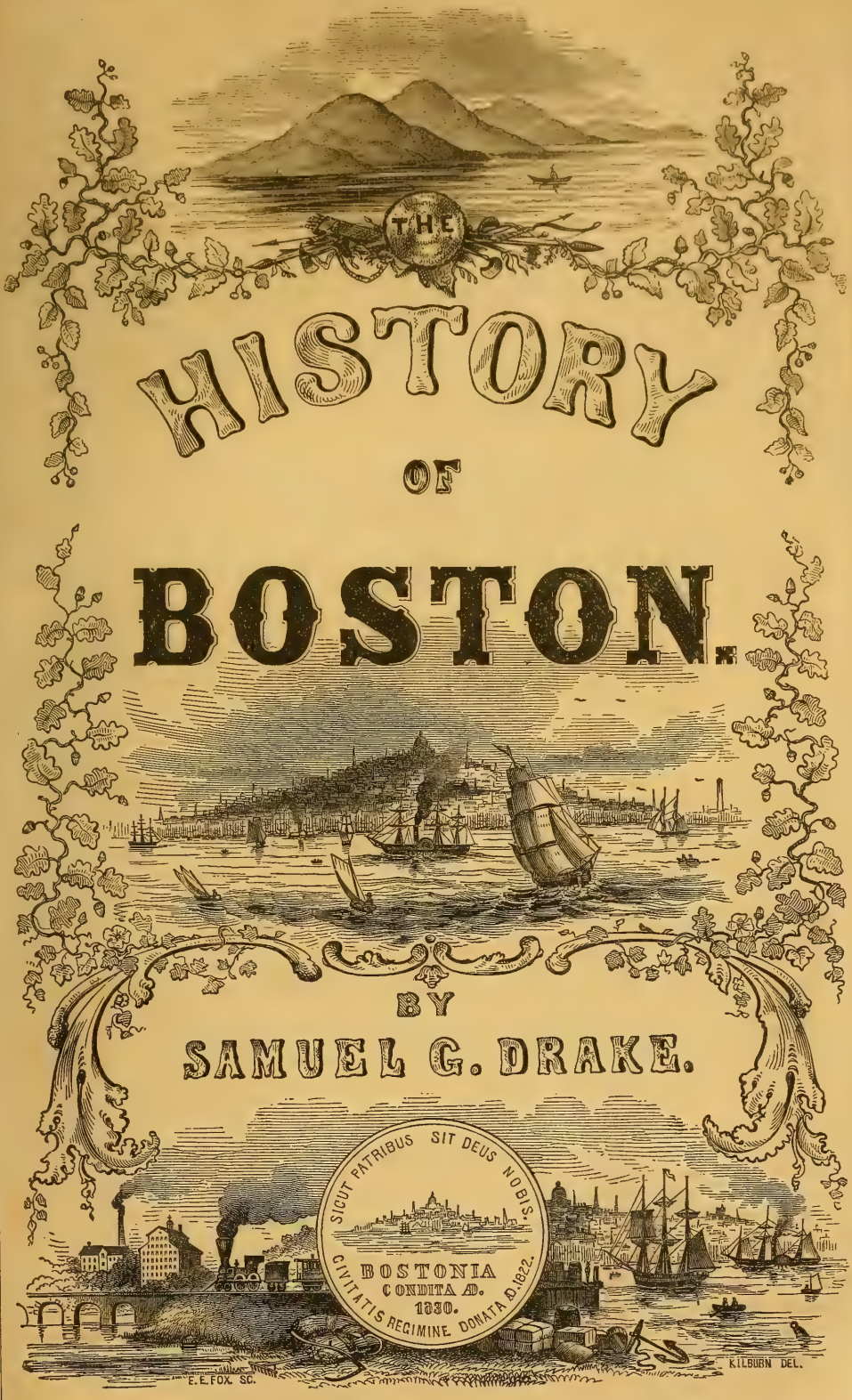
There is one feature, in the work before us, that is especially deserving of commendation. The author has—whenever he has been able to do so without destroying the continuousness of his narrative—permitted those contemporaneous authors, from whom he has derived his facts, to give their information in their own words. Those who have observed how frequently even the substitution of one synonymous word for another changes materially the meaning of an author, will appreciate the scrupulous accuracy here found.

We have marked several extracts in this number which we shall copy at some future time. The account given on pages 141 to 143, of the Earliest Meeting Houses in Boston, is quite interesting.

The mechanical execution of this number is, like its predecessors, deserving of great praise. Among the embellishments are a large panoramic view of the vicinity of Boston, a portrait of Sir Henry Vane, fifth Governor of Massachusetts Colony, and a view of the church at Boston, England, in which John Cotton preached. We observe also that the initial letters of the last three chapters of this number are ornamented with the coats of arms of Governors Endicott, Winthrop, and Dudley; and presume that it is intended to give the arms of the succeeding governors, in the chapters which follow. From the specimens already published, we have no doubt that—if the public will do their part, by subscribing liberally for the work, so that the publisher may be able carry out fully Mr. Drake's designs—the present History of Boston will be one of which our city may justly be proud.—*Boston Transcript,* 12 *April,* 1853.

VALUABLE AND IMPORTANT WORK.—*History of Boston. No. I.*—This is a work that has for a long time been needed; and has now been commenced by one whose reputation as an author is a guaranty that it will be faithfully done. Mr. Drake is the author of the "BOOK OF THE INDIANS," and of several other historical works that hold a high rank in the literary world. His prominent traits as a writer are thoroughness and accuracy of research, and his statements always carry with them the highest weight of authority. It is impossible to glance at the pages of this first number without being struck with the thorough manner in which the subject has been investigated.—*Gazette and Chronicle,* 11 *September,* 1852.

Mr. Drake has published No. VIII. of his "History and Antiquities of Boston," the plan and excellencies of which we have before noticed. As the work advances, we have increasing evidence of the thorough and pains-taking researches which are bestowed upon its contents. The thread of the story is now brought down to the year 1669. Very elaborate notes, embracing all sorts of antiquarian matters, heraldic devices, rich steel engravings, and tasteful wood cuts, make each page valuable and attractive. The spirit with which the plan has thus far been pursued should prompt a generous support of the undertaking, the nature of which is such as to justify a claim for patronage to be extended to it as it progresses, instead of being deferred till its completion.—*Christian Examiner for May,* 1854.



BOSTON:
~~O. L. PERKINS~~.

C. C. P. Moody, Printer, 52 Washington St.

NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

The want of a new History of Boston, has for a long time been felt. That of Dr. Snow, of which the first edition was published in 1825, and the second in 1828, has, for a long time, been out of print, and it is now only in rare instances that it can be obtained by those who wish to possess it. Besides which, this work, though a good one for its day, has, in several particulars at least, been far surpassed by the later histories of some of our sister cities and towns. A new work therefore, which, retaining all that is valuable in Snow's History, and including such new matter in relation to our early history as has since been gathered, should also continue the narrative to a later period, seems to be very much needed at this time, and will, no doubt, be hailed with pleasure by all who feel an interest in the history of our city. A work of this kind, we have the satisfaction of announcing, has been undertaken by Samuel G. Drake, Esq., author of the "Book of the Indians," and several other well known works of an Historical nature. No one could be obtained for this undertaking who would bring to the task qualifications superior to Mr. Drake. He has for a long time been a resident of this city, and its history has always, during his residence among us, been a subject of special interest to him. Whatever he undertakes he does thoroughly, as all his previous works bear witness.—*Boston Journal*, 14*th June*, 1852.

We learn that Samuel G. Drake, Esq., of this city—who has long been favorably known to that part of the community having a taste for historical studies—has undertaken to compose a new work on the history of Boston. A book of this kind is much needed at the present day. In the proposals for publishing the work, which are before us, it is stated that the History of Boston by the late Dr. Caleb H. Snow will be the basis of the present undertaking. This work has long been inaccessible, except through the public libraries; and, though a very valuable one, had deficiencies, as might be expected in a work composed at a time when historical research in our community was, as it were, in its infancy.—*Post*, 14*th June*, 1852.

The public will probably be gratified to learn that a History of Boston, on the basis of that of the late Dr. C. H. Snow, is in course of preparation, and will soon be published. Such a work, we are informed, has been undertaken by Samuel G. Drake, Esq., the well known author of several valuable works in this department of literature. The manuscript left by Dr. Snow, containing copious collections for a new edition of his history, have been secured, and will be incorporated into the present work. The high qualifications of Mr. Drake for writing a history of our city, will be acknowledged by all. There is probably no single individual in the commnnity, who knows so well the wants or the various classes of readers of historical works; and there are few who are so well able to supply those wants. He has, for full a quarter of a century, been a laborious student of his country's history. For several years he was the editor of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register,—a quarterly periodical published in this city, of whose character it would be superfluous here to speak. His contributions to the pages of this work have been marked by a thoroughness of research, which, if carried into his present undertaking,—and we have no doubt it will be,—will render his History of Boston a principal authority for our future historians.—*Daily Advertiser*, *June* 19*th*, 1852.

A circular has been addressed to our citizens, by Oliver L. Perkins, containing proposals to publish by subscription a History of Boston, on the basis of the work of a similar title by the late Dr. Caleb H. Snow. Mr. Samuel G. Drake is named as the editor of the proposed volume. Mr. Drake has ample qualifications for the service, as his writings in that department of literature attest. Mr. Drake has obtained all the papers of Dr Snow, and will thus be able to avail himself of many valuable materials for the work. The publisher announces his intention to produce the book in an elegant style of execution, in every respect worthy the metropolis of New England. We commend the volume to the attention of all classes of our fellow citizens.—*Atlas*, 24*th June*, 1852.

In the year 1825 there appeared an octavo volume published by Mr. Abel Bowen, and written by Dr. Caleb H. Snow, called The History of Boston. Mr. Oliver L. Perkins, a few months since, purchased of the representatives of Mr. Bowen their interest in Snow's History, with a view of bringing out a new edition of the work, with notes and additions, under the editorial superintendence of Mr. Samuel G. Drake. For this work Mr. Drake's previous studies and turn of mind had especially fitted him. To the early history of New England he has devoted himself with that earnest and persevering industry which only a sincere love of the subject could inspire.

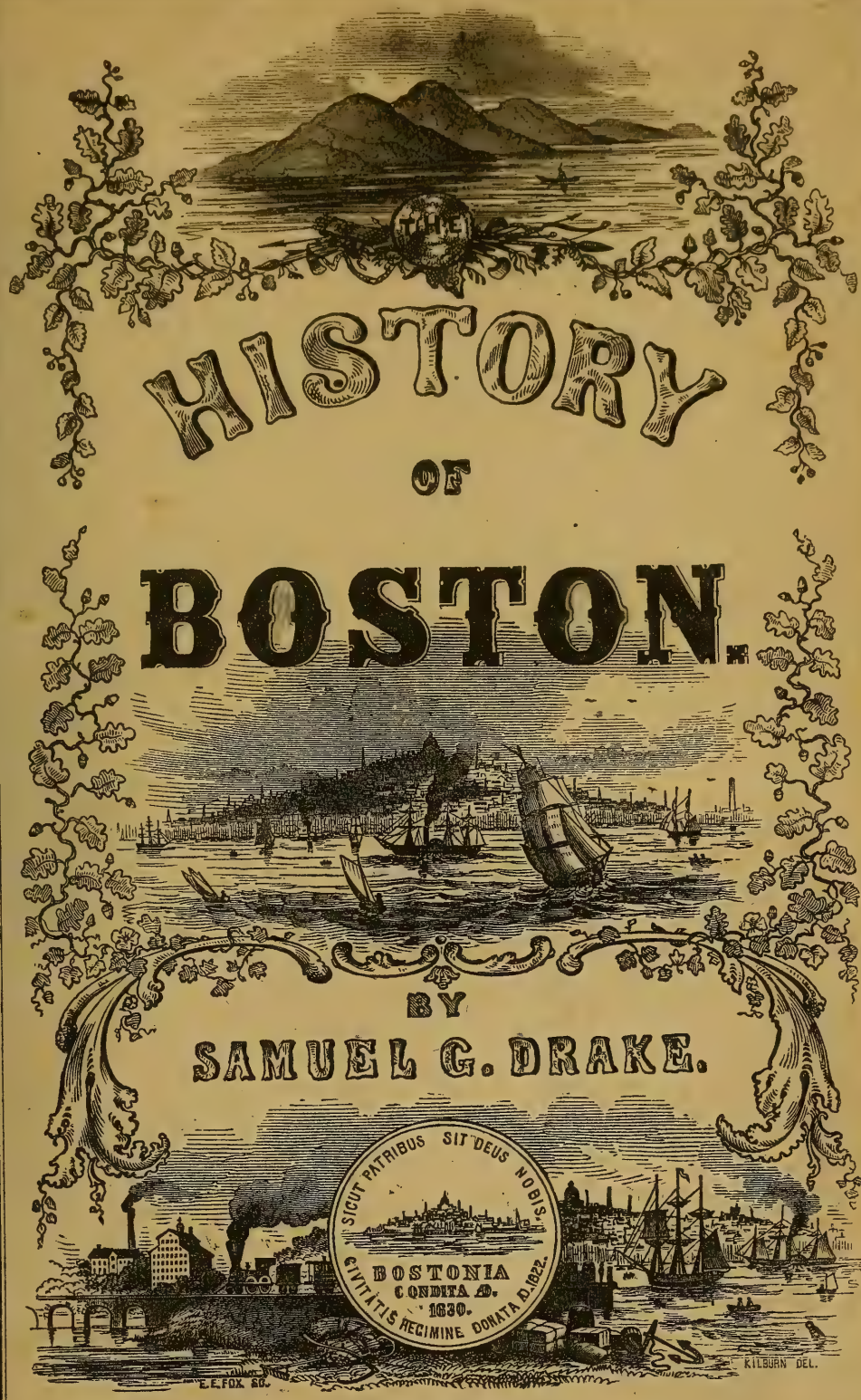
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Mr. S. G. Drake, of Boston, proposes to publish a new history of Boston. No man, we think, in our acquaintance, is better qualified for the work. There ought to be a new history. The last, (Dr. Snow's) was a very good one for the time in which it was written; but having all the advantages of Dr. Snow's, besides the collections he has himself made, and the helps of his literary friends, Mr. Drake must produce a better work. Of Dr. Snow's book, we speak conscientiously, in the words of a late writer, 'G S. H.', which we interpret to be G. S. Hillard, Esq.

The copyright of Snow's History has been purchased, and placed at Mr. Drake's disposal; but he will not re-print Dr. Snow's work with additions. He will avail himself of the facts of that work, but he will re-write, that he may introduce into those parts devoted to the earlier time, such facts as he has himself brought out of the womb of the past. We urge it upon every man to subscribe for Mr. Drake's work. In doing so, they will assist a worthy man, who has not reaped the fruit from all the fields he has planted. But not on that account solely, but because Mr. D. will bring out a better work than any of its predecessors, do we urge men to subscribe. Frothingham, the present Mayor of Charlestown, has given us a fine history of that ancient town. L. R. Paige, Esq., will, we hope, soon permit the world to see his erudite and elaborate history of Cambridge; and when Drake's new History of Boston is fully written, we shall feel that a large vacuum is filled up.—*Trumpet*, 3 *July*, 1852.

No. XVIII. 25 CENTS.



BOSTON:
LUTHER STEVENS, 186 WASHINGTON STREET.

H. W. DUTTON, PRINTER. STEREOTYPED BY HOBART AND ROBBINS.

NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

History of Boston.—Mr. Drake has brought down his History to about 1730, in the twelfth number recently issued. The early promise of this work is amply fulfilled, and we know of nothing of the kind more interesting and instructive. He is very happy in the selection of his facts, in which consists the great value of History, and so presents them as to give almost to every year in the growth of our City its very "form and pressure." This number covers a most interesting epoch, and should be in possession of every Bostonian.—B. *in Evening Transcript, 17 May,* 1855.

History and Antiquities of Boston,—No. 11. By Samuel G. Drake. Royal 8vo. In this No. the history is brought down to 1704—a marked period in the History of Boston, for that was the year the first newspaper ever issued in America appeared.—The events of fifteen years are recorded in these forty-eight pages; events, many of which are entirely new to us, and will doubtless be so to a great majority of readers. It was originally proposed, we believe, to comprise the work in about 768 pages; 528 pages are now finished. How the author can crowd the facts which remain into the pages prescribed, he best knows. At all events we hope he will not feel under the necessity of abridging the work, for if carried through as it is thus far done, its value to all classes of people will be incalculable. The author discovers a wonderful acquaintance with his subject; so much so, that the reader is insensibly led to consider that he lived through all the space of which he writes—was acquainted with the numerous people he has had occasion to mention—noted the arrival and departure of eminent personages—saw the celebrations of important events and noted who were present—saw the oppressor Andros taken by the collar and hurried off to prison—notes a man building his house too far into the street—not only tells you when a new Governor arrived in town, but tells you *who* he was and where he lived—when paper money was first issued, and why—the capture of pirates—names of all those executed for witchcraft—when a law was made requiring buildings to be built of brick or stone—that the Quakers built the first brick meeting-house, and where—when the town chose Assessors, and when they wouldn't have any—saw Governor Phipps cane another official in the street, and gives you a copy of the inscription on Sir William's tomb—who may get married and how—schools and school-houses—how the French threatened to come and take Boston—what Edward Ward says of the town, and what Pope says of *him*—and a thousand other things which we cannot refer to at this time.

The number is accompanied by a beautiful steel plate portrait of Lieutenant Governor Stoughton.—*Transcript.*

The History of Boston. By Sam'l G. Drake. No. X. Boston: Luther Stevens.

This work, in its progress through the press, has received many commendations, and those too from persons whose judgment in matters of this kind is reliable. The writer of the present notice has had occasion lately to make researches into the early history of New England, and he has not only *read* Mr. Drake's work, but he has *studied* it. He states but the simple truth when he says, that he has been indebted to it both for important facts and also for valuable hints. Although it is the "History of Boston," yet the author has occasion to notice occurrences which took place in the Northern States, and he throws much light on the men and events of bygone days. *Fairness* is a marked quality of the book under notice. It is also marked by *thoroughness* and *completeness*. There is no slighting either in the literary or mechanical part of the work. It is printed on good paper, with clear type, and is profusely illustrated with engravings executed expressly for this work.

While it has a peculiar interest for natives of Boston, wherever they may now reside, it is in an eminent degree worthy the patronage of all intelligent persons. In these days, when books of a transient interest are advertised as having passed through the "tenth" or "fifteenth thousand," it will be a disgrace to the land of free schools and of boasted intelligence, if this work of Mr. Drake, of real and permanent value, does not meet with a ready and extensive sale. To those who are about purchasing a collection of works for the winter reading of themselves and families, we would say, that they will deprive themselves of valuable and interesting information if they do not obtain the work under notice. W. S. B.

Chelsea, Sept 20th, 1854.

For many years Mr. Drake has entertained the project of writing a history of Boston. He has, with this view, collected a great amount of materials, in books, pamphlets and manuscripts, of the latter of which some go back to a very early period in the history of the colony. The investigations which Mr. Drake has had occasion to make in the preparation of the works already published by him, have added directly or indirectly to the knowledge requisite for an historian of Boston. No one who is acquainted with the character of Mr. Drake's mind, or who has read the works already published by him, will doubt that he is well qualified for the enterprise which he has undertaken.

The public may be assured that Mr. Drake's History of Boston will be a work of permanent and substantial value, which every literary man ought to buy for its own sake, and every citizen of Boston, for the sake of its subject. Mr. Drake will find matter both for grave history and amusing gossip in the annals of the two hundred and thirty years which have ripened the matronly beauty of our city. His great difficulty will be in the abundance of his materials and the consequent temptation to make an overgrown book. It may not be irrelevant to say that by subscribing to the work, some material aid will be extended to a modest and laborious scholar, who has somewhat neglected his own fortunes in looking up the pedigrees of his neighbors.—*Boston Daily Courier, 23d June,* 1852. G. S. H.

The public will probably be gratified to learn that a History of Boston is in course of preparation, and will soon be published. Such a work, we are informed, has been undertaken by Samuel G. Drake, Esq., the well known author of several valuable works in this department of literature. The manuscripts left by Dr. Snow, containing copious collections for a new edition of his history, have been secured, and will be incorporated into the present work. The high qualifications of Mr. Drake for writing a history of our city, will be acknowledged by all. There is probably no single individual in the community, who knows so well the wants or the various classes of readers of historical works; and there are few who are so well able to supply those wants. He has, for full a quarter of a century, been a laborious student of his country's history. For several years he has been the editor of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register,—a quarterly periodical published in this city, of whose character it would be superfluous here to speak. His contributions to the pages of this work have been marked by a thoroughness of research, which, if carried into his present undertaking,—and we have no doubt it will be,—will render his History of Boston a principal authority for future historians.—*Daily Advertiser, June 19th,* 1852.

The History of Boston, Part II. By S. G. Drake. We are rejoiced that the labor of preparing a history of the metropolis of New England has been undertaken by a gentleman who is better qualified for it than any other man living. Mr. Drake is a distinguished antiquarian, and a "diligent preserver of antiquities." His researches in New England history have made him familiar with every fact that can illustrate his present works. And he has entered upon the subject in a right spirit. We may expect from his pen, what has been so long needed, a full and accurate history of Boston.—There is no place on this continent so rich in curious reminiscences and legendary history as Boston. The book must be successful in Mr. Drake's experienced hands, and we trust that he may reap as much pecuniary profit from it, as we are sure he will gain in fame.—*Bee, Jan.* 25, 1853.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

This number completes The History and Antiquities of Boston, agreeably to the original Prospectus. As it was impossible to state how far the prescribed pages would bring down the work, no period was mentioned in the Proposals. The main object in view was the collection and preservation of a vast amount of interesting and valuable information in regard to the early history of Boston, which, in a few years, would have been forever lost. It will now be seen that, to do anything like justice to the history of the City, and to bring it down to the present day, a Supplementary Volume will be required, equal, in amount of matter, to the one now completed. For such supplementary volume, no arrangements have been made; and it will depend entirely upon the patronage extended to the volume now issued, whether another shall be undertaken.

The work is now ready and for sale at the office of publication, 186 Washington Street, where any missing numbers can be obtained to complete sets.

Any Numbers, if in good condition, will be received in part payment for a full volume.

LUTHER STEVENS,

Publisher and Proprietor.

DATE DUE

DEC 14 1991			
NOV 25 1992			
APR - 7 1992			
JUN - 5 1994			
NOV 29 1994			
JAN 20 1998			
201-5503			PRINTED IN U.S.A.

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